

THE TOMB OF  
THREE FOREIGN WIVES  
OF TUTHMOSIS III

Christine Lilyquist

With Contributions by James E. Hoch and A. J. Peden

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK

Yale University Press, New Haven and London





THE TOMB OF  
THREE FOREIGN WIVES  
OF TUTHMOSIS III

Christine Lilyquist

With Contributions by James E. Hoch and A. J. Peden

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK  
Yale University Press, New Haven and London

This publication is made possible by The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund,  
in memory of the de Groot and Hawley families

Cover image: the hieroglyphic names of foreign wives Manuwai,  
Maruta, and Manhata on their silver libation jars  
Frontispiece: a view toward the crevice where tomb Wady D1 is located;  
see pp. 25, 46, 52f., 78f.  
Endpiece: view from the head of Wady D toward a pyramid-shaped peak,  
the Nile Valley beyond; see p. 52

Copyright © 2003 by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted  
by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording,  
or any information retrieval system, without permission from the publisher.

Published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Library of Congress Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Lilyquist, Christine.

The tomb of three foreign wives of Tuthmosis III /  
Christine Lilyquist, with contributions by James E. Hoch and A. J. Peden.  
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 1-58839-046-2 (hc : alk. paper)— ISBN 0-300-10121-X (Yale University Press)

1. Tombs—Egypt—Thebes (Extinct city) 2. Art objects, Egyptian. 3. Thutmose III,  
King of Egypt—Family. I. Hoch, James E., 1954— II. Peden, A. J. III. Title.

DT73.T3L54 2003  
932'.014'082—dc21

2003044539

Typeset by Aardvark Type, Hartford, Connecticut  
Printed by The Stinehour Press, Lunenburg, Vermont

*In appreciation of the work of*

HOWARD CARTER (1874–1939)

HERBERT EUSTIS WINLOCK (1884–1950)

MARY ELIZABETH THOMAS (1907–86)

and the CEDAE and IGN (1965–78)





# CONTENTS

*Frontispiece*

PREFACE	x
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	xi
ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS	xiii
Abbreviations	xiii
Collaborators Cited in the Catalogue	xiv
Conventions	xv
 CHAPTER 1. THE TOMB SITE IN THE SOUTHWEST WADYS (VALLEYS)	 1
Physical Description	1
Survey of Human Activity	2
Tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty	3
Ramesside (and Later?) Funerary Figures	4
Non-dated Petroglyphs and the Recording of Graffiti	6
Graffiti of the Later New Kingdom–Coptic Period, <i>A. J. Peden</i>	7
Third Intermediate–Ptolemaic Period Finds of Lortet/Gaillard and Carter	12
Similar Finds	13
Dating and Significance of Later New Kingdom–Roman Remains	13
Coptic Remains	15
Figures 1–15	16
 CHAPTER 2. ARCHIVAL AND MUSEUM DOCUMENTATION OF WADY QURUD'S TOMB 1	 27
Documentation of the Tomb and Its Objects, 1916–48	27
Documents 1–9	27
Accounts of the Tomb's Location and Its Objects, 1916–43	33
Documents 10–33	33
Figures 16–27	44
 CHAPTER 3. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AT TOMB 1 BY THE MMA, 1988	 57
Introduction	57
Goals	57
Organization and Acknowledgments	57
Conventions	58
Architecture	58
The Tomb Site as Found	58
General Scheme of Excavation	58
Description of Clearance and Context of Finds (Fig. 28)	58
Pottery	63
Introduction and Acknowledgments	63
Overview of the Tuthmoside Pottery	63
Organization and Conventions of Pottery Registers	68
New Kingdom Pottery Register (p1–p102)	68
Post-New Kingdom Pottery Register (p103–p108)	73
Register for Pottery of Uncertain Date (p109–p113)	74
Small Finds	74
Items According to Provenance	74
Conclusions from 1988 Field Work	76
Figures 29–85	78

CHAPTER 4. INTRODUCTION TO CATALOGUE OBJECTS ASSOCIATED WITH TOMB 1	111
History of the Non-Excavated Objects	111
Study of the Non-Excavated Objects, 1918–2001	112
Description of This Study	113
Scope (Figs. 86–8)	113
General Organization	115
Authorship	115
Format and Conventions	115
Criteria for Placement in the Catalogue Sections	116
General Comparative Sources	117
Technical and Formal Indicators of Provenance and Date for the Gold Work (Figs. 89–91)	119
 CHAPTER 5. CATALOGUE PART A, OBJECTS ASSIGNED TO TOMB 1 (1–165)	 126
Funerary Items	126
Canopic Jars (1–12)	126
Ritual Vessels (13–5)	127
Mummy Fittings (16–43)	128
Models(?) (44–7)	138
Vessels and Lids	139
Ointment Storage Jars and Lids (48–86)	139
Precious Vessels and Lids (87–99)	146
Precious Vessels of Undetermined Use (100–5)	149
Toilet Implements	152
Mirrors (106–7)	152
Jewelry	152
Introduction	152
Head Ornaments (108–14; Figs. 92–3)	154
Various Rosettes (115–28)	167
Body Ornaments (129–36)	169
Limb Ornaments (137–50)	176
Loose Beads (151–61)	183
Miscellaneous Items (162–3)	186
Objects of Undetermined Function	187
Miscellaneous Items (164–5)	187
Figures 94–193	189
 CHAPTER 6. CATALOGUE PART B, OBJECTS LESS SURELY LINKED TO TOMB 1 (166–213)	 245
Introduction	245
Vessels and Lids	245
Ointment Storage Jars and Lids (166–73)	245
Precious Vessels (174–5)	247
Jewelry	247
Head Ornaments (176–9)	247
Body Ornaments (180–7)	248
Loose Parts (188–212)	250
Object of Undetermined Function	254
Miscellaneous Item (213)	254
Figures 194–219	255

CHAPTER 7. CATALOGUE PART C, OBJECTS OF VARIOUS DATES (214–324)	264
Indeterminate Date	264
Funerary Item (214)	264
Jewelry (215–7)	264
Objects of Undetermined Function (218–22)	265
Pre-Tuthmoside Date	266
Jewelry (223–5)	266
New Kingdom and Later Date	267
Jewelry (226–9)	267
Modern Date, Including Inscriptions	270
Introduction (Fig. 220)	270
Technical and Formal Indicators of Provenance and Date for the Gold Work (Figs. 221–6)	271
Funerary Items (230–44)	278
Vessels, Ointment Storage Jar Inscriptions (245–50)	282
Vessels, Precious Examples (251–71)	283
Jewelry (272–322; Figs. 227–33)	287
Objects of Undetermined Function (323–4)	307
Figures 234–62	309
 CHAPTER 8. SPECIFIC DISCUSSIONS AND OVERVIEW	329
Specific Discussions	329
The Names of the Foreign Wives (Figs. 263–6), <i>James E. Hoch</i>	329
The Foreign Wives in Their Historical Period (Figs. 267–8)	333
Overview	337
 APPENDIX 1. GRAFFITI IN WADYS SIKKET TAQET ZAID AND GABBANAT EL-QURUD	339
APPENDIX 2. ANALYSES OF CATALOGUED METAL OBJECTS	342
Objects Believed Ancient	342
Indeterminate Object	343
Objects Believed Modern	343
APPENDIX 3. ANALYSES OF VARIOUS GLASSES	346
APPENDIX 4. DOCUMENTATION FOR THE INTERPRETATION OF THE GAZELLE DIADEM	347
 CONCORDANCES	349
Concordance 1, Past and Current Locations of Objects with Catalogue Numbers	349
Concordance 2, Catalogue Objects with Past and Current Locations	351
 WORKS CITED	355
 ILLUSTRATION CREDITS	378
 INDEXES	381
Index 1, General	381
Index 2, Egyptian Words	393

*Endpiece*

## PREFACE

This book attempts to reconstruct and understand the tomb of three foreign wives of Tuthmosis III that was robbed by villagers in the Wady Gabbanat el-Qurud near Luxor during 1916. Directly after the find, Mohammed Chaban of the Antiquities Service and Howard Carter, sponsored by the Service, gathered fragments in the tomb. Carter, who was encouraged by Alan Gardiner and funded by the Earl of Carnarvon, went on to pursue objects in dealers' shops that were alleged to have come from the tomb. He also surveyed the southwest part of the royal necropolis and provided the only archaeological documentation of that remote area to date.

The majority of art market objects thought to have come from the tomb eventually entered The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and those acquired between 1918 and 1922 were variously exhibited and published, culminating with Herbert Winlock's *The Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses* (Winlock 1948). Additional items were acquired between 1958 and 1970, and during the comprehensive review of Egyptian objects for reinstallation at the MMA between 1972 and 1983, a study was begun of all items associated with the tomb before 1970. When several of the items appeared to be of modern manufacture, it became necessary to determine which items were consistent with that provenance. Of each object the questions had to be asked: Does it match excavated items? Is it reasonably from a royal Tuthmoside tomb? and, If there are unusual features, are they due to poor quality, foreign manufacture, or modern fabrication? Eventually the study was expanded to the site itself, to document finds that might be remaining and to understand the tomb in typological, geographical, and chronological terms.

At the core of the subject is still "un ensemble cohérent, bien daté, d'une époque pour laquelle on ne possédait rien d'analogue," as E. de Keyser wrote after Winlock's publication (1949: 259). But it is a smaller group than heretofore understood. About half the catalogued items alleged to be from the tomb can be characterized as "probably or certainly," fifteen percent more as "could be," and the remainder as "not," because they are earlier, later, or modern in date. On the other hand, the fieldwork of 1988 created a fuller picture of the tomb in ancient times—of its occupants and the relation of the tomb to other royal monuments of the period.

This study is more prosaic than Winlock's summary version of 1948. That great scholar called attention to the ambiguities of the "treasure" while presenting a seamless study (see pp. 153f. below), and, notwithstanding the title of his book, knew that the women were neither Egyptian nor king's daughters. The later appearance of additional objects convinced Nora Scott and Cyril Aldred that Winlock's Great Headdress in particular should be shortened and the collar arrangements improved. In the main, however, the 1958–70 presentation of the material was a continuation of the assessments made by Winlock, a product of his time.

The present study, begun in 1978, lies at greater temporal distance from the find. It was undertaken in most cases without photos of the objects when they entered the Museum or precise records of restoration, and, in general, belongs to an age more directed toward systematic objectivity with laboratory capabilities than to first-hand experience and informed intuition (see now Rudolph 1996). It was possible here to separate many objects that did not come from the tomb, and identify a number that have non-Egyptian technology or form. Modern scholarship also made it possible to see the women in the context of foreign interchange, possibly even diplomatic marriage, rather than simply as "ornaments." This revisionist interpretation, however, one that chooses sober documentation over imaginative narrative, could not have been made without the initial work of Carter and subsequent study of Winlock and Scott. Unbounded appreciation goes to all three for the energy they put toward retrieving and understanding this tomb's ravaged remains.



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author is grateful to the numerous Metropolitan Museum of Art staff members and fellows who participated in this project. Those cited in the Catalogue of chapters 5–7 are further listed in Abbreviations and Conventions. Most significant in the study of the objects were Ray Anita Slater, archaeology; Peter Dorman, object inscriptions; Richard E. Stone and J. H. Frantz, technical studies and interpretation of analytic data; Carlie Cleveland and Elayne Grossbard, radiography and initial technical examination; Robert Baines, goldsmithing; Robert Koestler, SEM examination; and Mark Wypyski, SEM/EDS analysis. Others who contributed were Sue d’Auria and Suzanne Heim (comparative research) and Thomas Logan, curator emeritus Henry Fischer, and Cathleen Keller (inscriptions), all of the Department of Egyptian Art; Gary Carriveau (initial X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy), Deborah Schorsch (“red gold” study), Lawrence Becker (vitreous material), George Wheeler (stone identification), and Yale Kneeland in the Department of Objects Conservation; and Manuel Keene (gold working), Stefano Carboni and Marilyn Jenkins-Madina (various identifications) of the Department of Islamic Art. Installers in the Department of Objects Conservation strung, restrung, installed, and deinstalled numerous elements and beads: they are Jeffrey Perhacs, Nancy Reynolds, Janice Loeb, and Dyane Walters. Dorothea Arnold and Catharine Roehrig of Egyptian Art patiently allowed additional examination of the objects between 1989 and 2001; William Schenck masterfully drew almost all objects, and Thomas Scalise finished or added several drawings. The Photograph Studio produced images and prints—its members unidentified during the years 1918–78 but given credit since then (Lynton Gardiner, Bruce Schwarz, Kenneth Campbell, Alexander Mikhailovich, and Joseph Coscia). William Barrette of Egyptian Art provided many supplementary photographs. Production was aided by Gwen Roginsky and Peter Antony of Editorial, through the support of John P. O’Neill, and by Helga Lose of Merchandising. Lila Acheson Wallace Curatorship research assistants Thea Politis, Lynn Peebles, Christina Sarich, and Robin Goodman aided in various ways; and the librarians of the Thomas J. Watson Library gathered references.

Outside the Museum, the study of glass was led by Robert H. Brill; of organic residue by Alex Shedrinsky; of ancient names by James Hoch; and of desert graffiti by A. J. Peden. The many colleagues who helped clear the tomb in 1988–89, as well as the study of its pottery, are enumerated in Chapter 3 (pp. 57, 63).

In addition to colleagues whose particular expertise is cited in the text, discussion or assistance with a variety of topics came from colleagues Cyril Aldred, Carol Andrews, Dorothea Arnold, Martha Bell, Manfred Bietak, Edward Bleiberg, Dietrich von Bothmer, Baruch Brandl, Eric Cline, Patricia Davidson, I. E. S. Edwards, Adolf Greifenhagen, Ben Harer, Jack Holladay, Bertrand Jaeger, Dieter Kessler, Günter Kopcke, Marcel Kurz, Christian Leblanc, Geoffrey T. Martin, Rachel Maxwell-Hyslop, Joan Mertens, Andrew Oliver, Diamantis Panagiotopoulos, Jacke Phillips, Daniel Polz, Marie-France Racine, Nicholas Reeves, Paul Rehak, Gay Robins, Donald Ryan, Axel von Saldern, Benjamin Sass, Birgit Schlick-Nolte, Nora E. Scott, Mark S. Smith, Hourig Sourouzian, Nigel Strudwick, John Taylor, Lana Troy, Kent Weeks, James Weinstein, John Younger, and Jean Yoyotte. The Wilbour Library of Egyptology in The Brooklyn Museum was a major source of published information.

Comparative work on objects was generously aided by colleagues responsible for, or working in, other collections. Many of them have been thanked in earlier publications (Lilyquist 1988b: 68, 1993b: 58, 1993d: 111, 1994a: 29, 1995a: 78, 1996a: 173, 1997a: 204). However, special mention must be made of colleagues Mohammed Mohssen and Mohamed Saleh in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, who allowed the study, photography, and publication of material, and Adel Mahmoud Mohammed and Mai Trad who facilitated access. Other colleagues in Egyptian and Near Eastern collections and archives, not heretofore mentioned, provided information or special help.

Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig: André Wiese

Berkeley, Phoebe Aperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology: Joan Knudsen, Patricia Podzorski

Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum: Biri Fay, Rolf Krauss, Karl-Heinze Priese, Jürgen Settgast; Dietrich Wildung

Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum: Evelyn Klengel

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts: Timothy Kendall, Yvonne Markowitz; John Hermann, Pamela Russell; Arthur Beale, Suzanne Gänsicke, Richard Newman

Brooklyn, The Brooklyn Museum of Art: Richard Fazzini, Ellen Pearlstein

Cambridge (MA), Semitic Museum: Kathleen Mallak, Gary Pratico

Cambridge (UK), Fitzwilliam Museum: Janine Bourriau

Coral Gables (FL), Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami: Ira Licht, Susan Lucke

Chicago, Field Museum: Frank Yurko

Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum: Karen Wilson

Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art: Lawrence Berman, Ann Marie Przybyla

Durham, Oriental Museum, University of Durham: John Ruffle  
 Herakleion, Archaeological Museum: Eleni Banou, Alexandra Karetsou  
 Hildesheim, Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum: Arne Eggebrecht, Bettina Schmitz, Matthias Seidel  
 Irbid, Jordan, Archaeological Museum: Hikmat Taani  
 Jerusalem, Israel Antiquities Authority: Baruch Brandl  
 Jerusalem, Israel Museum: Ruth Amiran, Osnat Misch-Brandl, Miriam Tadmor  
 Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden: Maarten Raven, Hans Schneider  
 Liverpool, Liverpool Museum on Merseyside: Piotr Bienkowski  
 London, British Museum: Carol Andrews, W. V. Davies, T. G. H. James, Richard Parkinson, Nigel Strudwick, John Taylor  
 London, Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology: Barbara Adams, Rosalind Janssen, Stephen Quirke  
 London, Victoria and Albert Museum: Alun Graves  
 Manchester, Manchester Museum: Rosalie David  
 Munich, Staatlichen Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst: Sylvia Schoske  
 New York, Jewish Museum: Susan Braunstein  
 New York, MMA: Kim Benzel, Oscar Muscarella, Ira Spar; Joan Mertens  
 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: Helen Whitehouse  
 Oxford, Griffith Institute: Diana Magee, Jaromir Malek, Helen Murray  
 Philadelphia, University Museum: David Silverman, Jennifer Houser Wegner  
 Paris, Musée du Louvre: Jean-Louis de Cenival, Diane Harlé, Geneviève Pierrat-Bonnefois, Christiane Ziegler, Annie Caubet, Valérie Matoïan  
 Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts: Margaret Ellen Mayo  
 Scandinavia, Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia (housed in Uppsala University): Lana Troy  
 St. Louis, St. Louis Art Museum: Sidney Goldstein  
 Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet: Bengt Peterson  
 Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum: Krzysztof Grzymski, Nicholas Millet, Roberta Shaw  
 Tokyo, Idemitsu Museum of Arts: Takeshi Gotoh, Tokyo National Museum  
 Turin, Museo Egizio: Elvira D'Amicone; Enrichetta Leospo, Anna Maria Donadoni Roveri, Elisabetta Valtz

Elsa and Dr. Pierre Henri Bloch-Diener, Herbert Kalmanoff, Giancarlo Ligabue, Frieda Nussberger, and Lucien Viola also allowed access to information or publication.

Ilana Greenberg provided graphic design, Betty Leigh Hutcheson and Barbara Ibronyi copyediting, Martin Ahermaa indexing, Mary Gladue and Jeffy Mathew typesetting, and Dan Demetriad photographic resources.

But above all, the author is grateful for the time to have been able to investigate this tomb, along with the financial resources to publish the results. Those MMA resources included a Theodore Rousseau Travel Grant, a Professional Travel Grant, Jane and Morgan Whitney Funds, and the Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund in memory of the de Groot and Hawley families. The Museum's director, Philippe de Montebello, is solely responsible for this extensive support.

# ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

## ABBREVIATIONS

- ÄA – Ägyptologische Abhandlungen  
ARCE – American Research Center in Egypt  
Area I – Wady head, the apex of Wady Gabbanat el-Qurud in the MMA excavations of 1988  
Area II – Platform into which tomb 1 was cut in the MMA excavations of 1988  
Area III – Descending corridor of tomb in the MMA excavations of 1988  
Area IV – Burial chamber of tomb in the MMA excavations of 1988  
ASAE – *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*  
ÄuL – *Ägypten und Levant*  
AV – Archäologische Veröffentlichungen  
BASOR – *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*  
BdE – Bibliothèque d'Étude  
BIFAO – *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*  
BiOr – *Bibliotheca Orientalis*  
BM – The British Museum, London  
BMMA – *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, continued in the new series *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* as of 1942  
BSAE – British School of Archaeology in Egypt  
Cairo Museum – Egyptian Museum, Cairo  
Catalogue – Catalogue of art market objects in Chapters 3–5 alleged to come from Wady Qurud; abbreviated Cat.  
Chamber – Cave to which Pit leads in the MMA excavations of 1988  
CCE – *Cahiers de la Céramique Égyptienne*  
CdE – *Chronique d'Égypte*  
CEDAE – Centre de Documentation et d'Études sur l'Histoire de l'Art et la Civilisation de l'Égypte Ancienne  
CG – Catalogue général, Egyptian Museum, Cairo (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire), followed by catalogue entry number  
DAIK – Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo  
DE – *Discussions in Egyptology*  
DFIFAO – Documents de Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale  
Document – Archival item presented in Chapter 2 that bears on the history of the discovery, numbers 1–33; abbreviated Doc.  
Ed. – Editor  
EDS – Energy dispersive X-ray spectrometry  
EEF – The Egypt Exploration Fund  
EES – Egypt Exploration Society  
ERA – Egyptian Research Account  
Exh. cat. – Exhibition catalogue  
FIFAO – Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale  
Gardiner – “List of Hieroglyphic Signs,” Gardiner 1982: 438–543  
GI – The Griffith Institute, Oxford  
IFAO – Institut français d'archéologie orientale  
IGN – Institut Géographique National, Paris  
JARCE – *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*  
JdE – Journal d'entrée, the register book of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo  
JEA – *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*  
JNES – *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*  
KV – Valley of the Kings  
LÄ – Lexikon der Ägyptologie  
LNP – Lisht North Pyramid, designation applied to pit tombs in the North Pyramid cemetery at Lisht excavated by the MMA, 1906–22

MDAIK – *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*  
MFA – Museum of Fine Arts, Boston  
MMA – The Metropolitan Museum of Art  
MMJ – *Metropolitan Museum Journal*  
No. – Number  
OMRO – *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*  
P – Princess, the temporary series of numbers given the purchased MMA objects before they were accessioned  
p – Letter preceding entry in Pottery Registers of Chapter 3, pottery excavated by the MMA, 1988  
PGE – Platinum group elements, namely platinum, palladium, osmium, iridium, ruthenium, and rhodium  
Pit – Shaft with steps, to south of Area I in the MMA excavations of 1988  
Pottery registers – Three registers of pottery excavated by the MMA, 1988 (p1–p113)  
SAE – Service des antiquités de l'Égypte, Antiquities Service of Egypt  
SAGA – Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens  
SEM – Scanning electron microscope  
SR – Special Register, an inventory of the objects of each section in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, made by the keeper of that section. The system originated in 1959–60  
Standard early provenance – Term applied to objects that came to light in 1916–22, almost exclusively in Luxor (see Chap. 4). They were given a Wady D1 provenance by local dealers and residents; that provenance was judged to be correct by Howard Carter and, in a few instances, by Ernest Mackay, Ambrose Lansing, and Herbert Winlock  
TAA neg. – Negatives produced from Tutankhamun objects by Harry Burton, housed in the MMA unless specified GI  
TT – Theban tomb, as published in Porter and Moss 1960  
UCP – University of Chicago Press  
WQP – Wady Qurud pottery, the field designation series for individual sherds in the MMA excavations of 1988  
XRF – X-ray fluorescence  
ZÄS – *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*

## COLLABORATORS CITED IN THE CATALOGUE

The following colleagues are cited in the Catalogue of Chapters 5–7, with information specific to the time of their involvement with the study.

Baines – Robert Baines, Lecturer in Fine Arts, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, Melbourne, Australia.  
MMA Department of Objects Conservation: Senior Fulbright Fellow, 1997; Andrew W. Mellon Conservation Fellow, 2000  
Brill – Robert H. Brill, Research Scientist, The Corning Museum of Glass, 1979–2001  
Cleveland/Grossbard – Carlie Cleveland and Elayne Grossbard, Conservation Assistants–Assistant Conservators, MMA Department of Objects Conservation, 1978–81  
Dorman – Peter F. Dorman, Assistant Curator, MMA Department of Egyptian Art, 1980–87  
Frantz – J. H. Frantz, Conservator–Conservator in Charge, MMA Department of Objects Conservation, 1978–2001  
Keene – Manuel Keene, Research Associate, MMA Department of Islamic Art, 1980  
Kneeland – Yale Kneeland, Assistant Conservator, MMA Department of Objects Conservation, 1981  
Logan – Thomas Logan, Associate Curator, MMA Department of Egyptian Art, 1980–81  
Mishara – Joan Mishara, Conservation Fellow, MMA Department of Objects Conservation, 1972–73  
Myers – Peter Meyers, Research Chemist, MMA Department of Objects Conservation, 1972–73  
Schorsch – Deborah Schorsch, MMA New York University conservation student, Frohlich Research Fellow, and Conservation Assistant–Associate Conservator in MMA Department of Objects Conservation, 1981–82, 1984–87, 1990  
Shedrinsky – Alex Shedrinsky, Professor of Chemistry, Long Island University, Brooklyn campus, 1988–91, 2000  
Stone – Richard Stone, Associate Conservator–Conservator, MMA Department of Objects Conservation, 1978–2001  
Wheeler – George Wheeler, Research Chemist, MMA Department of Objects Conservation, 1999–2000  
Williams – Bruce Williams, Assistant Curator, MMA Department of Egyptian Art, 1976  
Wypyski – Mark Wypyski, Assistant Research Scientist–Associate Research Scientist, MMA Department of Objects Conservation, 1991, 1999–2001



## CONVENTIONS

The figures are numbered consecutively; a few are scattered in the text, but most appear in groups at the end of each chapter.

All measurements are metric unless otherwise stated, and in centimeters unless otherwise stated.

Numbers given by Howard Carter to objects while excavating the tomb of Tutankhamun are cited as Carter nn. These numbers appear in his records now housed in the GI, in the negatives and prints of Harry Burton at the GI and MMA, and are published in Murray and Nuttall 1963.

The art market objects associated with tomb Wady D1 are catalogued as numbers **1-324** in Chapters 5-7, numbered consecutively.

The numbering system is generally abbreviated. Inclusive and consecutive numbers are rendered 100-1 rather than 100-101; f. is used for page following, as 17f. for pp. 17, 18. Exceptions are measurements (1.0-1.2 cm.), year dates (1943-44), pottery numbers (**p10-p11**), and MMA accession numbers (22.3.362-.368; 26.8.34a, b).



# CHAPTER 1. THE TOMB SITE IN THE SOUTHWEST WADYS (VALLEYS)

## PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

The vast desert wadys immediately south of the main necropoli of Thebes are little known but greatly admired by those who have explored them (Figs. 1–5; Carter 1917: pl. 19; Thomas 1966: fig. 1). Early in the 20th century, the naturalists Charles Lortet and Claude Gaillard described the first principal valley—Wady Gabbanat el-Qurud, or Wady Qurud as sometimes shortened here—as “un wady extrêmement sauvage . . . Cette vallée, des plus pittoresques, est bornée de chaque côté par d’énormes falaises . . . creusée dans le calcaire crétacé s’élevant à des hauteurs vertigineuses” (Lortet and Gaillard 1905: 240). Howard Carter, whose unpublished records in the Griffith Institute (GI) will be referred to here, surveyed the region roughly ten years later and numbered what he termed the “southwest valleys.” He wrote that the region was “full of suggestiveness, and I must admit that it possesses a hold upon my affection . . . a virgin wilderness” (GI Carter MSS vi.2.8 236). In addition to evidence of villagers scratching about for antiquities, he stated that “the only other changes that have taken place in the site since dynastic times, are those of natural erosion: the constant force of diurnal changes of temperature, and the scorching forces of periodic spates.” Of Wady el-Gharby, the next further south valley, the Egyptologist Elizabeth Thomas wrote, “the beauty alone . . . would make its exploration a pleasure except for its remoteness” (1966: 201). She saw these southwest valleys differing from those further north “in their form and pristine condition” (1966: 193). In the 1970s, Marcel Kurz, of the Centre de Documentation et d’Etudes sur l’Histoire de l’Art et la Civilisation de l’Egypte Ancienne (CEDAE), wrote,

l’originalité du Versant Sud-Ouest de la Montagne, tient peut-être au caractère désertique et sauvage des vallées, à la raréfaction des vestiges historiques connus. Plus lointaines, elles sont restées mystérieuses. (Coque et al. n.d.: 74)

From October–December 1988, the author and Christopher Kirby separately wandered widely in these mountains and valleys, searching for routes used by ancient Egyptians and graffiti, huts, tombs, or pottery noted by Carter, Thomas, and the CEDAE (see Chap. 3). They also searched for physical features delineated in the topographical documentation of the Institut Géographique National de Paris (IGN). The vastness, heat, rocky terrain, and constraints of time did not make study or photography easy, and the remoteness and lack of water will continue to curtail exploration of this impressive region. Little can be added here to the description of earlier explorers except to affirm the belief that access to a cliff tomb such as the one that is the focus of this book was, for the ancient tomb workers and funeral parties, most logically from the top, while departure was to the wady below.

Water drained off the plateau to form the great southwest valleys, and water reshapes the Theban landscape as time continues. After clearing the cliff tomb of Hatshepsut in 1916, Carter described the dramatic effect of rainstorms thus:

Heavy rainstorms in the Libyan desert are rare to a remarkable degree. Indeed, years may pass without any appreciable rainfall. But when such storms break, they suddenly outburst into destructive torrents accompanied by powerful electrical manifestations. No sooner had we finished clearing the tomb than the fury of the elements was let loose. Heavy clouds that had been gathering on the summit of the mountain broke. Flashes of lightning quivered from clouds. Peals of thunder echoed from hill to hill—a storm had let loose its fury. The swifts whirled screaming to their crags. In a few moments the whole mountain-side foamed with innumerable cascades. The tomb in the cleft was filled to its brim with rainwater, and we had but a few minutes to strike camp for higher ground, clear of the boulder-strewn valley which soon became a roaring torrent.

In equally short time a strong wind sprung up and drove that troubled air away. The scene changed to its normal brilliance. The sun and the heavens were glorious. The scoured beds of the ravine and puddles of water were the sole evidence of that sudden but short spate. . . . Like manna from the skies came innumerable crystal-like pools of water, filling to the brim basins that had been scooped out of the solid rock. (GI Carter MSS vi.2.8 233f.)

## Chapter 1

This introduction describes Wady Gabbanat el-Qurud (Carter's Wady D) and Wady Sikket Taqet Zaid (Carter's Wady A). Carter's Wadys B and C are actually tributaries of Wady D, and Wady A empties into D at D's mouth (Figs. 3–5). The 1988 MMA mission made its approach to the tomb at the head of Wady D by foot each morning from the wady's mouth, past the entrances of Wadys A, B, and C, and finally to the head of Wady D, where a crevice in the cliffs formed the approach to tomb 1 (Frontispiece). The wady beds are comprised of gray sand littered with boulders of various sizes. The rock cliffs are golden, occasionally threaded with horizontal bands of chert, and are fissured vertically or rounded from wind erosion. Scree—the product of the cliffs' breakdown—covers the cliff bases, and millions of blackened flint nodules washed from Eocene limestone are scattered everywhere. After three months of land disturbance at the head of Wady D in 1988, the author noted ten years later that wind and water had dissolved all traces of that work.

### SURVEY OF HUMAN ACTIVITY

The occasional prehistoric stone tools scattered about the southwest wady plateaus, crevices, and beds—as well, no doubt, as some of the petroglyphs incised on the limestone rocks listed below—show that early man was in this region (Lortet and Gaillard 1907: 11–23; Gaillard 1934: 59–62). However, no trace of dynastic Egyptians before Dynasty 18 is recorded. Then, several *bab* (door) and gorge tombs were dug in Wadys A, C, and D as royal funerary projects. Carter found pottery of the period on the surface of the southwest valleys, and the stone huts he recorded there could have been built at that time, as resting places for tomb workers or convoys delivering funerary goods. Beyond Wady Sikket el-Aagala (noted only on Carter's plan, 1917: pl. 19), lay the great Wady Bariya (Fig. 2; Coque et al. 1972: pls. 211, 216–7; Kurz 1977: pl. 213). There Carter saw remnants of the Amenhotep III-era in the plain near its entrance (1917: 111f.), not too far from what he termed “an ancient chariot road” (GI Carter MSS vi.2.8 234) that can be seen between the Wady el-Heiba and Wady Bariya on a Survey of Egypt map (Mond 1934: frontispiece) and is apparently different from the feature Kemp and Johnson described (Kemp 1977: fig. 1; W. R. Johnson 1998: 77f.).

Judging by typology and style, small royal and private funerary figures alleged to have been deposited in the southwest wady beds date to the Ramesside period. Certainly by late Dynasty 20 and early Dynasty 21, necropolis workers were roaming the region and recording their presence through graffiti (see A. J. Peden below). The French naturalists found the rim of a white stone basin inscribed *n k3 n sdm-ḥs m st m3ḥt* (to the *ka* of the servant in the place of truth; see Lortet and Gaillard 1905: 244); under what circumstances it came to be in the Wady Qurud is not known. Further, although some of the Osiride votives found in Wady D by Lortet and Gaillard are difficult to date, perhaps some are contemporary with the late Dynasty 20–early Dynasty 21 rock inscriptions. By the Late or Ptolemaic period, Wady D became a place for sacred baboon burials and other deposits.

The dates of some items Carter found are not known (1917: 107f., 110f.): fragments of “granite, basalt, crystalline sandstone and alabaster,” and a “piece of crystalline sandstone from a sarcophagus—the projection for the levers used in transportation” in Wady F, el-Gharby. Red bricks in F must be Late, however, as must red bricks and a Ptolemy II Philadelphus coin on the upper plateau. Eventually Copts came to the wadys, as evidenced by pottery, inscriptions on rock faces, and shelters, some no doubt dug by them.

Modern times brought the explorer John Gardner Wilkinson to survey the Theban necropolis, the naturalists Lortet and Gaillard looking for baboons, the Egyptologist Pierre Lacau noting an inscription (according to Howard Carter, p. 46 below), Carter and John Romer looking for tombs (Romer 1984: 195–9, color pl. 38), the Egyptologist Thomas analyzing the development of the royal necropolis, the IGN photographing and mapping the terrain, and the CEDAE planning and copying petroglyphs and inscriptions, sometimes transcribing the latter. (Major participants in that project were Hassan el-Achierie [architect], Jaroslav Černý, R. Coque [geologist], Marcel Kurz [surveyor and cartographer], Abd el-Aziz Sadek, and Mohamed Shimy.) When Lortet and Gaillard were in Wady D, they thought they were the first to explore the region, for they saw no traces of European or indigenous traffic (Lortet and Gaillard 1907: 11, 14). Their work no doubt stimulated local exploration. After villagers discovered the tomb that is the focus of this book, and Carter went on to survey this part of the Theban necropolis, the latter reported that

The task of the excavator in detecting the exact whereabouts of . . . hidden tombs would have been simpler, were it not for the haphazard diggings and scratchings about those valleys made by the modern tomb-robbers, obliterating whatever superficial traces of ancient workings there may have been. (GI Carter MSS vi.2.8 235)

Carter's survey of the southwest wadys, from October 1916 to January 1917, included ten days in the Wady Qurud, clearance of the cliff tomb of Hatshepsut in Wady A, and mapping various features in Wadys A to G (Carter 1917: 107; GI Carter MSS vi.2.8 216–8, 226–36). Kurz refers to Carter's *travail méticuleux et complet*, his *esquisse*



## Tomb Site

*topographique exacte* (Coque et al. n.d.: 75). Carter also assembled many items found at dealers' shops from the D1 tomb plundered by villagers in August 1916.

Today there is some traffic by villagers, but very little compared to that in the necropoli directly north. This allows the southwest valleys to retain much of the character they must have had in pharaonic times.

### TOMBS OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

During his three-month survey, Carter concluded

there can be little doubt that [the southwest wadys are] the cemetery of the royal families of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty. The cemetery proper appears to begin in the valley in which is situated the tomb of Hat.shep.sût that we have just opened, and to continue westward (for about four miles) as far as the great ravine called by the natives El-Wâdi El-Aala ("The Valley of the wheel"). . . . (GI Carter MSS vi.2.8 234)

Thomas discussed a line of tombs from Deir el-Bahari in the north to the Wady Qurud in the south that she believed could have been made for queens (1966: chap. 10, especially 202–4; 1980; see also Giddy 2002: 27 no. 5). Others have carried the subject further (Romer 1976; Leblanc 1989a, 1989b, 2001; Lecuyot 1992 passim; Strudwick and Strudwick 1999: 124–8; Dodson n.d.; Reeves n.d.). The closest parallel for the configuration of Wady Qurud tomb 1 is the tomb for Tuthmosis III (KV 34), the consort of the foreign wives of Wady D. The plan of Wady D1 is consistent with the chronologically close *bab*-tombs of Hatshepsut as royal wife and the tomb in Wady C assigned to her daughter Neferura (Romer 1975: 318f.; Gabolde et al. 1994; Fig. 6b–c). All three tombs turn to the right from the descending corridor, like the undecorated Deir el-Bahari tomb of Amenhotep I's wife, Meryetamun (fig. 6a, p. 20). The lack of decoration is typical for tombs Thomas assigns to queens of the 18th dynasty (Thomas 1966: 274).

**Wady A;** see pp. 17–20, 22

Carter listed four tombs in his Wady A, numbered 20–3. In 1959–60, Thomas lettered all tombs of a particular wady individually, and equated Carter's tomb numbers in Wady A with letters, thus (Thomas 1966: 194–6):

- 20 (pit tomb) = A
- 21 (corridor tomb, later Baraize) = C
- 22 (cliff tomb, Hatshepsut) = D
- 23 (pit tomb) = E

In the later 1960s, the CEDAE did not locate HC 23/Thomas E, and it identified the two tombs directly south of Hatshepsut's differently than Thomas. It lists the first of the two as *tombe de la falaise* (E. Baraize); Thomas had identified it as B. The CEDAE also identified the tomb further out as a *puits funéraire*, Carter's 21. Thomas, however, had identified HC 21 as C, belonging to Baraize (Coque et al. n.d.: pl. 287; Kurz 1977: pl. 198).

North from Hatshepsut's tomb, Kirby thought he identified two additional pit tombs, flanking HC 23/Thomas' E. He also thought he located two tombs south of Hatshepsut's; these could be the Berkeley Theban Mapping Project's WAP3 and WAP4 (unpublished). One of Kirby's had a deep shaft with finely hammered east face, as well as north and south footholds; another had New Kingdom sherds at the bottom of the shaft.

In sum, the exact number of tombs noted in Wady A is unsure; however, only the two cliff tombs are significant.

At the easternmost cliff tomb (Carter 21, Thomas C), Baraize noted a sill at the entrance, a dressed stone block with a layer of mortar, and other features that led him to conclude that the tomb had been blocked (Baraize 1921a: 184; Fig. 8a; note that Thomas' plan has steps in the descending passage, 1966: fig. 18). The main room was roughly cut (7.8 m L, 5.15 m W, 1.75 m H); large fragments of limestone were thought to have come from the ceiling. Opening off the left wall was a small room (4.2 and 3.8 m L, 2.5 m W, 1.8 m H). Nothing was in this annex, but in the entrance debris of the tomb Baraize found a bit of gold leaf and the neck and stopper of a pottery jug. As well, he found fragments of a toilet jar's alabaster lid near the opening to the small room. He thought the objects dated to Dynasty 18; none have been located by the author in the Cairo Museum.

At the second cliff tomb, built for Queen Hatshepsut, Baraize drew a descending entrance with stairs (Carter 22; Thomas D; Fig. 6b). Larger and more complicated, this tomb consists of a straight corridor that opens right onto a series of rooms roughly on axis: a square room, descending passage, larger square room, deeply descending corridor, and, finally, a small square burial chamber with limestone blocks in it that could have formed the base of a sarcophagus.

Thomas' investigation of tombs A and B was rudimentary. For A she reported the walls as rough, the shaft

## Chapter 1

reasonably cut, and the presence of a few items of pottery, bone, and wood outside the entrance, apparently post-pharaonic. She thought B certainly unfinished. In Carter 23/Thomas E, Carter found a pit with Coptic pottery.

**Wady C;** see pp. 17–20, 23f.

There is a *bab*-tomb along the inner cliff face of Wady C (Romer 1984: 242, lower left). Carter drew its plan as a corridor leading to an elongated chamber 2–2.5 m H, and a second corridor leading off to the right with a bay and niche (Fig. 6c, from GI Carter MSS I.D. 187). The ceiling was smoothed, the walls were once plastered (Thomas 1966: 196f.).

Uncertain of the graffito naming Neferura that Carter had reported, Thomas suggested that this tomb could have been for Tuthmosis III's principal wife Meryetra, with Neferura possibly buried in Wady A. The presumed advantage of this identification is that Neferura would have been near her mother in Wady A while Meryetra would have been near the foreign wives of Tuthmosis III in D1.

Kirby located what the author believes to be Carter's Neferura graffito in Wady C (GI Carter MSS I.D. 184 no. 2, 186), a vertical cartouche with a *r*<sup>c</sup>-sign above three *nefers* (Fig. 9c). Neither Thomas, Černý, nor the CEDAE had located Carter's graffito in situ, so Thomas suggested that Cairo JdE 45930 might be the inscription (1966: 197; Porter and Moss 1964: 592; SR 4260). This fragment, however, is a polished piece of indurated limestone that, according to the museum's register, is part of an inscribed statue from Deir el-Bahari. Further, remains on it show a horizontal cartouche where Carter had drawn a vertical one.

The graffito found by Kirby—and seen by Luc Gabolde, Catharine Roehrig, and no doubt others—is on a rock lying within the bay. The cartouche is only 4.5 H, and quite rudimentary. When first seen by the author, all incisions were patinated the same golden tan as the rock surface; the cartouche appeared altogether ancient. Most unfortunately, it was rubbed before photography.

Carter drew three pit tombs at his “61,” on the west side of the bay (1917: pl. 19). Two are probably WCP2 and WCP3 of the Berkeley Theban Mapping Project (unpublished), and are seen in Fig. 10.

**Wady D;** see pp. 17–9, 24f.

Thomas identified a cliff tomb at the entrance to Wady D and lettered it A, “a few meters below the bottom right of [Winlock's] sketch” (Thomas 1966: 197; see arrow in Fig. 11, as identified from the unpublished photo for that publication labelled “pl. 10.48” and “64a”). Winlock's sketch was taken from Carter's notes (Fig. 18), which Thomas did not know. At “5” on Carter's sketch, he wrote “here a crack above in cliff, No tomb.” It is likely that Carter refers to Thomas' tomb 1. In fact, the CEDAE later found a graffito in this area with a “T” (3938, see Appendix 1; Figs. 11–3, section 219C), a sign Carter suggested meant the presence of a tomb (1917: 111); the sign is near the tomb of Hatshepsut, for instance (1536a–b, section 218B, Fig. 8a). The MMA mission did not investigate this area carefully in 1988.

To the west along the wady bed, Carter signaled seven pit tombs at his “71” (1917: pl. 19). Two of these are undoubtedly WDP2 and WDP3 of the Berkeley Theban Mapping Project (unpublished) and can be seen on p. 46.

The main tomb in Wady D is at the wady head (Fig. 6d), and is described in Documents 1–9 (pp. 28–33). Carter numbered the tomb itself “70” in his large survey (Carter 1917); Elizabeth Thomas subsequently numbered it “B” (Thomas 1966: 197f.), and the Berkeley Theban Mapping Project, “1” (Weeks 1983: table 2). Of interest is Carter's reference to “a hollow in the rock above the plundered tomb,” which he investigated for an additional tomb but which yielded nothing; this must be the area that John Romer judged was a dyke to divert water from the platform (communication, 26 Nov. 1984). The location of Carter's “small canyon above” (the tomb), which was full of water and therefore not investigated, is not clear. The MMA's 1988 expedition report on the tomb comprises Chapter 3 below. There is no evidence that this tomb contained anything more than mummies and equipment for three royal women; the tomb to which the vessels published by Holthoer (1997) must relate is probably one found earlier in the century (Dodson and Janssen 1989; Bryan 1991: 120–2).

**RAMESSIDE (AND LATER?) FUNERARY FIGURES;** see p. 21

The Wady Qurud excavations of Lortet and Gaillard in 1905–07 yielded tantalizing and important evidence of Ramesside–Ptolemaic votive practices. Unfortunately this work was a series of sondages rather than a stratigraphic exploration that revealed chronological relationships between structures and objects. Nevertheless the reports of the naturalists are valuable because of the many items alleged to have come from Wady Qurud that subsequently appeared on the art market.

## Tomb Site

One of the excavators' finds was a mummiform figure of whitewashed pottery in a pottery coffin; it was found with part of a faience base with two feet on it. It is not clear whether these were in a baboon burial (Lortet and Gaillard 1905: fig. 115). The figure had a columnar inscription below the hands, "god's father . . .," and Victor Loret judged it late Ramesside in date; C. Andrews agrees, assigning the figure to Schneider's class 3.5.2 (communication, Oct. 2002; cf. H. Schneider 1977[2]: 111f. and [3]: pl. 44). The provenance of the figure—a casual burial in a remote wady near various other votives described below—suggests it was an extra-sepulchral funerary figure of a middle-level priest serving a cult image (see H. Schneider 1977[1]: 268–305, *passim*; Geßler-Löhr 1996: 69; Pumpenmeier 1998: 76–8; Taylor 2001: 133–5).

The Cleveland Museum of Art acquired a somewhat similar figure in 1913 from the Luxor dealer Jusef Hassan with a provenance of "the Monkey tomb" (Bohač 1999). It is whitewashed and painted pottery, and has a tripartite wig, clenched hands, and an inscription below the hands beginning, "the Osiris Semen . . ." Bohač gives Dynasty 19–20 comparisons.

In addition to the Cleveland funerary figure, there are other examples alleged to have come from Wady Qurud that appear to have a Dynasty 19–20 date. These figures are what Carter must have meant in his citation of "mimic burials" that had come from the Wady Qurud during the previous five or six years and were found in dealers' shops. They were comprised of "*Shawabties* or magical figures in faience, wood or stone . . . in model coffins of pottery and similar materials" (Docs. 5, 27, pp. 32, 39). One of the three examples of late Dynasty 18–Dynasty 19 date, said to then be in the Earl of Carnarvon's collection, must be a limestone figure of Merenptah wearing a *nemes* and having empty hands (measuring 18.5 cm H, it is now MMA 26.7.1451; parts of two private figures in Carnarvon's collection will be described below). According to Carter's catalogue of the Carnarvon collection, this stone figure was purchased in Luxor and came "from beneath boulder in the bed of the Valley of Gabbânât El Qirûd" (Carter 1907–22: 76). A larger limestone figure of the king in the British Museum—with *nemes*, double crown, crook and hoe, 27 cm H—was purchased in 1919 from the Luxor dealer Mohammed Mohassib (BM 54392; J. Taylor communication, 20 Jan. 2000). The inscriptions on the two objects do not contain the shawabty spell but mention, respectively, Sokar in *šty.t*, lord of Rosetau, and Ptah Sokar, lord of Rosetau. Ptah Sokar and Rosetau, the entrance to the Netherworld, are appropriate references on extra-sepulchral figures. The authenticity of these figures has been questioned, however, by Hans Goedicke on the basis of text and unusual style and features (Goedicke 1996). A limestone figure 19 cm H naming Ramesses II in the British Museum, acquired in Cairo during 1921 from P. Kyticas, has a white crown but otherwise shares features of the other two stone figures (Fig. 7c; BM 55020; Taylor communication, 20 Jan. 2000). Its authenticity has also been questioned, in this case by P. Clayton (1972: 171 note 2). All three figures have a long divine beard.

Royal funerary figures of wood are also linked circumstantially to the Wady Qurud. Leipzig museum records state that a wooden figure 24.2 H of Ramesses II wearing a white crown and holding a flail was purchased from Mohammed Mohassib in 1914, likely from the Biban el-Qurud (that is, the Valley of the Apes, or West Valley, often confused with Wady Gabbanat el-Qurud, the Valley of the Cemetery of the Apes; Geßler-Löhr 1996: 54f.). A wooden figure of the same king—26.9 H with *nemes*, crook, flail, and abbreviated shawabty spell—was purchased in 1920 for the Oriental Institute from the same dealer (Geßler-Löhr loc. cit.), and a third wooden figure of Ramesses II (Fig. 7d; BM 54397) was purchased for the British Museum from Mohassib in 1919, along with the limestone Merenptah (mentioned above) and two comparable wooden figures—one inscribed Nebmaatra (Amenhotep III or Ramesses VI?), beloved of Sokar-Osiris, Lord of Rosetau (BM 54398), and the other uninscribed (BM 54399; Taylor communication, 21 Feb. 2002). The wooden Ramesses II, 27.5 H, wears a white crown, holds a crook, and its left-facing inscription mentions Sokar in his sanctuary *šty.t*, the king being beloved of Sokar. (This figure was also questioned by Clayton [1972: 171 note 2].) Without a hearsay provenance, but nevertheless conceivably related because of the epithet and modern history, is a wooden figure of Ramesses II also in the BM, 24 cm H without feet (Fig. 7e; BM 52832). This object mentions Sokar, lord of Rosetau, and was presented to the BM by Carnarvon in 1913 when he turned over three Osiride figures mentioned below. BM 54397, BM 52832, and the Leipzig figure share many similar features (see also Taylor 2001: 134f.).

The finest funerary figure associated with the Wady Qurud, however, was "a magnificent blue faience ushabti in a sarcophagus . . . bought by the British Museum," according to the Earl of Carnarvon (Doc. 28, p. 41). The author believes this object to be BM 53892 (Fig. 7a), even though Budge suggested in 1925 that it had been found "on the ground under a large heap of sand near the entrance to the Valley of the Tombs of the Queens" (Budge 1925: 258). When he recommended the object for purchase in 1914, the Keeper had stated that the figure and sarcophagus had come from "the hoard at Der al-Bahari" (Taylor communication, 20 Jan. 2000). The one sure thing is that this object was purchased from Mohammed Mohassib. Recently handsomely published (F. Friedman 1998), the figure represents a Ramesside official named Amenmes wearing courtly dress situated in a sarcophagus of conventional type. He does not hold shawabty implements, and no shawabty spell is present. Friedman translates Amenmes' titles as fanbearer on the right of the king, royal scribe, overseer of the great house, and overseer of the

## Chapter 1

treasury of the temple of Amun. She follows De Meulenaere in connecting this official to an overseer of works in the 20th dynasty funerary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, rather than Helck (who assigned the figure owner to Dynasty 19) and C. Andrews (who follows Helck, pointing to the commonness of the name, disparity of titles, and object type: communication June 1902).

A second category of “mimic burials” Carter said were from the Wady Qurud were “viscera wrapped in linen in mummy form, with head and head-dress, arms and hands, exquisitely wrought in bronze” (Doc. 5, p. 32). No example of this class has a sure provenance, nor are any parts of the “viscera” preserved that would allow description. It is unlikely that the parts described next could have physically been attached to linen-wrapped viscera such as are known from canopic jars (see Chap. 5, Cats. 1–12). More likely the following fittings belonged to stone, wood, or vitreous bodies (cf. H. Schneider 1977[2]: 3.2.9.16).

These art market objects include parts of two funerary figures formerly in the Carnarvon collection and now in the MMA: a male bronze head wearing a court-style wig (MMA 26.7.1419; face and wig are separate pieces), and red glass clenched hands and face with neck and ears (MMA 26.7.915; see the Berman 1999: 382f. references for all). Carter’s catalogue for Carnarvon states that these objects were purchased in Luxor, and of the first he wrote, “from Wâdi Gabbânat El Qirûd, W. Thebes, where numbers of these votive offerings were found under boulders scattered in the bed of the Valley (see Votive figure of Merenptah)” (1907–22: 69). Of the glass face he wrote, “from a votive offering, found under a boulder in the Valley of Gabbânat El Qirûd, W. Thebes” without reference to hands. Other art market objects of the type Carter described are in Cleveland—bronze parts purchased from Jusef Hassan May 31, 1913: two heads with court-style wigs, presumably male; a pair of arms crossed over a *ba*-bird; a pair of arms, one holding a scribal palette and the other the feather of truth; and two pairs of feet (Berman 1999: no. 290; Cleveland 14.557). These were purchased about three weeks after objects described below that were given a provenance of the Monkey tomb by the dealer (wax masks, pottery Osiride figures and funerary figure, bronze falcon head) and have parallels among Lortet and Gaillard’s finds. The MMA also has, from Theodore M. Davis, bronze parts of figures: arms, *ba*-bird, and female head with court wig (MMA 30.8.99a–d; Berman 1999: 382f.). As Davis wintered in Egypt during the beginning of the 20th century (Lortet visited with him at Thebes on 19 Jan. 1909, E. Andrews 1918[2]: 46, after the 1905–7 French excavations in Wady Qurud) and died in 1915, it is quite possible that these parts came from the Wady Qurud as well.

All of these objects date to the 19th dynasty according to style and iconography, there is no evidence that they are from conventional shawabtys, and all—to judge by their manufacture—belong to Egyptians of some status. According to F. Pumpenmeier—who is preparing a dissertation on extra-sepulchral figures—there might be some correspondence between the Wady Qurud and the earlier New Kingdom “Hekareshu Hill” at Abydos. There, offering pottery and private funerary figures were deposited to suggest that the place was an entrance to a sacred area of the necropolis, without, however, any royal figures present (communication, 11 Dec. 2001).

Unprovenanced private funerary figure parts were also associated by Berman with a gilded bronze falcon head (Berman 1999: no. 291). The latter was acquired with pottery Osiride figures and wax masks that parallel some of Lortet and Gaillard’s finds described below.

### NON-DATED PETROGLYPHS AND THE RECORDING OF GRAFFITI; see pp. 339–41

It appears that the geometric, floral, faunal, and human representations listed below could date to Dynasty 18 or later, when there is evidence of other human activity in the southwest wadys.

The majority of these petroglyphs were copied by the CEDAE when pharaonic–Coptic inscriptions were documented (see text below by A. J. Peden, following Peden 2001: 144f., 235–7, 262–5). A few are among the petroglyphs copied by Carter, the first to record graffiti in the region. Both petroglyphs and graffiti are listed in Carter’s article of 1917, but all petroglyphs—as well as the graffiti not subsequently found by other missions—remain unpublished, the copies housed in the GI (Porter and Moss 1964: 593f.).

Wilhelm Spiegelberg was the first to publish Theban graffiti in large numbers (in 1921), but these were mainly in the Valley of the Kings; he numbered those he found 1–1059 (see Peden 2001: xxif.). In 1956, Jaroslav Černý published 345 new graffiti in various parts of the Theban necropolis, using numbers 1060–405 for them. Subsequently, Černý numbered Carter’s graffiti 1406–577. When the CEDAE worked in the Theban mountains between 1967 and 1975, its members discovered new graffiti but also gave new numbers to some of those already found by Carter and/or Černý. In its Sectors E2 and E3 covering Wadys Gabbanat el-Qurud and Sikket Taqet Zaid, the CEDAE used numbers intermittently between 3848 and 3966 (Kurz 1977: 35f.). The IGN photographed and mapped the region, a project that allowed graffiti found by the CEDAE to be positioned. The location of the graffiti appear on CEDAE sections and plans, some of which are reproduced here as Figs. 5, 8a–b, 9a–b, 12–5.

## Tomb Site

All of the graffiti recorded by Carter, Černý, and the CEDAE in Wadys A to D—petroglyphs as well as inscriptions—are listed in Appendix 1, where they are grouped first by wady, then by CEDAE section, where they are in numerical order.

### **Wady A;** see pp. 18f., 22

On the left side of approach—at section 231B and not far from a Coptic inscription—there are several petroglyphs near two late Dynasty 20–early Dynasty 21 graffiti: horned animals and an unidentified entity (3940a–b, 3941a–b), a circle and lines (3934), and lotuses (3943). Further in—at the wady head (Figs. 5, 8a)—there is a falcon at section 218A (1535c) near two pharaonic graffiti. There are also two “Ts” at section 218B nearer the tomb of Hatshepsut (1536b), and a third “T” apparently closer to her tomb (1536a). These signs were thought to signify a tomb by Carter (1917: 111) and Černý (Peden 2001: 140).

### **Wady C;** see pp. 18f., 23

Near the mouth of Wady C at section 219B (also Kurz 1977: pl. 204) are several petroglyphs: geometric lines and an animal (3958a–b), a *wd3t*-eye (3959), and a male head (3960). On rocks further in, at 220B and near five pharaonic inscriptions and a Coptic graffito (Fig. 9a), is a human eye (3932), lotuses (3933), small animals (3935a–b), arms (3936a–b), and a standing human (3937a). Against the cliff itself, at 220A where there are fifteen pharaonic inscriptions (Fig. 9a–b), is graffito 3927, a man standing with an ankh-sign and scepter(?). Peden has also remarked on the “T” with an inscription at 220A, no. 1545 (2001: 140).

### **Wady D;** see pp. 18f., 24f.

Along the scree that divides Wady C from D (Figs. 5, 11, 13), there are petroglyphs grouped at section 221B near a pharaonic inscription: a spray of flowers (1541) and a duck in flight (1542). Further petroglyphs (with one dynastic and one Coptic graffito) are on boulders nearby, at section 221C: a duck (3952), possibly a crocodile (3953), water bird with possible hieroglyphic sign (3956), and human eye with plant (3957). In a niche to the left of the gorge tomb is a petroglyph of a bull, noted by Carter (Figs. 18, 29; Appendix 1, CEDAE section 222B: GI MSS I.D. 177 no. 3) but copied only by Kirby.

### **General remarks**

The wadys vary in the character and number of rock carvings published: there are six graffiti in B, all Coptic; there are no known tombs there. The other wadys have a mixture of petroglyphs and inscriptions of pharaonic–Coptic date: twenty-one in Wady A, twenty-three in Wady D, and thirty-three in Wady C. Wady C shows the greatest concentration of late Dynasty 20–early Dynasty 21 visitors. There is no feature in Wady B that would seem to have caused visitors to pause; on the other hand, the physical configuration of Wady C was probably especially attractive to them, as Peden suggests below.

### **GRAFFITI OF THE LATER NEW KINGDOM–COPTIC PERIOD, A. J. PEDEN;** see pp. 339–41

The following account concerns those graffiti inscriptions written in the hieroglyphic, hieratic, Demotic or Coptic scripts and not with the relatively few rock drawings of humans, animals, and deities mentioned above. Some of these petroglyphs date to the pharaonic period, but they are a specialized form of rock art that others have pursued already (e.g., W. Davis 1979 and Huyge 1998).

### **Wady A, Wady Sikket Taqet Zaid;** see pp. 18f., 22

In Wady A, on the left side of approach at section 231B, there are two textual graffiti which can be dated to the pharaonic era, CEDAE nos. 3928 and 3942. These appear to date to the late 20th or early 21st dynasty, when this remote desert valley and its neighbors were explored by the local necropolis authorities. Perhaps one of the earliest of such texts is the badly damaged 3942, preserving the title of an unnamed official, a royal butler in the estate [*pr*] of Horus[?]. Given the special prominence of these court servants in the Ramesside era (and particularly in the 20th dynasty, see Malek 1988: 134), perhaps it is most likely that this broken epigraph belongs to this time period.

Legible graffiti with the names and titles of known senior necropolis officials and their subordinate workmen are attested at the wady head in a small number of rock inscriptions incised not far from Hatshepsut’s tomb (sections 216–8). The authors of these texts include the ever-active senior scribe of the tomb, Butehamun, who has twice inscribed his

## Chapter 1

name on its own as a son of the senior administrative scribe of the necropolis, Djehutymose (1392, 3848 at section 216) or linked his name with that of his son and successor in office, the scribe of the tomb Ankhefenamun (1393 in section 217; see also Černý 1973: 372, Kitchen 1996: 418f. §382 no. 23).

In the latter case the graffito in question notes that father and son remained in the Wady Sikket Taqet Zaid for two consecutive days in year 12 of Smendes I after they came “to mountains to see them” (I Shomu 8–9). We do not know if the two were here on their own or if they brought along a party of workmen with them. We are also ignorant of the precise nature of their visit. It does seem likely that they had traveled to inspect the known monuments of the wady such as the tomb of Hatshepsut and at least one other tomb of early 18th dynasty type discovered by Baraize and mentioned above, located in a rock crevice only a short distance away from the queen’s cliff tomb.

As with their known visits to several of the other southwest wadys in western Thebes (notably Wady Gabbanat el-Qurud and Wady el-Gharby), Butehamun and Ankhefenamun were presumably on the lookout for old and accessible royal tombs which could supply grave goods of value for the state’s coffers, and also for any royal mummies requiring restoration and reburial. In graffito 1396–1396a in section 217 of Wady A—this time undated—Butehamun again describes coming to the wady “to see mountains.”

The only other persons known by graffiti texts in the Wady Sikket Taqet Zaid from this time are the 21st dynasty workmen Amen(neb)nesttawynakhte (1534 in section 217), Nainudjem (1394 and 1397, also in section 217) and Ity (1535a in section 218A) who would all have worked alongside more senior individuals such as Butehamun and his son when the latter carried out their tours of inspection in the southwest wadys on behalf of the effective rulers of southern Egypt at this time, the high priests of Amun at Karnak. Graffito 1394 of Nainudjem contains a puzzle or two. After a short prayer to Amun the workman notes that he is “in the mountains.” He appears then to ask this deity: “grant me a *gmy* [find?] (of) two coffins [*wt*] in them [= the mountains].” What lies behind this request is unclear. Černý evidently regarded *gmy* as one word, and took the gland sign (Gardiner Aa2) and the two accompanying vertical strokes as parts of the same word (Černý 1956: 40). I know of no other example of such a noun and it may well be a hapax legomenon. However, if our own preferred reading is accepted, we can speculate that Nainudjem was a member of a work party sent into the Wady Sikket Taqet Zaid at the beginning of Dynasty 21 with specific orders to recover any valuable furnishings from the royal tombs within this and, doubtless, the other southwest valleys.

To date, the only ancient rock graffiti within the Wady Sikket Taqet Zaid belonging to a later epoch is 3950, at the entrance to this wady in section 231A (Fig. 8b). It contains the names of several Copts, most probably of the 7th and 8th centuries AD (see below).

**Wady B**, the southern bay as defined by the CEDAE; see p. 18f.

See general remarks below.

**Wady C**, the central bay of Wady Gabbanat el-Qurud as defined by the CEDAE; see pp. 18f., 23f.

Textual graffiti in this wady lie on boulders within the bay and along the base of the cliffs. Possibly the earliest known in the entire Wady Gabbanat el-Qurud is located here, a cartouche preserving the name of Princess Neferura (see Lilyquist, p. 4f., above). Carter noted that he saw such an inscription on a block of fallen limestone in 1916 (1544; Carter 1917: 109; GI Carter MSS I.D. 186). As the inscribed rock was located just below a cliff tomb (Thomas later numbered the tomb A), Carter tentatively ascribed the tomb to the daughter of Hatshepsut, and in this attribution he has usually been followed (Romer 1976: 192f.; Romer 1984: 241–3; Reeves 1990: 19; Thomas 1966: 196–7). It ought to be remarked, however, that it is far from certain that Carter’s Neferura cartouche is contemporary with tomb A (which certainly dates to the early 18th dynasty); the graffito in question may have been cut at a much later period by one of those necropolis parties who are known to have sought out these royal cliff tombs in late Dynasty 20–early Dynasty 21, presumably to mark or “label” what was even by then an archaic monument.

Evidence for late Ramesside inspection parties in Wady C is also forthcoming from a small number of rock graffiti dating to the very end of Dynasty 20 and the start of Dynasty 21. Visitors from this period of time who have left us their names and titles along the cliff face at section 220A are:

*senior administrative scribes* (formerly of Deir el-Medina)

Djehutymose:

3929/1305; cf. Kitchen 1993: 878 1.

Butehamun:

1301a+b, with several workmen in year 1 of Smendes I;

1307, with his son, the scribe Pakhynetjer;

## Tomb Site

1308, with Pakhynetjer;  
1309, again accompanied by his son Pakhynetjer;  
3926/1304;  
3931, here with a son whose name is now lost.

Ankhefenamun:  
1306.

*necropolis scribe*  
Mehaftho:  
1300.

*ordinary workman*  
Nainudjem son of Akhay:  
1303.

On rocks at section 220C (Fig. 9a), Nainudjem—almost certainly the same person as in section 217—also wrote his name, here using the title “scribe” (1348). This may have been wishful thinking on his part, but it is possible that Nainudjem was literate to a greater degree than just being able to write his own titles and name.

It is very likely that these men stopped in Wady C in order to explore the putative tomb of the Princess Neferura and perhaps also to take advantage of the cool shade provided by overhanging rock surfaces nearby (as illustrated by Romer 1984: 242, lower left).

**Wady D**, Wady Gabbanat el-Qurud, the northern bay of Wady Gabbanat el-Qurud as defined by the CEDAE;  
see pp. 18f., 25

Inscribed along a cliff face at section 221A (Fig. 13) is an example of the rare personal name “Herihor,” curiously preceded by the *ms*-sign (no. 1299). Most probably this graffito refers to the late Ramesside high priest of Amun of that name. In addition to this inscription there is also an example of another unusual personal name of this period on a large boulder nearby (at section 221C), namely “Dikhonsiry” (3955). The latter was perhaps a necropolis workman of the early 21st dynasty. Finally, at the head of the wady (section 222A, Fig. 14) there is a third, relatively brief graffito text of this age that notes the ancestry of the senior scribe of the tomb, Ankhefenamun, who held his post in the early 21st dynasty (1359a). He was the son and successor in office of the famous scribe Butehamun. A facsimile of this graffito was first published by Winlock and later without facsimile by Černý.

These shorter inscriptions aside, there are two particularly noteworthy graffiti etched along the cliffs at the head of the Wady Gabbanat el-Qurud. Both are again from the early 21st dynasty. Dated to years 6 and 21 of Smendes I, they were written at an interval of some fifteen years by the senior administrative scribes of the tomb, Butehamun and Nebhepe, respectively.

At section 222B (3951/1358, Fig. 15), Butehamun records that in year 6 of King Smendes I he came to this place in order to “inspect” (*sḥp*; presumably the wady and its monuments?) in the company of at least two others: the chief workman Nebnufer and the ordinary workman Amenpanufer. (For dating this text to year 6 of Smendes I, see Bierbrier 1975: 42, 130 note 218, and Kitchen 1996: §381 no. 11; and for other references to Amenpanufer, see Černý 1973: 250, B. Davies 1999: 55, chart 7). A modern translation of this important inscription runs as follows:

The royal scribe of the tomb, Djehutymose,  
his son, the scribe of the tomb, Butehamun,  
when he came to inspect in year 6,  
III Shomu 11, along with the chief workman Nebnufer,  
(and) Amenpanufer . . . ,  
. . . .

The equally intriguing graffito in section 222A right at the head of Wady D (3945/1359, Fig. 14) records the scribe Nebhepe (a son of Butehamun) at the site (again with several lower-ranking workmen) to perform a “task” or “mission” (*wpwt*) there in year 21 (ca. 1049 BC) of Smendes I. This inscription was first recorded by Carter in 1916 and partially published in Winlock, later fully by the CEDAE and then noted by Kitchen (Appendix 1). Unfortunately the precise nature of Nebhepe’s undertaking is not revealed. This particular text also happens to be the latest dated pharaonic record we possess from the Wady Gabbanat el-Qurud. Its surviving lines read:



## Chapter 1

Year 21, I Akhet 20.

The royal scribe of the tomb, Nebhepe, came with  
the child of the tomb Hori, son of Amenhotep, and Penparei, Hori,  
Pasa, (and) the senior youth Paankha,  
. . . Amen(?) . . . , coming to perform  
a task in the valley.

What is particularly noteworthy of the two key texts of Butehamun and Nebhepe is the proximity of each graffito to the famous cliff tomb of the three Asiatic wives of Tuthmosis III. Like the brief “ancestor” graffito set out by his brother Ankhefenamun, scribe Nebhepe’s inscription is written just to the right and below the cleft in the rock where, 10 m above, the entrance to the tomb is cut. Butehamun’s graffito is cut nearby, along a rock face some 75 m west of this crevice. As this tomb with its rich burials was apparently still intact when discovered by a band of Qurnawis in the summer of 1916, it appears that neither scribe Butehamun, nor his son Nebhepe some fifteen years later, had managed to locate and enter this grave in antiquity (assuming that they were here with specific orders to discover and open old royal tombs and retrieve any disposable wealth therein—the purpose for their coming to “inspect” and perform a “task”). The lack of tomb disturbance may not be as straightforward as this. Judging by the close proximity of their graffiti texts, and not to mention their detailed knowledge of the Theban landscape, it would be rather surprising if Butehamun and Nebhepe were completely unaware of the presence of a sepulcher at the head of the Wady Gabbanat el-Qurud, well hidden though it is. This particular tomb, situated in a crevice above the head of the wady, is in a position in the mountain landscape that much resembles the contemporary Kings’ Valley tomb of Tuthmosis III, a topographical feature that would probably have alerted these experienced scribes to the possibility of a cliff tomb as soon as they reached this section of the Wady Qurud (note Thomas 1966: 197 and Romer 1984: 157, 241–3).

If they did find the cliff tomb of the three foreign wives of Tuthmosis III, but determined to leave it undisturbed out of a sense of piety towards the ancient royal dead, then it is perhaps an indication of the influence (or even fear) that these senior necropolis officials wielded over their subordinate workmen to insure their cooperation in a policy of nonviolation toward this particular tomb. One might note here the involvement (whether willing or unwilling) of the senior scribe of the tomb Djehutymose, father of Butehamun, in the proposed murder of two over-talkative Medjay-police at Thebes in late Dynasty 20 (Gardiner 1913; Wente 1967: 53f., 69). On the other hand, perhaps Butehamun and Nebhepe simply kept any suspicions they had about the Wady Gabbanat el-Qurud and its potential for older royal tombs to themselves. It would have been much the best way to ensure that such burials remained untouched.

### General remarks

Despite the fact that at least two typologically royal tombs of the early 18th dynasty were cut in this isolated region of the Theban rock or *gebel* (and at considerable effort and expense in terms of transportation and accommodation for men and materials at such a site), there appears to be just one recorded textual graffito in the Wady Gabbanat el-Qurud which might date to this era, no. 1544 naming the Princess Neferura. A dearth of textual rock graffiti in this valley turns into a total absence for the 19th dynasty, and indeed for most of Dynasty 20 also, although this is not nearly so surprising when one considers that there was no royal tomb-building activity (that we know of) during the Ramesside period in any of the southwest desert cliffs in western Thebes.

From the closing years of Dynasty 20 and the opening ones of Dynasty 21, however, a number of textual rock graffiti have survived, indicating a resurgence of official interest in the region. These texts preserve not only the names of senior necropolis officials such as the scribes Djehutymose and Butehamun, but also that of the effective ruler of Thebes for most of the last decade of King Ramesses XI’s reign, the high priest of Amun and chief general Herihor. It seems that this pontiff’s name is to be found in several of the southwest wadys, including the Gabbanat el-Qurud (perhaps 1299 in section 221A, see above), but is most common in the neighboring Wady el-Gharby (“westernmost valley”) where some commentators have sought to locate his tomb, a monument that may remain intact (Romer 1984: 191–201; Müller 1979; Clayton 1995: 14f.; Reeves 2000: 183). As neither the mummy nor funerary equipment of Herihor have come to light (nor those of Piankh and Menkheperre for that matter), this might suggest that his last resting place remains unviolated. When one considers that various members of these high priests’ families are known to have received lavish burials, it does seem inconceivable that such senior figures would not have made elaborate funeral provisions of their own in western Thebes.

While only a thorough archaeological investigation of the Wady el-Gharby could ever hope to establish the validity of this particular thesis, it does seem likely that with their personal experiences of the vulnerability of the Valleys of the Kings and Queens, Herihor and his immediate successors of the early 21st dynasty would have been keen to secure



## Tomb Site

a new site for their own tombs—one well away from the more established royal burial grounds that were then being dismantled—in an attempt to protect the remains of the royal dead from further despoliation, and also out of sheer economic necessity (Reeves 1990: 276–8; Taylor 1992: 187–90; Jansen-Winkel 1995; Graefe 1999: 27–34). In the selection of such a site, the high priests probably turned to those individuals with the most detailed knowledge of the Theban landscape: the ex-royal tomb workers of Deir el-Medina, a dwindling body of highly skilled craftsmen who were the only remaining specialists in tomb construction in the region. (On the final years of the royal crew of workmen, see Valbelle 1985: 123–5, 221–6.)

At the end of the New Kingdom (perhaps early in the rule of Ramesses XI?) many of the remaining necropolis work force had transferred their households from Deir el-Medina to the great memorial temple at Medinet Habu. It was from there that the personalities recorded in the early 21st dynasty rock graffiti in the Wady Qurud would have ventured out into isolated southwestern wadys in western Thebes. Some may also have come from a settlement at Deir el-Bahari, as there is a growing body of evidence—notably various unpublished ostraca in the British Museum—to suggest that a number of the surviving necropolis workmen and their scribal superiors may have operated at times from a base there. (This evidence will be published by the author with R. J. Demarée in the near future.) Certainly Deir el-Bahari would have been closer for tasks in the royal necropolis and the surrounding wadys than Medinet Habu. Note, also, that a chief workman of this era, Horemqenese, was buried at Deir el-Bahari within the temple of King Mentuhotep II (Taylor 1996). The journeys from households to desert sites were unlikely to have been for pleasure at any stage, and those recorded in graffiti have the definite appearance of tours of inspection. In fact, it appears that these necropolis officials were seeking potential tomb sites for the high priests of Amun, and also for older royal tombs secreted in the mountain valleys that could be stripped of their bullion and/or appropriated for a new occupant. This is certainly the most likely explanation for visits by officials such as the scribes Butehamun and Nebhepe (with small work teams) to an environment as inhospitable as the Wady Gabbanat el-Qurud. Even today the site is difficult to access and a stay of any duration requires a considerable degree of planning in advance (for some idea of the practical difficulties involved in operating in these remote desert valleys, see p. 1f., Carter 1916: 181, and Chap. 3). It is likely that even the following graffiti, of doubtful reading and/or attribution, were written in this period:

### *Wady A*

1395, at section 217  
1391, near section 217  
1535b, near section 218A.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, it was apparently the harsh geographical qualities that were to prove so attractive to many of the authors of our latest graffiti inscriptions from antiquity in the Wadys Sikket Taqet Zaid and Gabbanat el-Qurud. Not a few minor Coptic clerics of the (mainly) 7th and 8th centuries AD have left us their roughly scrawled names (and the odd illegible word) in these valleys:

### *Wady A* (Figs. 5, 8b)

3950, in section 231A

### *Wady B* (Fig. 5 and Kurz 1977: pl. 204)

3961–6, in section 219A

### *Wady C* (Figs. 5, 9a–b)

3937b, in section 220B

### *Wady D* (Figs. 5, 13–4)

1539, in section 221A;  
3899 in section 222A;  
3944, in section 221A;  
3954, in 221C.

At the same time, it is rather more of a mystery as to why these qualities attracted visitors in the Late period or Ptolemaic era. Note the presence of two short Demotic graffiti in section 222a, close by the tomb of the foreign

---

<sup>1</sup> The following graffiti in Wady C are less easy to date, let alone read: 1302, at section 220A; 1344–7, at section 220B; 1545–6, at section 220A; 3925a–c, at section 220A; 3930, at section 220A; 3938, at section 219C.

In the same category are the following graffiti in Wady D: 1538, at section 222B; 1540, at section 221B; 1542–3, at section 221B; 3946–7, at section 222A.

## Chapter 1

wives of Tuthmosis III (3948–9, Figs. 14, 29). One can only assume that callers of this epoch were passers-by, attracted by the considerable natural beauty of the surrounding amber cliffs. The majority of Coptic visitors were likely from one of the monasteries which proliferated in western Thebes in the 7th–8th centuries AD (notably the monasteries of Epiphanius to the north and Phoibammon to the south). And although their rather crude graffiti never comment on the matter directly, they may have come here for a valued sense of peace and solitude which was otherwise unobtainable within their own monastic communities. Others, however, may have been anchorites who inhabited the wady on a more permanent basis, in rock shelters both man-made and natural (Winlock and Crum 1926; Wilfong 1989).

A third possibility, though perhaps less likely, is that some of these Coptic speakers were not from western Thebes at all, but refugees from the north who were fleeing ill-treatment during the Sassanian domination of Egypt (619–29 AD). The churches and monasteries of the Thebaid could have provided practical assistance to any unfortunates and its steep valleys offered a good but temporary hideout if required. Here it can be noted that influxes such as this to the population of western Thebes and other monastic centers in Upper Egypt are known to have occurred also in the 4th–5th centuries AD, with the incursions by the pagan Blemmye tribes from Lower Nubia (see now Behlmer 1998: 344f.).

### THIRD INTERMEDIATE–PTOLEMAIC PERIOD FINDS OF LORTET/GAILLARD AND CARTER

Resuming the survey of non-inscriptional material in the Wady Qurud, it should be noted that “a large number of tombs” were found containing baboon remains at the base of the cliffs—in fact, “hundreds” (Lortet 1905: 44) in the first season of Lortet and Gaillard’s work. Schweinfurth’s map in the naturalists’ report shows that these graves were between Wadys A and B (see Fig. 5); the various finds were described in two reports (Lortet and Gaillard 1905: 239–48, 319–21, with 1905 map of G. Schweinfurth; 1907: 75–8).

The shallow animal pits were dug down into the scree for a meter or two, and many had been damaged by water. The animals were both *Papio hamadryas* and *Papio anubis*. From a few weeks of work in February 1905, seventeen skulls of both males and females were brought back to Lyon, together with a great quantity of bones that were reconstructed into four skeletons (Lortet and Gaillard 1905: 208, 213–32). In the second season, the naturalists found a young baboon wrapped in linen, bitumen, and natron, as well as adult skulls, loose bones, and skeletons of diseased animals that had no doubt lived in confinement (Lortet and Gaillard 1907: 1–9).

Sometimes the burial contained remains of a wooden, mud, mud-brick, or pottery coffin; in other cases the bones had simply been covered with mud, or the linen-wrapped animals had been placed in cylindrical pottery jars with lids. Sometimes the sarcophagi contained flowers, and, in at least four cases, *Balanites aegyptiaca* fruits had been placed in pottery bowls near the mummy (the stones only remained; their outer shells had been pierced by weevils, cf. Serpico and White 2000: 392f.). One of these bowls also held the remains of two lamps that have comparisons dating to the 3rd–4th centuries AD (Bailey 1988: 226f., Q 2107, 2109, 2114–5); another bowl had fragments of a faience vase, smoky glass vessel, and stone vessel inscribed with a funerary formula for a tomb worker (*sdm-ꜥꜣ*), cited at the beginning of this chapter. Yet another tomb had a jar of *Balanites* stones and a bowl containing the bones of eight birds (teal). Some baboon burials had pottery sarcophagi holding falcon-headed figures (one of pottery and the other of mud).

The following interesting objects found by Lortet and Gaillard may not have accompanied animal burials: a pottery “Osiris brick” that held a crude falcon-headed figure; two small pottery sarcophagi containing traces of mud figures of Horus or Osiris; a pottery sarcophagus holding a whitewashed pottery mummiform figure inscribed “god’s father . . .”, along with a fragment of a faience statuette base, both mentioned at the beginning of this chapter; and a mummiform figure without hands.

Amidst small rocks taken from other tombs was a black granite Osiride head, a little smaller than life-size, that bore hieroglyphic signs that V. Loret thought were Saite; and, in rocks a dozen meters above the tombs, was the upper half of a limestone “offering stela” inscribed for Kashta and his daughter Amenirdis I.

Also without apparent connection to the animal burials was, to Lortet and Gaillard, the most remarkable find of the first season: an ithyphallic Osiris figure filled with grain and sand. Its face was greenish black wax, partially gilded; the tip of the phallus was also gilded. Buried with this object were four flat Osiris-shaped packets filled with grain and sand. In the third season, the Frenchman discovered six wax faces for Osiride figures (“en haut d’un ravin prenant naissance, à droite, dans la vallée des Singes, en pleine montagne thébaine . . . à une profondeur peu considérable, à la base des rochers verticaux”), faces that surely came from similar objects.

As for Carter’s work in the southwest wadys, the Englishmen did not undertake excavations as the Frenchmen had, but did find in Wady C

## Tomb Site

a small mimic burial . . . only a few inches beneath the sand . . . of three very rough clay Osiride figures, wrapped in linen and lying upon a linen bed stuffed with barley, the whole being protected with rush-matting. (1917: 109)

According to Carter's notes of January 7, 1917 (GI Carter MSS I.D. 188), the figures were "enclosed in rush matting . . . about 18 inches below the surface of the sloping side of the valley near three pit tombs." The three pits are marked "61" in Carter's report (1917: 112f., pl. 19); they are east of his "71," "seven pit-tombs." Both sets of pits are shown on p. 46. The description of the three rough, clay Osiride figures correspond to three figures given by Carnarvon to the British Museum (BM 52833–5; Budge 1922: 6; Strudwick 2001: nos. 15–7) that were previously signaled by Raven (1982: 19 note 151). The British Museum figures, however, were said to be "from Theban tombs" rather than the Wady Qurud, were given to the Museum in 1913, and one is falcon- rather than Osiris-headed. In any event, it is clear that Carter himself found such figures in Bay C.

### SIMILAR FINDS

Baboon mummies had already been noticed in the Wady Gabbanat el-Qurud by the early 19th century, as evidenced by the name of the valley when Wilkinson surveyed it about 1830. Furthermore, near the point where the wady base meets the desert plain (Fig. 2), the Englishman drew three small circles and labeled them "Gábánet el Gerood or Apes burial ground (Ape mummies Priapi &c in these ravines)," a different location from that explored by Lortet and Gaillard.

Wilkinson also noted corn mummies (1835: 79):

Among other unusual figures carefully interred here are small idols in form of mummies, with the emblem of the god of generation. Their total length does not exceed two feet, and an exterior coat of coarse composition which forms the body, surmounted by a human head and mitred bonnet of wax, conceals their singular but simple contents of barley. (In the one I have it has all sprouted).

In 1913, after the excavations of Lortet and Gaillard, the University of Heidelberg purchased, in Luxor, several objects similar to those excavated. These had a provenance of "Affenfriedhof südlich von Bibân el-Banât" and consisted of a mud Osiris figure in a pottery coffin, a falcon-headed mud figure in a double pottery coffin, and an Osiris brick (Tooley 1996: 168, 172).

That same year, the Cleveland Museum of Art purchased a number of items with a provenance of "the Monkey tomb" from the Luxor dealer Jusef Hassan, all cited above: wax masks from corn mummies (C. Williams 1918: pl. 28: 12; Berman 1999: no. 398, 1914.712–3) and three painted-pottery Osiride figures (Berman 1999: no. 292), along with the pottery funerary figure (Bohač 1999) and bronze falcon head (Berman 1999: no. 291). Three weeks later the Cleveland Museum also purchased several bronze figure parts from Jusef Hassan but without recorded provenance (Berman 1999: no. 290, also described above). A small linen-wrapped Osiris figure with wax face accompanied by four packets with wax sons-of-Horus heads were accessioned by Cleveland in 1914, and, thus, could have had the same provenance but are without record (C. Williams 1918: pl. 29 nos. 426.14, 423.14); Berman communication, 17 Nov. 1997).

### DATING AND SIGNIFICANCE OF LATER NEW KINGDOM–ROMAN REMAINS; see p. 21

The Wady Qurud is not the only location at Thebes where baboons have been found (T. Davis 1908: 4f., last three plates, and Thomas 1966: 166f.; Gaillard and Daressy 1905: CG 29631), but the Wady Qurud was surely a baboon cemetery. While the French naturalists had considered the possibility that the baboons they found had been buried as pets—because the votives found with them were so crude, seemingly the work of children (Lortet and Gaillard 1905: 246 and 1907: 6 contra 1905: 215, 225)—the animals must have come from temple sites (Kessler 2001; Boessneck 1988: 142f.). Some animals were prepared for burial with care, and a baboon-shaped pot suggests ritual purpose. Texts at Saqqara indicate that sacred baboons "had names, and lived in a small colony in a minor temple. . . the dates of their deaths were devotedly recorded," although their birth dates were probably not known because they were an imported species, unlike the more numerous mummified ibises (Ray 1978: 154).

Victor Loret originally believed that the Wady Qurud baboons were connected to the worship of Thoth at nearby Qasr el-Agouz, the site of a Ptolemaic shrine that he suggested had been founded in the Empire period (Fig. 2; Porter and Moss 1972: 527–30, pl. 33; see O'Connor 1980). He also saw a reference to the ibis of Thoth in the names "Medinet Habu" and "Birket Habu" (Lortet and Gaillard 1905: preface iv). Berman pointed out that

the scribe's palette and feather of truth belonging to one funerary figure alleged to come from Wady Qurud referred to Thoth (1999: no. 290), conceivable evidence that a pre-Ptolemaic temple for Thoth existed at Qasr el-Agouz. Kessler is unsure to which temple the Wady Qurud cemetery would have been connected (1989: 164f.), but cites texts and related finds that indicate sacred baboons were kept at Karnak by the Ptolemaic period, and that cemeteries would be expected at Dra Abu el-Naga and Armant (Kessler 1989: 177–9). He has also noted that a find of bird mummies in the Valley of the Queens may be connected with the Wady Qurud baboons, as the burial of falcons and ibises is expected in association with baboons (communication, 7 Nov. 2001).

In any event, Kessler indicates that the Wady Qurud examples are Ptolemaic–Roman in date, as opposed to those near the tomb of Amenhotep III, which date to Dynasty 18 and concerned the New Year's festival of renewal (Kessler 1989: 208, 221). At Tuna el-Gebel the latest evidence of baboon burials—as well as pottery associated with the temple site of Osiris-Baboon and with priests houses—is late 1st century AD (D. Kessler communication, 16 Apr. 2002).

Puzzling, therefore, is the date of a small pottery bowl holding *Balanites* stones in a Wady Qurud baboon burial found by Lortet and Gaillard (1905: fig. 107). Pottery specialists D. Aston and D. Bailey assign the bowl a date of 5th–7th century AD (communications, 3 Dec. 2001 and 10 Apr. 2002; see Gempeler 1992: 95f. no. T 323; Myśliwiec 1987: 104 nos. 1089–116; Egloff 1977: pl. 40.6). S. Marchand and C. Defernez initially dated the bowl 5th–6th century AD, but now point to comparisons with ceramics dated 1st–2nd century AD (communications, 19 June and 1 July 2002). Their comparisons do not have rouletting, however (Jaritz and Rodziewicz 1993: 125 nos. 46–9; Tomber 1992: 141f.), and information on precise shape and fabric of the Wady Qurud bowl is missing. Another indication of mid-Roman date for some baboon burials may be lamps that Bailey dates 3rd–4th century AD. Wilfong has written that the conversion of western Thebes to Christianity was a gradual process, with some indication that pagan personal devotional practice held out in some parts of upper Egypt until the 7th century AD (1989: 94 and personal communication, 28 June 2001). He cites D. Frankfurter's arguments for pagan cultic activity in southern Egypt in the 5th and possibly 6th century (Frankfurter 1998) and the survival of the Buchis bull cult at Armant until at least 340 AD (Grenier 1983) and possibly later. Alain Delattre writes that the Theban mountains showed little signs of Christianity before the 6th century, in contrast to settlement areas closer to the Nile in the late 4th–early 5th centuries (Boutros and Décobert 2000: 78–86); still, it is from temples that burials would have originated.

As for the Osiris and falcon-headed figures, others besides the British Museum examples from Carnarvon may have been found elsewhere in Thebes. Figure 7b entered the Abbott collection with a Theban provenance in the 19th century (Abbott 1873: 8 no. 43; C. Williams 1918: 174; Brooklyn 37.1359 a–c). The coffin, 19.3 cm L and covered with a fine layer of linen, is modeled with a serpent's head that wears a wig, and the Osiris figure within is coated with resin, wrapped with fine linen, and tied with linen threads.

Such figures were found in the Wady Qurud and must have to do with the revival of Osiris, like the Osiris bricks, corn mummies with wax faces, and Osiris-shaped grain packets found there (Raven 1982; Tooley 1996). Raven sees the real development of interest in assuring the deceased's renewal through the use of such votives beginning in Dynasty 25 and continuing into the Roman period, with the Osiris beds in Dynasty 18 royal tombs as forerunners of corn mummies. In fact, Lortet and Gaillard found a Ptolemaic corn mummy with four Osiris-shaped packets that have a shape similar to a bundle holding seeded soil found in the tomb of Tutankhamun (Tooley 1996: 176f.). It is also clear, from a representation in the tomb of Neferhotep as mentioned by Tooley and others, that an annual festival during the fourth month of Inundation (Khoiak) involving sprouted grain was already being celebrated in late Dynasty 18.

At the same time, because of the remote location of the Wady Qurud, Raven suggests that the corn mummies found there—not equipped with wooden falcon-shaped coffins—would not have been deposited by individuals seeking renewal of life through Osiris's revival, but by priests from temples where, according to texts, a corn mummy would be manufactured each year during the performance of Osirian mysteries (1982: 32f.)—a ritual that had a role in preserving life and maintaining cosmic order generally (Raven 1997: 11). Indeed, the corn mummy and wax faces found by the French naturalists are substantial and fitting for temple products (Lortet and Gaillard 1905: fig. 117; 1907: figs. 52–7). Tooley sees even the crude Osiris bricks and mud Osiris figures as parts of the Khoiak festival celebrated at Thebes, possibly at Medinet Habu.

In fact, the mud figures such as Carter found are visually similar to Osiride figures from the northeast corner of the Amun temple precinct at Karnak that were being manufactured at least by the Third Intermediate period (Leclère 1996). Further, Laurent Coulon has suggested that there was a tie between the Karnak “mound of Osiris” and rites performed at Djeme (Medinet Habu) since the Third Intermediate period, as attested by the representation of the “mound of Djeme” in the Karnak chapel of the Osiris Heqadjet (communication, 29 Nov. 1998). Of some interest, too, is Gaballa and Kitchen's discussion of a Rosetau on the west bank of Thebes, a destination for Sokar-

Osiris in his festival (1969: 68f.).<sup>2</sup> Sourouzian has suggested the Wady Qurud as this place, upon the assumed provenance of the funerary figure of Merenptah in the MMA discussed above (1989: 184). The Ramesseum and Medinet Habu had become more popular burial centers by the Third Intermediate period (Taylor 1992), and the concept of rejuvenating water appears on both the east and west banks (K. Cooney 2000: 36, 41, 44). The chance finds of the upper half of a Dynasty 25 limestone “offering stela” inscribed for Kashta and Amenirdis I, as well as a black granite Osiride head, indicate some importance for the valley. (Unfortunately the stela fragment has not been located by Leclant [1965: 181 E 2], the Topographical Bibliography [J. Malek communication, 7 May 2002], or the author [JdE register of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo]). The proximity of Wady Qurud to the chapels of the divine adoratrices at Medinet Habu should also be held in mind.

Unfortunately, neither the Ramesside funerary figures of alleged provenance nor the publications of Lortet and Gaillard allow a clear picture of post-Dynasty 18 valley usage (nor did the 1988 MMA excavations, cf. the pottery box [model coffin?] on p. 74). The paucity of hard information is especially regrettable because graffiti show that necropolis workers and priests were visiting the wady in late Dynasty 20–early Dynasty 21; one of these persons should have owned the rim of a stone basin dedicated to the *ka* of a *sdm-ꜥꜥ m st mꜣꜥt*, for example. At the same time, it is notable that the simple Osiride figures—and the falcon-headed figures in coffins normally associated with the funerary god Sokar but perhaps here with Ra (Raven 1997: 11)—were sometimes found with baboons, implying that those votive types were not segregated (cf. Raven 1982: 28). Furthermore, the crude mud votives must have been deposited by temple personnel, as they were found with baboons. Kessler sees the animal mummies being deposited in large groups on feast days after they received the Opening of the Mouth, taking the form of the god Osiris-Baboon (Kessler 2001).

The one sure thing is that the Wady Qurud was a place for deposits of various types during Egypt’s later history. The clay funerary figure found by Lortet and Gaillard, and probably the art market funerary figures alleged to be from there, indicate that the concept of rejuvenation must have been present in the Ramesside period. Certainly Osiride figures and other votives must have been buried from the Late period, and baboons into the Roman period.

The reason for Wady Qurud’s attractiveness was, most likely, its physical location as the first substantial valley south of the Valley of the Kings (Fig. 3)—a primeval valley washed by torrents of water off the high plateau (Frontispiece), water that could purify, restore, and bring life to the dead or signal an entrance to the Netherworld (cf. Gaballa and Kitchen 1969: 41; Raven 1982: 20). The presence of a pyramid-shaped peak is also worth noting (endpiece).

## COPTIC REMAINS

Two pottery amphorae found in “tombs” by Lortet and Gaillard are Coptic (1905: fig. 109), according to D. Aston (communication, 26 Nov. 2001) and bibliographic sources (Gempeler 1992: 194 no. K 737; Myśliwiec 1987: pl. 29.2). Carter located one Coptic dwelling and Coptic graffiti at the head of Wady A, somewhat opposite Hatshepsut’s tomb (Carter 1917: no. 29). Most likely the dwelling is the “cave cut into hard-packed gebel debris forming bank opposite Hatshepsut’s tomb” having “late pottery around entrance” noted by Kirby in 1988 (see p. 1). Kirby measured the opening at 1.6 m H x 3.1 m W.

<sup>2</sup> It is a pity that the provenance is not known for a number of miniature vessels that appeared on the art market during the past few years (Sotheby’s 1998: lot 422, Bonhams & Brooks 2001: lots 256–7, Christie’s New York

2001: lots 317–25; cf. also Goldstein 2001); they mention Amenhotep III, possibly Horemheb, Sety I, Ramesses II, a Ramesses, and possibly Siptah, all in connection with Sokar or the lord of Rosetau.



Fig. 1. Looking northeast toward the Qurn, the southwest wadys on the left

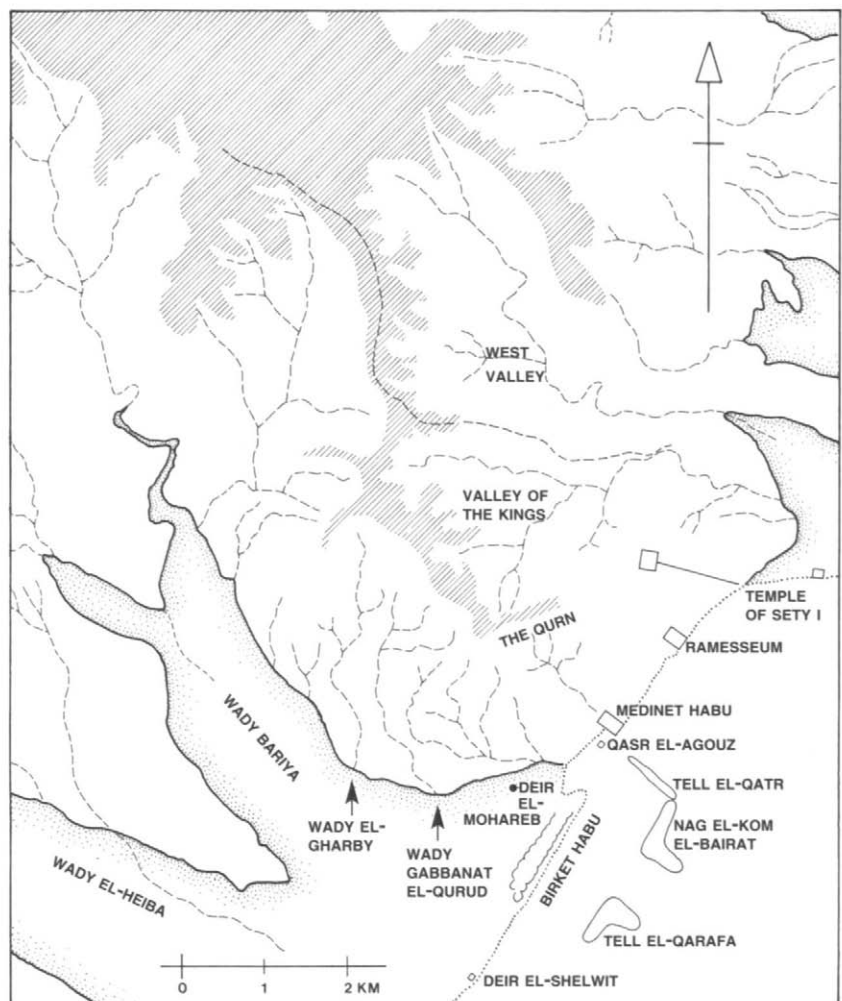


Fig. 2. Map showing southwest wadys related to area farther southwest. From Coque et al. 1972: pl. 216



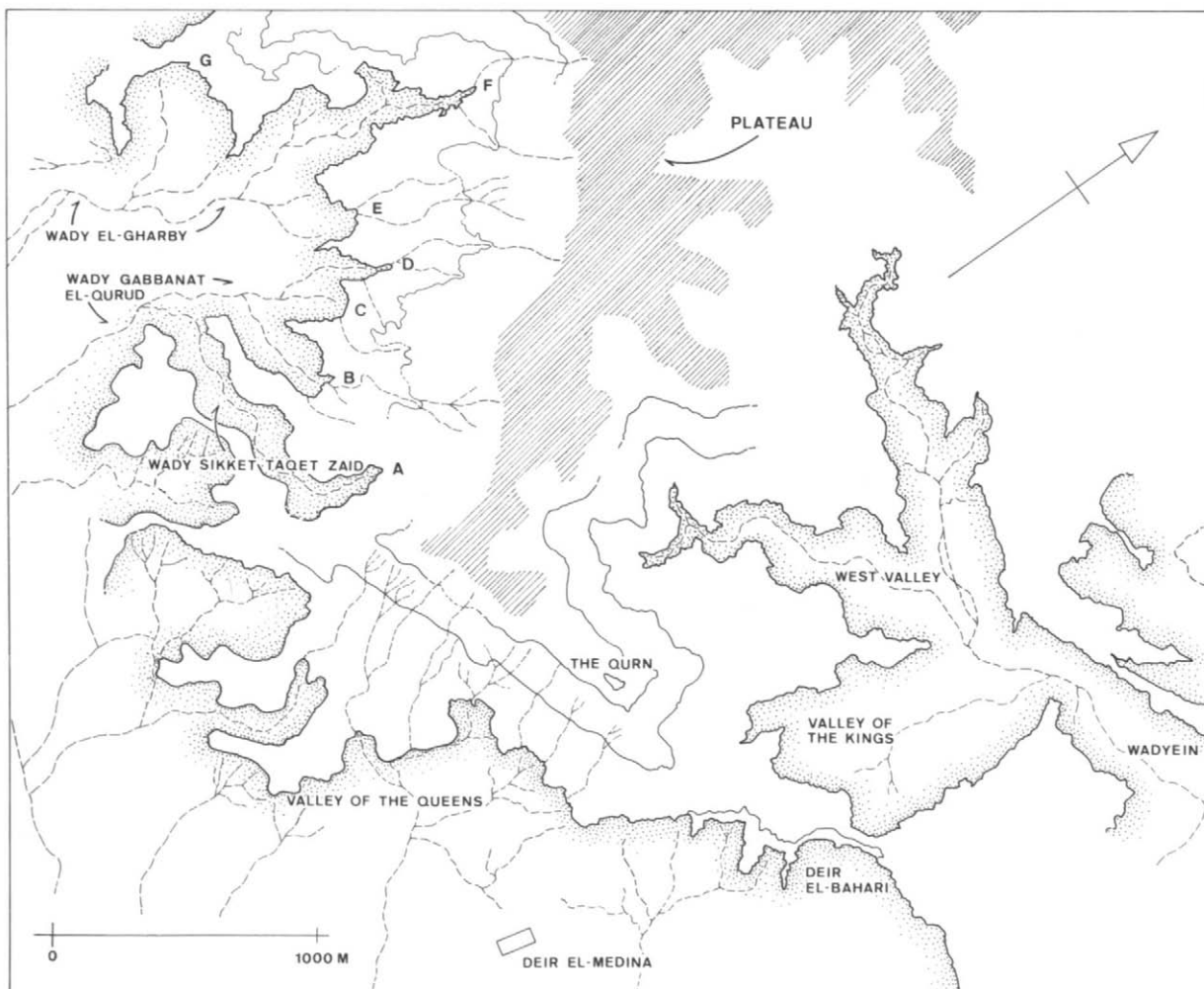


Fig. 3. Map showing main necropoli on right and southwest wadys on left. From Černý et al. 1971: pl. 35



Fig. 4. View south from the upper terrain of the Theban mountains, toward the Nile Valley with Wadys A–D marked

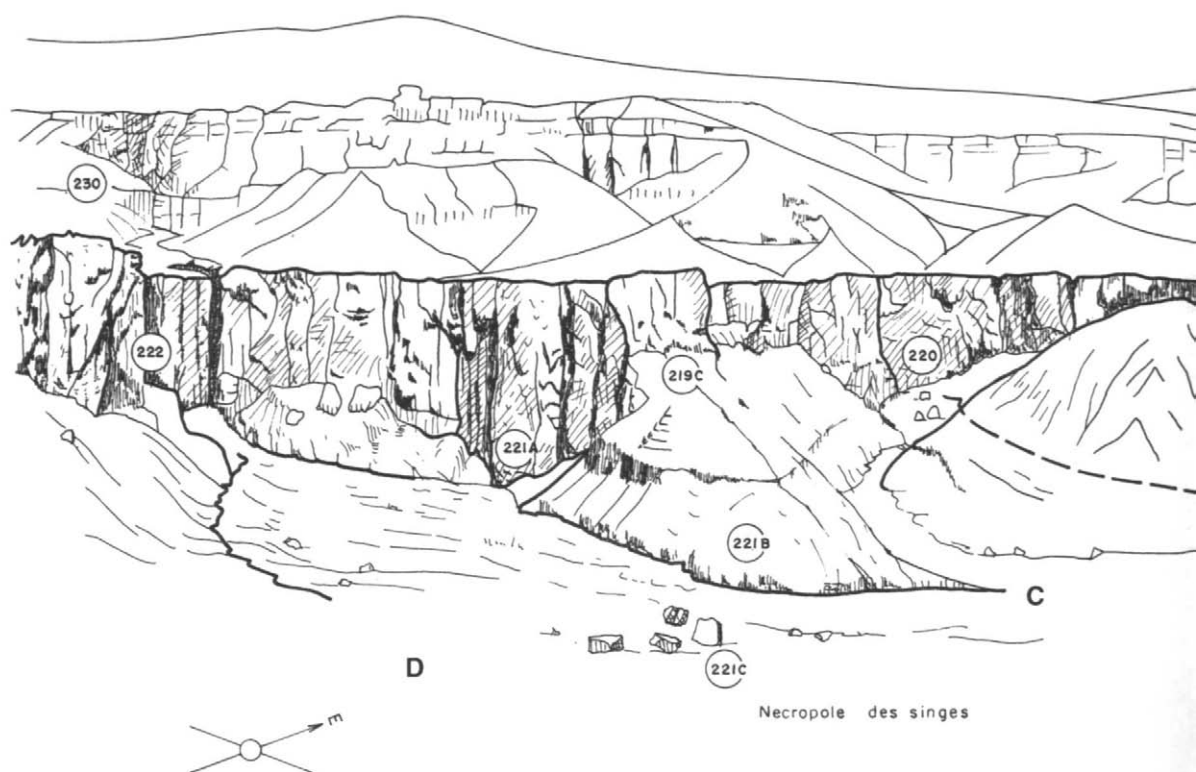
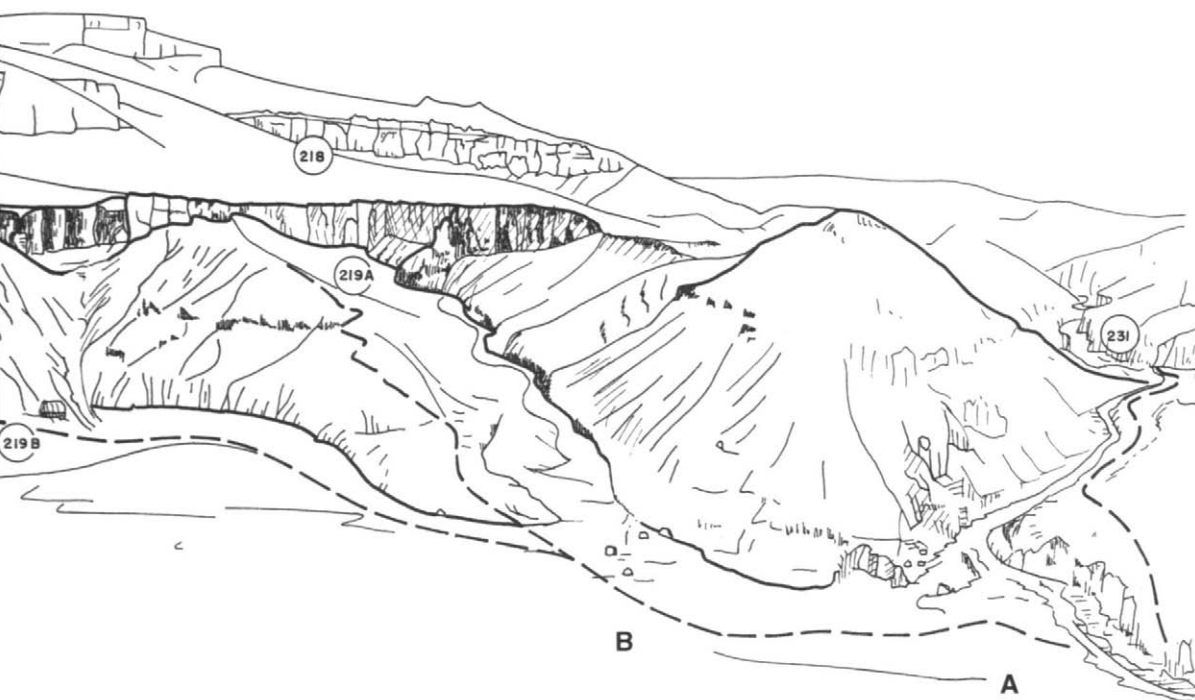
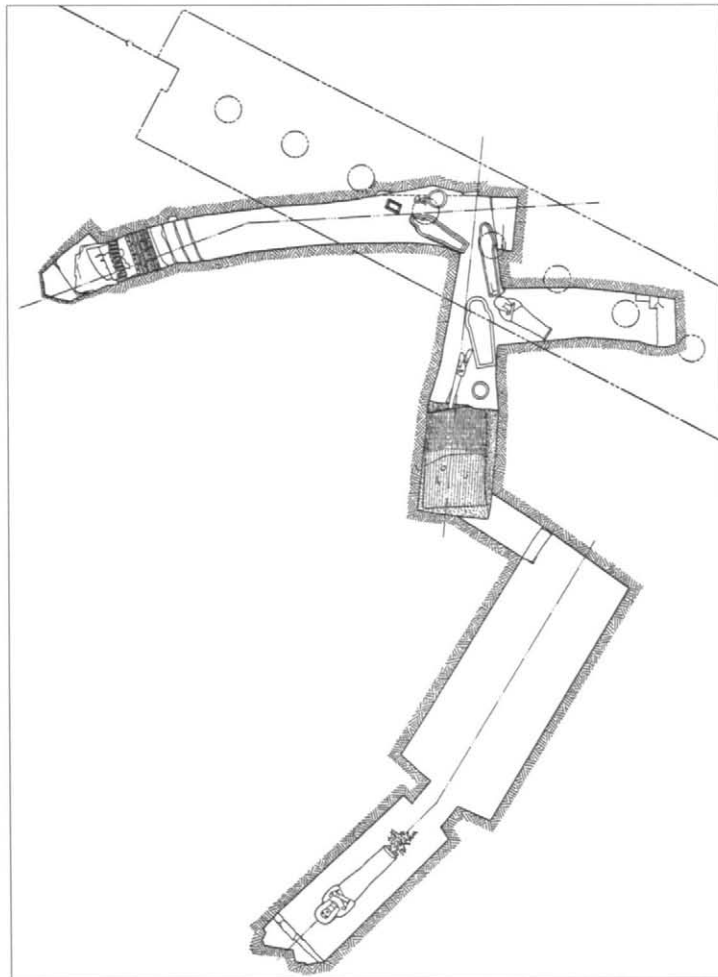


Fig. 5. Sketch looking northeast toward Wadys A–D, with graffiti locations marked. From Kurz 1977: pl. 203

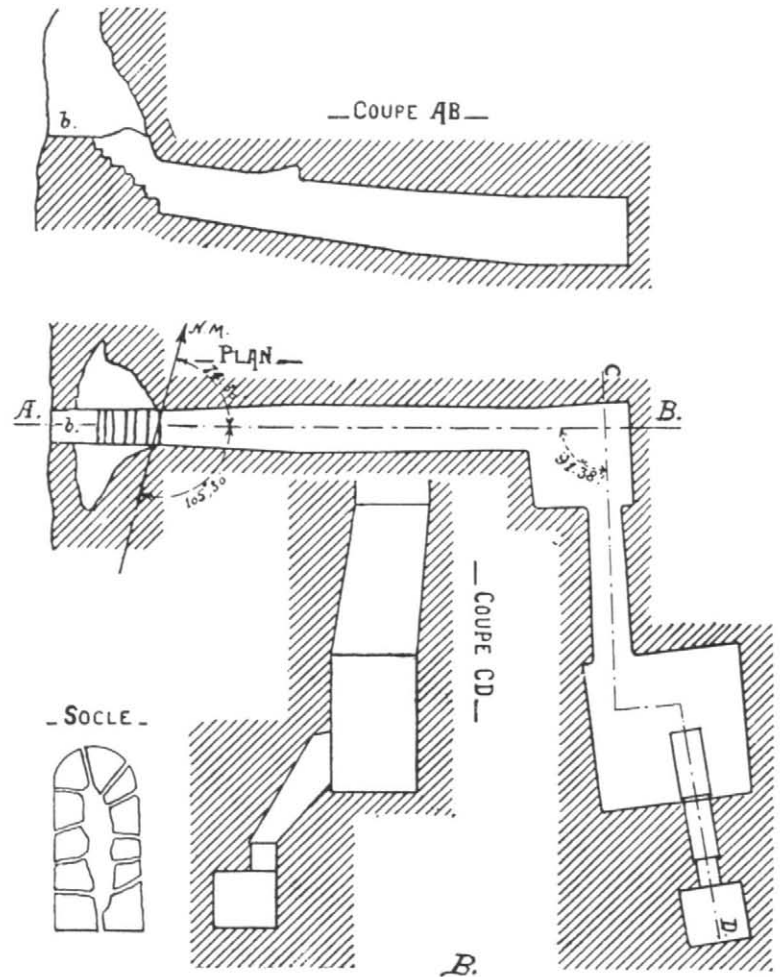


## Tomb Site

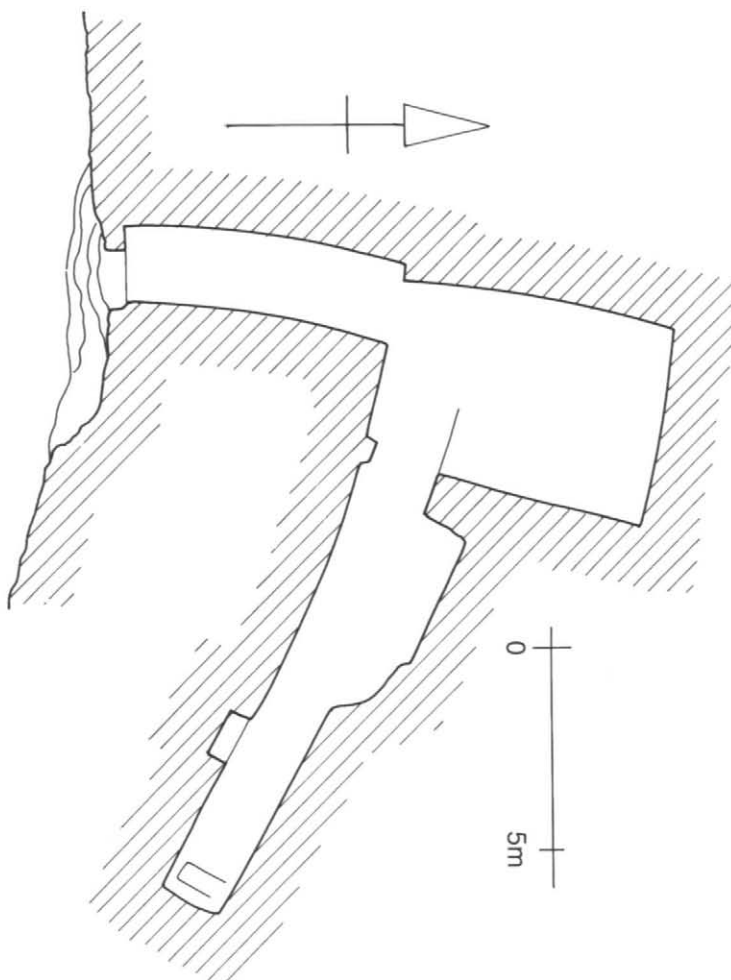




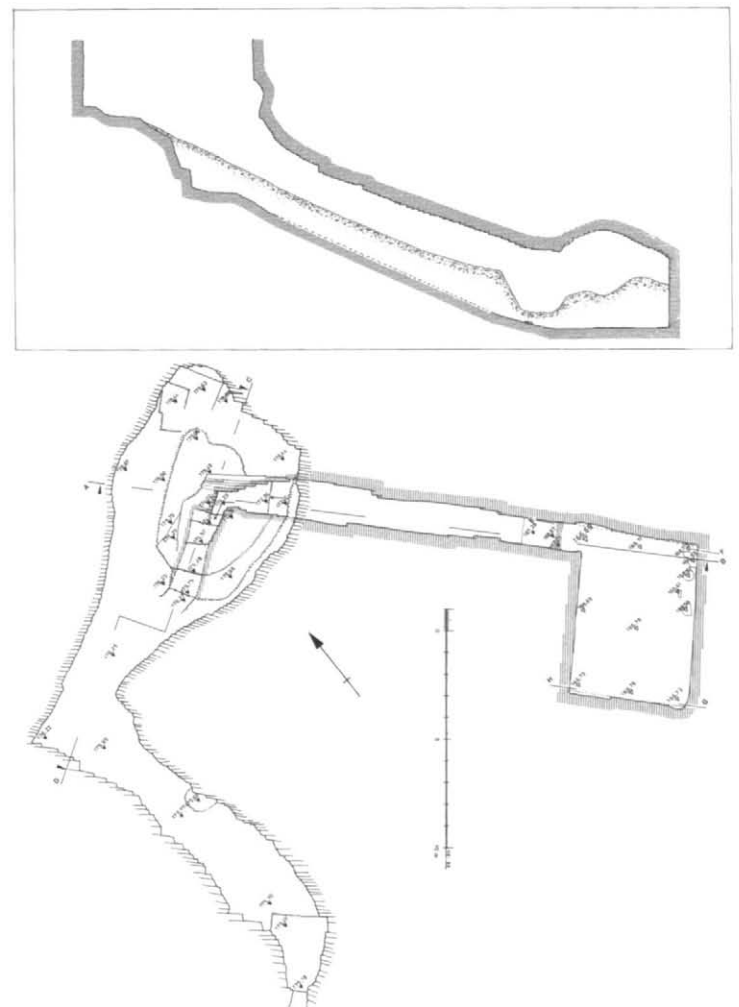
a. The tomb of Meryetamun at Deir el-Bahari. From Winlock 1932: pl. 1



b. Wady A tomb of Hatshepsut. Baraize 1921b: fig. 2



c. The *bab*-tomb in Wady C assigned to Neferura. From GI Carter MSS I.D. 187



d. The tomb of Tuthmosis III's foreign wives in Wady D. See pp. 82, 84

Fig. 6a–d. Four early 18th dynasty royal tombs with entry corridor leading to right



a. Faience funerary figure of Amenmes, with coffin



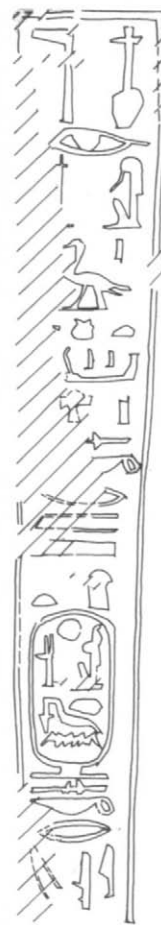
b. Mud Osiride figure in coffin with serpent-headed lid



c. Limestone figure of Ramesses II

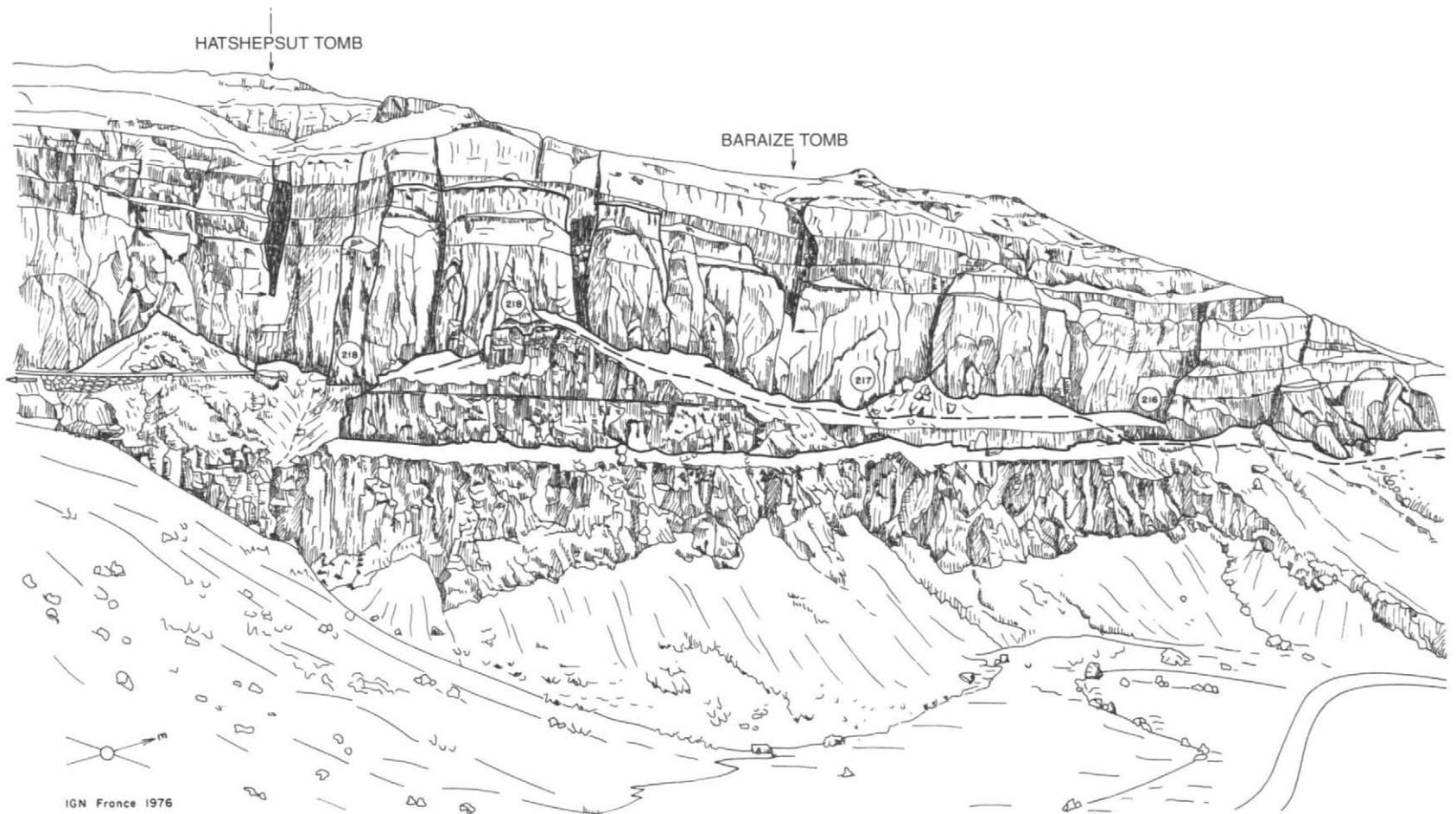


d. Wooden figure of Ramesses II and inscription



e. Wooden figure of Ramesses II and inscription





a. The cliff tombs and graffiti locations. Kurz 1977: pl. 198

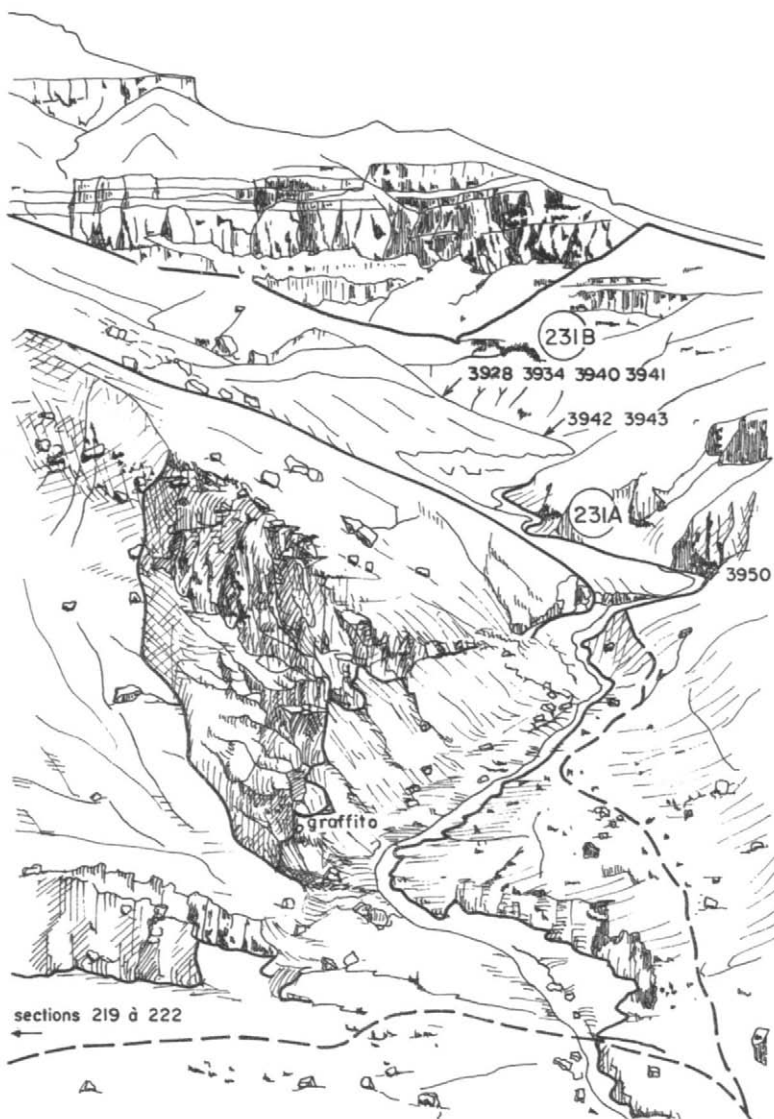
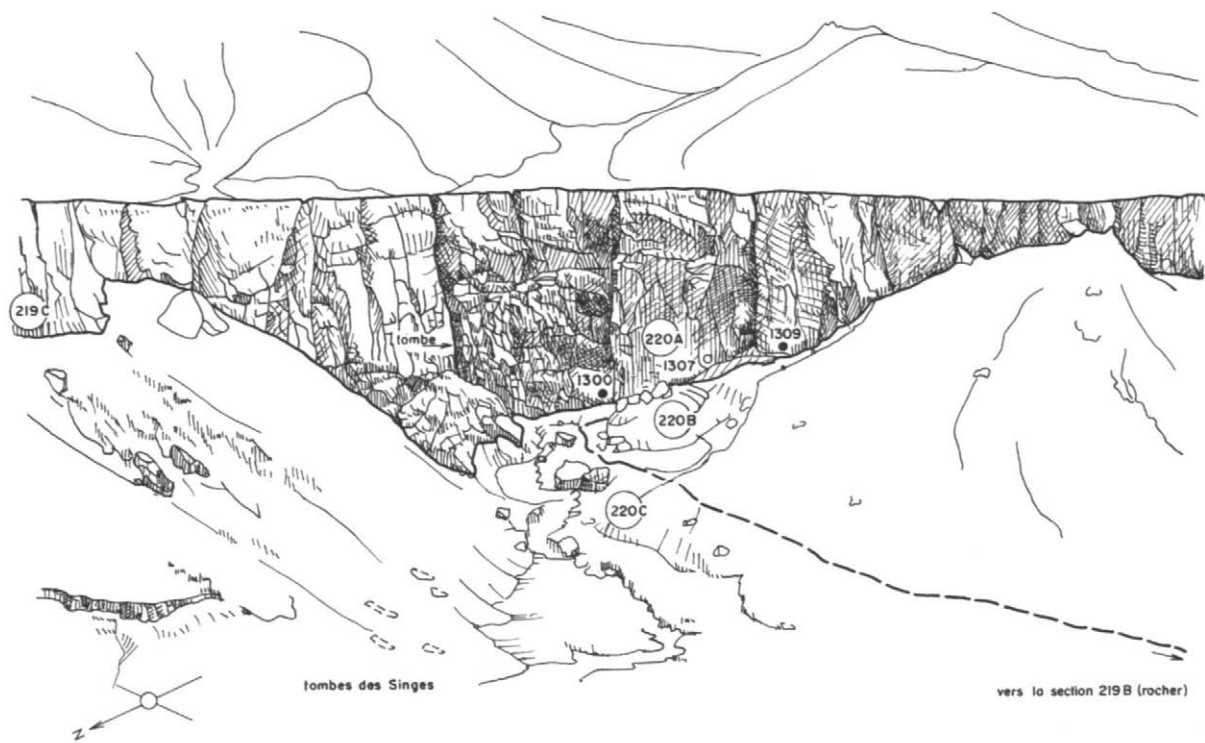


Fig. 8a-b. Two views of Wady A

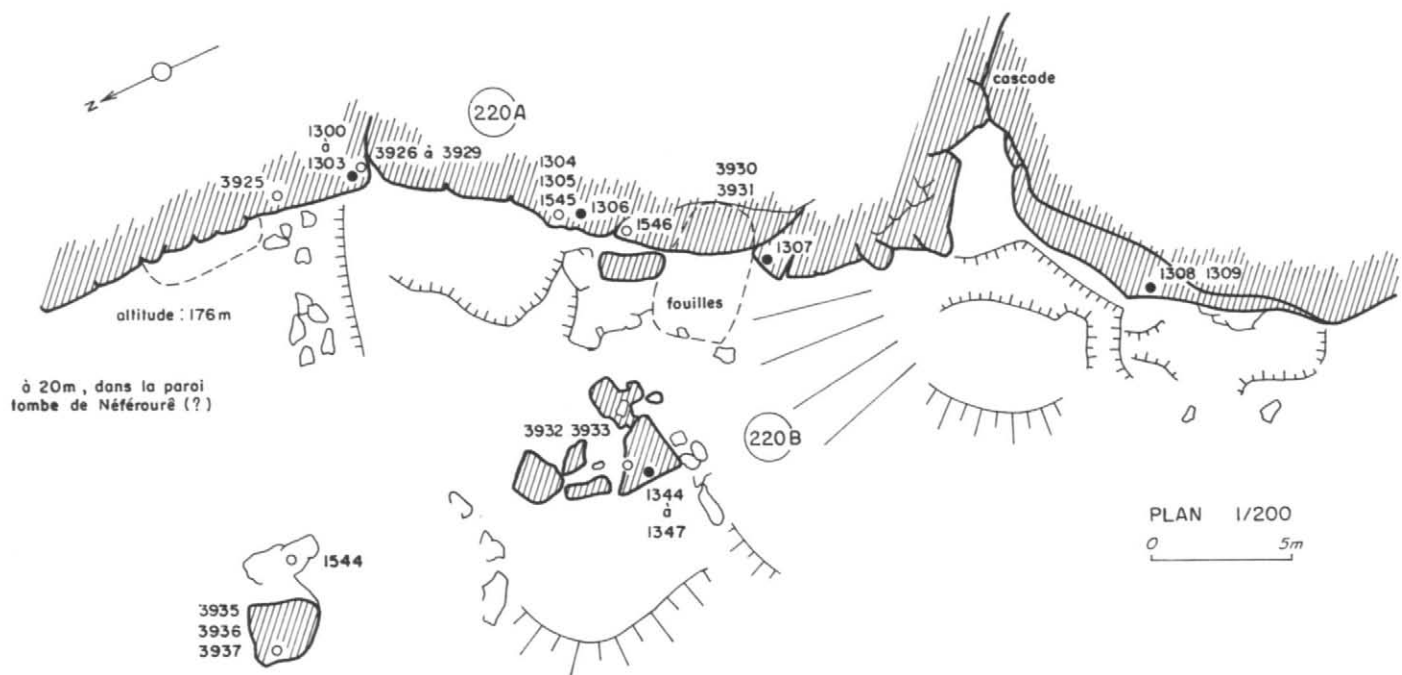
b. The entrance to Wady A, with graffiti locations marked. Kurz 1977: pl. 202



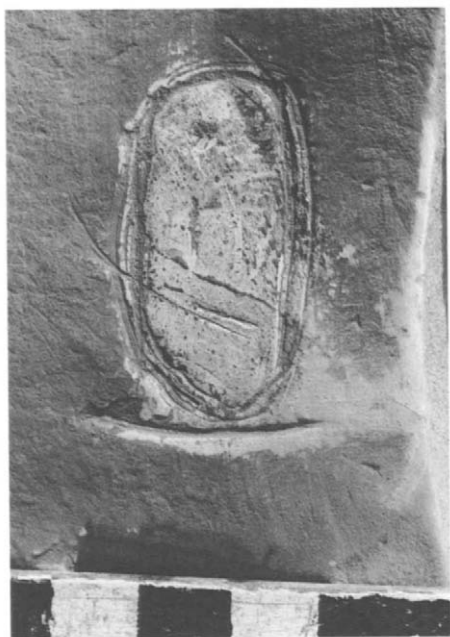
Tomb Site



a. View toward the head of Wady C, with graffiti locations. Kurz 1977: pl. 205



b. Plan showing location of graffiti at head. Kurz 1977: pl. 205



c. Alleged Neferura cartouche on rock near section 220B

Fig. 9a-c. Wady C



Fig. 10. View from Wady C northwest into Wady D; Carter's pits along slope in Wady C and in bed of Wady D

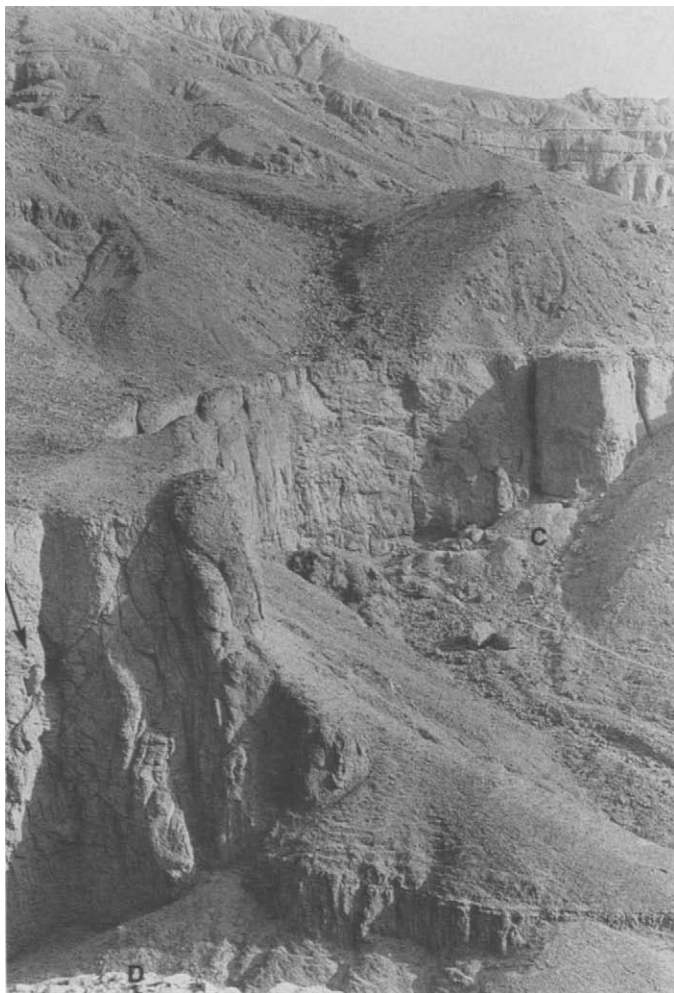


Fig. 11. View to southeast into Wady C; Wady D in foreground. Arrow points to Thomas' A



Fig. 12. Ridge between Wadys C and D, as in Fig. 11, with location of graffiti marked. Kurz 1977: pl. 204



Fig. 13. Ridge and slope between Wadys C and D showing location of graffiti, see Figs. 10-2. Kurz 1977: pl. 206

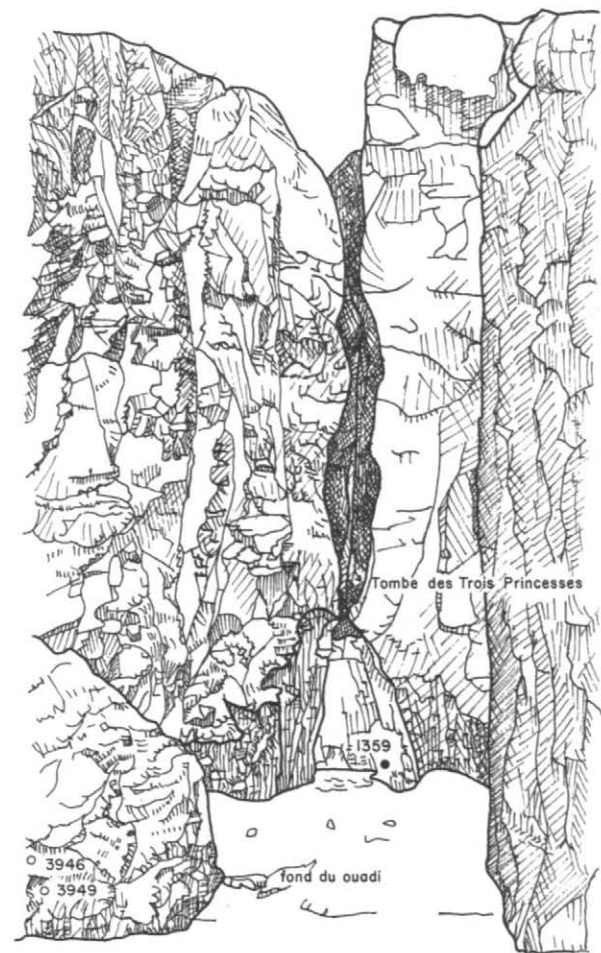


Fig. 14. Head of Wady D, with graffiti marked. Kurz 1977: pl. 206



Fig. 15. Looking west at the head of Wady D, with location of graffiti marked. Kurz 1977: pl. 206





## CHAPTER 2. ARCHIVAL AND MUSEUM DOCUMENTATION OF WADY QURUD'S TOMB 1

### DOCUMENTATION OF THE TOMB AND ITS OBJECTS, 1916–48 (DOCUMENTS 1–9)

The tomb of three foreign wives of Tuthmosis III was found by villagers in a remote valley southwest of the Valley of the Kings on, approximately, August 7, 1916. As with all illicit finds, no archaeologist was present to gather the information that is crucial to the understanding of priceless cultural remains. Furthermore, the Egyptian Antiquities Service was not fully staffed during World War I, and few foreign archaeologists were present to offer assistance (Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier 1995: 234; Engelbach 1924: 6; James 1992: 177, 198). Even in February 1918, Howard Carter—former Antiquities Service Inspector in Luxor with wide experience in local matters; then the archaeologist for the Earl of Carnarvon—offered Pierre Lacau, Director of the Service in Cairo, help with, and information about, antiquities because he was the only European then in Luxor (Carter to Carnarvon, 4 Feb., MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art).

Fortunately, Ernest Mackay was living on the West Bank at Qurna when the 1916 robbery took place, and was working on a project initiated by Alan Gardiner to catalogue private tombs at Thebes. After immediately alerting Tewfik Boutros, the Inspector for Antiquities, Mackay also informed Gardiner in England, who quickly recognized the importance of a royal tomb find. According to Mackay, Boutros did his best to identify the thieves and request permission from Cairo to excavate the tomb, but initially met no success. By September second, the Service did decide to excavate, and Kamel Pasha seems to have been at hand until Mohammed Chaban undertook work between September fourteenth and twenty-eighth. On the twenty-eighth, Chaban gathered bits of metal, stone, silver sheet, and jewelry that he subsequently entered into the *Journal d'Entrée* of the Egyptian Museum (Doc. 2, below).

As Chaban was finishing his work, Howard Carter arrived in Cairo from England, went south to Luxor, and applied for permission to dig and survey the general area. The Antiquities Service had already granted a concession in the Valley of the Kings to the Earl of Carnarvon, for whom Carter excavated, and Carter undertook his southwest wadys' survey either as an extension of Carnarvon's permit or by means of a temporary permit such as Carter received in 1918 for a cliff tomb in the "great North Valley – ANN. of my house" (Carter 1917: 107; Doc. 17 below; Carter to Carnarvon, 17 Nov. 1918, MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art). Carter found several small items in the Wady Qurud tomb (numbered Wady D1 in this volume), and mapped it and the surrounding areas in the only published report of this vast area to date.

Several years later, finds appeared in Luxor that were allegedly from the Wady Gabbanat el-Qurud tomb. The Antiquities law and bylaws of 1912 stated that any antiquities offered for sale required prior registration by the authorities; if they were antiquities obtained by illicit digging, they would be seized and there would be no compensation for them. There was, however, no prohibition at that time on the buyer who bought unregistered items, nor did penalties apply to anyone but Egyptians and Ottomans.

Carter inquired about the alleged Wady Qurud items, following his own interest as well as that of Gardiner and others to see that the contents of this tomb were not widely dispersed. The archaeologist's extensive knowledge of villagers from his days as Chief Inspector of Upper Egypt for the Antiquities Service, and of local dealers from his experience in helping museums and collectors purchase antiquities are well known. In this instance, Carnarvon no doubt put up the money for items Carter thought Carnarvon or other buyers might want to purchase. One or both men must have exported the items from Egypt, taking on the responsibility for clearing the objects with the Antiquities Service.

When objects first appeared in Egypt from the tomb in 1918, the MMA bought twenty-four items and cleared them through the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (referred to also as the Cairo Museum). The MMA's subsequent purchases were from the international art market, over a period of seventy years. During the earlier part of the 20th century, museums considered individual objects on the art market differently than standing monuments. Such objects—once dislodged from their original context—were considered legitimate purchases, and their ultimate location in public institutions preferable to that in private collections. For discussions of the period in which Wady D1 was found, and of the activities of archaeologists, institutions, and collectors in Egypt at that time, see James (1992: 133f., 138f., 142f., 177–200), and Reeves and Taylor (1992: 170).

## Chapter 2

Views started changing in the 1920s, and today Egyptian antiquities are managed by Egyptian scholars and officials who care passionately for protecting all antiquities and their contexts (the Supreme Council for Antiquities). Time and experience have also formed scholars of all nationalities who view the context of individual finds to be as worthy of protection and proper recording as standing monuments. Thus many museums, the MMA included, do not purchase objects from ancient civilizations if they ascertain that those pieces were derived from illegal and unsupervised activities. In the case of objects already in museum collections for a considerable time, attempts are made to provide the public with as much information concerning provenance as possible.

It is in this context that the following documentation is presented. The intent is to support the hard data from location, tomb type, and excavation (Chap. 1, Docs. 3–4 below, Chap. 3), as well as from typology, paleography, and technology (Chaps. 5–7), in order to lift the tomb remains out of the “generic” field into which art-market objects generally fall (see Rudolph 1996). Extracting usable information from a plundered site is inordinately expensive in terms of time and effort. Yet esthetically rich and historically and iconographically interesting objects rarely come from proper excavations, and it is irresponsible to ignore them because of their unfortunate history (see Wiseman 1984 on the various issues involved). Further, it must not be forgotten that excavations per se vary widely in the quality of information recorded and made available. With the present material, it is important for the reader to be apprised of the early documentation in order to assess the judgments made by the author concerning provenance.

The most precise information from the early 20th century on the discovery of the tomb and its exploration is given as Documents 1–9, and anecdotal information as Documents 10–33 (spelling and grammatical errors are left intact). These thirty-three records include Carter’s published account in the *JEA* (Carter 1917) as well as unpublished documents in the Griffith Institute (GI), Cairo Museum, and Department of Egyptian Art at the MMA. The Griffith Institute’s documents display Alan Gardiner’s intense interest in the find, while the MMA’s offer a variety of information due to the facts that the Museum had a field base at Luxor from 1907–36, that two staff members stayed in Egypt during WWI, and that Carter records were among the contents of his house at Thebes that he left to the MMA upon his death. MMA staff Ambrose Lansing and Harry Burton, with the other few foreign professionals in the country at the time of the robbery, kept alert to important archaeological discoveries by villagers, and their correspondence reflects information they gathered. For a find by villagers, it is highly unusual to have as much provenance information from archaeologists as this robbery does.

**DOCUMENT 1.** Excerpt from the report of Ernest Mackay at Medinet Habu sent to Alan H. Gardiner in England (remainder in Doc. 10; attached to Doc. 12)

In 1913, Mackay succeeded Arthur Weigall on a project to document private tombs at Thebes (Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier 1995: 161, 268; Gardiner and Weigall 1913: 7f.). Weigall had started the work for Gardiner in 1909, and it culminated in the *Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes* (Gardiner and Weigall 1913: 7f.). Mackay worked until 1916, when he left for war service in Egypt and Palestine until 1919 (Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier 1995: 268).

### August 14, 1916

Interim Report. August 14th, 1916

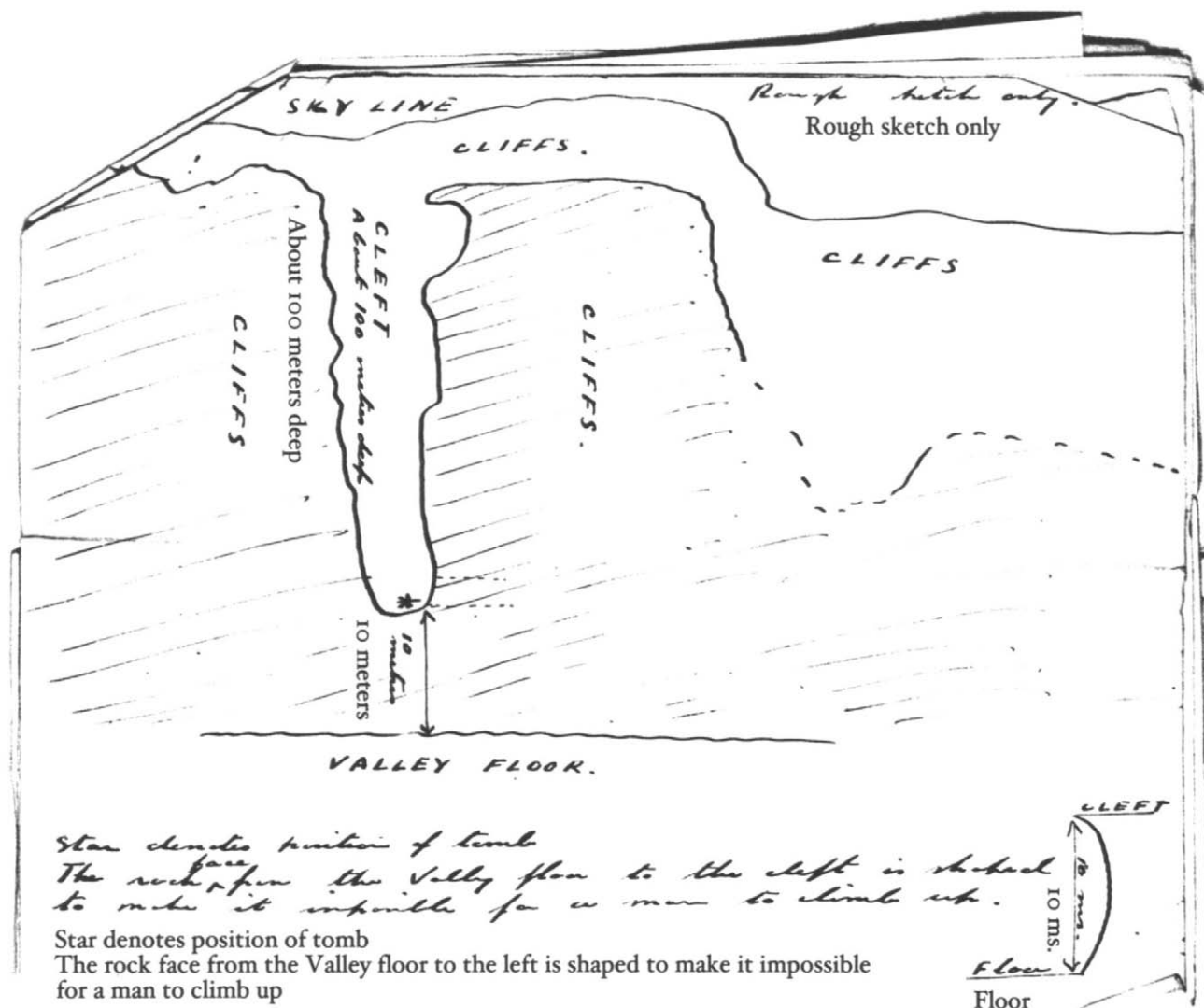
About a week ago I received information that a great find of jewellery etc., had been made in the valley called Gebanet el Gurud (Cemetery of the apes). I immediately informed Tewfik Boutros Effendi, the inspector of Antiquities of what I had heard, and went off to see the place for myself.

The find was made in a tomb which is situated right at the head of the valley in a deep cleft in the hills, and a better hiding place could not be found. To reach the bottom of the cleft one has either to be lowered from the cliffs above with ropes, or to enter it from the valley floor below with a ladder over ten metres long.

. . . . My examination of the tomb had necessarily to be brief. The tomb is rather roughly cut and apparently consists of two chambers, which are now filled with debris. . . . My personal view is that the tomb has not been entirely cleared and that something more may be found in it. Also as the cleft in the rock in which the tomb is situated, is a very large one there may be more tombs here.

No traces of painted chambers are at present apparent, but it is possible that there may be painted chambers inside, the entrances to which are filled up with rubbish.

**DOCUMENT 2.** Sketch appended to Document 12 of September 14, 1916:

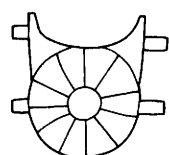


**DOCUMENT 3.** Items entered in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, by Mohammed Effendi Chaban (JdE 45783; Section I's SR 7727), with commentary by the author

In Document 12 below (dated 14 Sept. 1916), Mohammed Chaban is said to have recently “taken the place of Kamel Pasha” at the tomb, while a 1917 publication of excavations at Saqqara identifies Chaban as “conservateur adjoint du Musée” (Chaban 1917: 177). The Kamel Pasha referred to is presumably not Ahmed Kamal Pasha, “Assistant Curator” in the Cairo Museum until his retirement in 1914 (Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier 1995: 224), an uncle of Mohammed Chaban whose career also combined museum and excavation work (Abou-Ghazi 1981: 1-5; Sallam 1998: 1019). A field report that Chaban could have submitted to the Service about his Wady Qurud inspection was not located, despite the kind efforts of Ibrahim en-Nawawy, Dia Abou-Ghazi, and Ali Hassan in the 1980s.

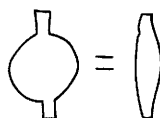
**Undated, after September 28, 1916;** see pp. 44f.

JdE 45783

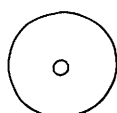


Bijou en or et pierres incrustées trouvé avec des morceaux d'incrustations, des perles en cornaline et

pierre



lapis lazuli et avec une quantité de



perles

## Chapter 2

en pâte bleue. Aussi ○○○○○○○ en or et environ 80 c. c.

de feuilles d'or

Thebes

All these found by M. Cheban 28.9.16 digging over again a tomb recently robbed. It was between the Valley of the Queens and that of the Apes. A vase of lapis lazuli with gold handles is reported.

### SR 7727 of Section 1

inlaid gold rosette

car inlay

felspar do

acacia beads (five)

lazuli  (one)

car. cyl & barrel beads

car. ring bead

gold spacer

blue frit disk beads

### Notes

The objects in question were recorded by the author from September 1980 to January 1989 when they were stored on Shelf 3 of Magazine E (the southeast closet) of P3 (the "Jewel Room") on the upper floor of the Cairo Museum, as follows.

#### *Mentioned in both the JdE and SR entries*

one box full of gold leaf, Fig. 16a. Copper, silver, gold colored. Several larger pieces, including a curved one with its outer edge turned under, its inner edge apparently cut (L 6.5, W 1.7). Some pieces with plaster adhering, the plaster with bluish layers;

lentoid beads. Sixty complete plus five fragments, Fig. 17b; Egyptian blue, Diam 1.5, Th 0.24. Fewer faience beads, Fig. 17a; Diam 1.5, Th 0.19. Considerable mud present;

one rosette element, Fig. 17c. Constructed of various pieces of gold sheet: a horseshoe-shaped back plate into which five holes were punched from the top; perpendicular strips form outer walls; a circular ring contains eleven spokes; a flat boss at the point the spokes converge; four gold suspension rings. There is a thin red layer on the surface of the gold. Raggedly cut carnelian inlays (L 0.3) lie within six of the petal-like cloisons; the five remaining cloisons have only a hard white bedding material. Two inlays are preserved in the cusp-shaped cloisons, both turquoise glass; one is whitened from weathering;

one translucent carnelian drop inlay with flat upper surface, Fig. 17d (upper left); L 0.7;

inlays for a drop-shaped element, Fig. 17d (right): one cone-shaped, of carnelian, H 1.0; one trapezoidal, of turquoise glass, W 0.9. Top surfaces slightly convex, backs flat;

ten cylinder beads, Fig. 17e: one carnelian, L 0.5; one carnelian, L 0.6; one carnelian and two turquoise glass, L 0.7; one turquoise glass, L 0.8; two carnelian and one turquoise glass, L 0.9; and one carnelian fragment;

one lapis lazuli wallet spacer, Fig. 17g (bottom); L 1.2, with two rows of hatching engraved along the edge, and three holes piercing the spacer laterally. May have thread inside;

five pieces of ridged carnelian inlay, Fig. 17h: two, L 1.2 (one with three ridges, W 0.7; one with four ridges, W 0.65); two, L 1.4–1.5 and W 0.7 (one with four ridges and one with five); and one, L 2.2 and W 0.8 (with six ridges);

ten barrel beads, Fig. 17i: eight carnelian, L 0.8–1.0; two turquoise glass, L 0.9–0.95;

six acacia-seed beads, Fig. 17j: four carnelian, L 1.25–1.3; two turquoise glass with slightly "opalescent" surface and with flatter backs, L 1.2;

one carnelian ring bead, Fig. 17d (lower left); Diam 0.5;

one gold spacer comprised of seven rings fused together, Fig. 17g (top); H 1.2, each ring Diam 0.2.

*Not included in the JdE and SR entries, but present*

one fragment of bone, Fig. 16c (left); L 0.09;  
 two pieces bitumen, Fig. 16d: the larger with gesso on one side, L 1.0; the smaller with grained pattern on one side;  
 small pieces of wood, Fig. 16b;  
 one fragment silver sheet, Fig. 16e; L 1.9, Th 0.28. One edge apparently chisel cut, the inner surface oxidized more than the other;  
 one stone vessel rim fragment, Fig. 16f; L 1.0. Black with olive green mottling (serpentine);  
 two gold ring beads, Fig. 17l (lower right); W 0.2; Diam 0.4;  
 one carnelian ring bead, Fig. 17l (center right); W 0.1; Diam <0.1;  
 one rounded carnelian ring bead, Fig. 17l (left center); W 0.3, Diam 0.3;  
 one faience tube bead, Fig. 17l (top); light turquoise with mat surface. L 1.2, Diam 0.02;  
 three Egyptian blue tube beads, Fig. 17f (left and right); L 1.0–1.2;  
 one Egyptian blue bugle bead, Fig. 17f (center); L 1.4;  
 two fragments of ball beads, Fig. 17k: one with a metal tube in it and the other with traces of a similar tube. The tube has remains of green-colored thread; thread was also noted mixed with gold leaf. The more intact bead: L 1.3.  
 The material, concentrically layered and opalescent white, is glass;  
 one piece of yellowish decayed glass conceivably from a ball bead, Fig. 16c (right).

**DOCUMENT 4.** Howard Carter's field notes and description of dealers' objects (MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art)

Carter began working in Egypt as a copyist, first by drawing for the Archaeological Survey under Percy Newberry in 1891 and then for E. Naville. He extended his field training by excavating under Petrie and undertaking architectural reconstruction for Naville. From 1899 to 1904, he was Chief Inspector of Upper Egypt for the Antiquities Service, working mainly in Thebes. There his responsibilities included the development of measures to protect private tombs and temples, the supervision of excavations, and efforts to control unofficial digging as well as the illicit movement of art. With these responsibilities he was also able to excavate at Deir el-Bahari and—with Theodore Davis' financial backing—in the Valley of the Kings. In 1904–05, Carter was Chief Inspector of Lower Egypt, but he left the Service for reasons of principle and, for the next three years, drew his income from artistic endeavors for scientific colleagues and private individuals. He began helping the Earl of Carnarvon form an Egyptian collection as early as 1907 (MMA diary of Albert Lythgoe, 5 Aug. 1926, written during the time Lythgoe packed the Carnarvon collection with Carter, after purchase by the MMA). Early in 1909, Carter began excavating for Carnarvon with the encouragement of the Director of the Antiquities Service, Gaston Maspero—first in the Birabi, then at Sakha and Balamun in the Delta, then again in Thebes at the Dra Abu el-Naga tomb Carter identified as belonging to Amenhotep I. From 1915 Carter worked in the Valley of the Kings, all the while improving his skills as a field archaeologist. In mid-1915, he was attached to the British War Office in Cairo, with time for subsequently copying reliefs in Luxor for Alan Gardiner, clearing Hatshepsut's first tomb and the robbed tomb published in this volume, drawing and painting (as he was doing in Oct. 1917), and, from September 1917, purchasing antiquities for the Cleveland Museum of Art with a 15% commission. Previously, he seems not to have received commissions from museums nor from Carnarvon. From as early as May 1916 to September of that year, he was in England, and it was shortly after his return to Egypt and the robbery of the tomb featured here that he explored the southwest wadys, having applied for specific permission to do so. Examples of Carter's careful excavation notes and drawings can be seen in Reeves and Taylor (1992: 149–53).

**Fall 1916;** see pp. 46–51

Figures 18 through 23 are photographs of unnumbered pages from an envelope inscribed by Howard Carter, "Notes Tomb of Princesses Thothmes III, Gabanat El Garoud, Oct 1916," given by Carter to the MMA in the Spring of 1923. Typescript legends (one includes a misspelling) have been added to Figs. 18–23 by the author. The originals are Carter's documentation of his exploration of the tomb, objects he found in it, items he saw or of which he heard, and items he purchased for Lord Carnarvon in Luxor that fall. Note that the two vessels at the bottom of Fig. 20 are below a line, and that one of them appears faintly on Fig. 23. Carter apparently originally entered the vessel on Fig. 23 but then placed it on Fig. 20 because it was at Jusef Hassan's that he saw it and a jug, subsequent to seeing the other objects drawn on Fig. 20. Jusef Hassan was a Luxor dealer who had sold the Cleveland Museum a number of objects alleged to come from Wady Qurud (see pp. 5f., 13).

## Chapter 2

### DOCUMENT 5. Carter's published account of his 1916 work (Carter 1917: 107–13)

1917

Editorial note [A. H. Gardiner]: The following account of Mr Howard Carter's latest researches at Thebes (Oct. 1916 to Jan. 1917) has been compiled from two reports sent by him to Lord Carnarvon, on whose behalf the investigations were made. The explorer's own words have been retained so far as possible, but certain information which seemed to require fuller treatment has been reserved for a later occasion. . . . [Regarding hieratic graffiti in the southwest valleys:] Admirable copies of most of these graffiti have been sent by Mr Carter, but have been withheld for final revision and study . . . .

[Carter's text:] The "Valley of the Ape-Cemetery" ends abruptly in a steep face of rock some thirty to thirty-five metres in height, on the western side of the watershed. From this point it runs south-west and eventually southwards down to the great plain south-west of the Theban necropolis, a distance of some two and a half kilometres. At the head of the valley, in the cliff face, is a crevice or rift ten to fifteen metres above the valley bed running deep into the rock first in a northerly direction for fifteen metres, and then turning sharply towards the north-east for another twenty metres. It is quite narrow, varying from one to seven metres in width; the depth from the top of the cliff is from twenty to twenty-five metres. This rift, once a mere fissure in the rock, has been cut out by water that poured from a sort of canyon above. At the end and cut in the bottom of the rift is a tomb (Pl. XIX, 70) discovered and plundered by Arabs in the summer of 1916; a number of antiquities were found, of which some account will be given at a future date either in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* or elsewhere. With the help of my workmen I tested the rift for the chance of other tombs. A hollow in the rock above the plundered tomb seemed a very likely spot; it was blocked with heavy boulders which the natives had already attempted to remove. With ropes and crowbars I cleared the space, and a few hours' work sufficed to prove that there was nothing to be found there. The small canyon above may possibly have a tomb secreted in it, but being full of water from the heavy rain-storm we experienced at the beginning of the work, I have temporarily postponed its examination.

The bed of the valley-end has been hacked about by native diggers in search of tombs. The *débris* here covering the rock is very deep and may conceal burials. Extensive excavation would be required to lay it bare and there is therefore all the less fear of plundering.

On the west or, strictly speaking, the north-west side is a natural recess which I cleared without finding anything; upon the rock face is the sketch of a bull. On the same side, further out and at the bottom of the valley slope, are seven rough and shallow pit-tombs now open and rifled.

The mouth of the valley is wide and bounded on either side by quite smooth low foot-hills increasing in height and ruggedness as you ascend. At the bottom near the mouth are the graves of apes, from which the valley derives its name. Another peculiar feature of the place is that under the larger boulders covering the valley-bed mimic burials are found, containing *Shawabties* or magical figures in faience, wood or stone, these being placed in model coffins of pottery and similar materials. There are also viscera wrapped in linen in mummy form, with head and head-dress, arms and hands, exquisitely wrought in bronze. For such deposits the natives have ransacked the valley from end to end, and the shops in Luxor have reaped a large harvest thence during the last five or six years. Three fine specimens are now in the Highclere Castle collection, dating from the Eighteenth Dynasty to late Ramesside times.

As rock surfaces convenient for inscriptions are few in this valley, the number of *graffiti* found was small.

### DOCUMENT 6. Four snapshots made by Herbert Winlock (MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art; see Doc. 30)

Winlock was not in Egypt during the First World War, arriving for work at Thebes again only in 1920. He did not go to the Wady Qurud site until 1922, and had access to the tomb itself only in 1928 or 1929.

January 23, 1922; see p. 52

### DOCUMENT 7. Six photos by Harry Burton (MMA Egyptian Expedition negatives T 951–5, 957)

Having joined the MMA's Egyptian Expedition staff in 1914 as an archaeological photographer, Burton's responsibilities were to document sites and standing monuments as well as the work of the MMA excavations. From 1916 to

1919 he was on leave of absence to work in Cairo with the British war effort, although he kept apprised of archaeological news. By 1920 he was back at his usual schedule of Expedition work.

**Spring 1922;** see pp. 53f.

**DOCUMENT 8.** Sketch plan and description of Herbert Winlock's visit to the tomb  
(MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art)

**January 8, 1928 (1929?);** see p. 55

**DOCUMENT 9.** Published description of the tomb (Winlock 1948: 5f.)

**1948** (MS essentially written 1943–44)

[The tumbled boulders at the head of the wady were] partially covered with dirt thrown out from excavations above. . . . [and the platform] was choked with rubbish piled up by modern diggers. . . . we were guided by old Moḥammed Ḥammād, one of the robbers [and who worked for the Expedition after WWI, 1948: 8] . . . the passageway [i.e., entrance corridor] had been blocked at both ends. . . . I am sure, however, that the tomb had not been decorated, and there were absolutely no signs that it had been altered after the original burials had been made. From all I could see, it was a tomb rather hastily finished for a single funeral. . . . Moḥammed told us that the coffins were still recognizable, lying side by side with their heads against the southern wall but were totally rotted by damp.

## ACCOUNTS OF THE TOMB'S LOCATION AND ITS OBJECTS, 1916–43 (DOCUMENTS 10–33)

Anecdotal documentation is presented here, gathered from unpublished archives of the GI and the MMA. The MMA's information exists because of the presence of the MMA Expedition in Egypt from 1907–36, a circumstance that allowed it to make legitimate purchases on the art market. Excavators as well as dealers were responsible for clearing export through the Cairo Museum; tourists such as Lily Place and Hoffman Philip would have bought items from dealers.

**DOCUMENT 10.** Excerpt of report from Mackay at Medinet Habu to Gardiner in England  
(see remainder in Doc. 1; attached to Doc. 12)

**August 14, 1916**

It appears that ten men from Gurneh are concerned in the robbery and from the very meagre details that I have been able to procure they have found many alabaster vessels inscribed with cartouches and also the following gold ornaments.

Gold belt.

" bracelets.

" headdress.

" sandals (Probably thin plates of gold which were sometimes used in Ramesside times to cover the soles of the feet or the head after they had been flayed).

" necklaces and beads.

A great many of the above articles are inscribed with cartouches. I have carefully sifted the grain from the chaff in the reports given me and think the above list is quite correct. As the thieves have sold these articles they have nothing now to fear unless the buyer gives them away which he is not at all likely to do.

## Chapter 2

It is common knowledge in the village that the gold articles have been sold to Muh. Mohassib and I therefore asked Musa to make enquiries for me. Muhammed, however, denies having bought any gold or knowing anything about the matter which is of course to be expected.

Tewfik Effendi has been doing all he can in the matter. The accused men were taken to Luxor and examined and at the same time their houses were searched. Nothing in the way of evidence could be procured and as far as the robbers are concerned the case has had to be dropped.

Tewfik Effendi has written to Cairo asking permission to excavate the tomb and has just received a reply saying that the Authorities in Cairo know that there could not be a tomb in the Valley of the Apes as a Frenchman excavated there many years ago without result [see Chap. 1]. This is rather comic as Tewfik at the time told them in his letter that he had inspected the tomb himself.

On hearing this news I wrote a strong letter to Tewfik (asking him to forward it to Cairo), telling him that it would be a crime to abandon the tomb without properly examining it. I at the same time stated that it was most important that we should know whose tomb it was and that there might be other tombs in close vicinity which would be bound to be robbed if the Dept. gave up guarding the place. The position the Department is taking up is that the cost of excavation would be too great (I estimated it L.E. 35–40), and also the cost of guarding the site is a burden too heavy to be borne. At present four men are guarding the valley owing to its being so far from any human habitation. A less number of men would not be safe as they could be easily overpowered. The distance from my house is about two hours on foot and one hour on a donkey.

. . . . The thieves were afraid to carry any rubbish outside so turned it over and over inside the tomb.

. . . . I told Tewfik that if he procured permission from the Government to excavate the tomb, I would help him in the matter of recording. A proper record should be made of what is evidently a Royal Tomb.

**DOCUMENT 11.** Excerpt from letter of Mackay at Medinet Habu to Gardiner in England (typescript copy in MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art, from now-lost original brought by Gardiner on a visit to MMA, Apr. 1936)

### September 2, 1916

The Dept. have just decided to dig the robbed tomb at the Cemetery of the Apes. None of the stuff has been recovered. I am told on good authority that one of the stolen articles is a gold bowl with a frieze of frogs around the rim. This sounds to me very probable.

**DOCUMENT 12.** Excerpt from letter of Mackay to Gardiner (GI Gardiner MSS AHG/42.196); text accompanying plan of Document 2

### September 14, 1916

Shaban Effendi who has now taken the place of Kamel Pasha is now engaged in excavating the Tomb.

Shaban has told me that the ground in the vicinity of the tomb is only gebel and that the thieves have entirely cleared the tomb and actually used a sieve to examine the debris. He has very little chance of finding anything. The tomb is quite bare of any painting and though large is but roughly cut.

The news of the robbery is now everywhere and I have even received enquiries from friends in Cairo about it.

All the stuff is in the hands of Muhassib. I am afraid he will either keep it quiet for a year or so, or send it down to Cairo to be sold. Muhassib of course denies everything but it is quite certain that he has bought the whole of the stuff.

. . . . I shall be very glad to see somebody again. After being a hermit for six months one gets quite bored with oneself.



**DOCUMENT 13.** Excerpt from letter of Mackay at Medinet Habu to Ambrose Lansing in Alexandria/Cairo (MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art)

Lansing had been born in Egypt to American parents, and thus was able to stay in Egypt during WWI to look after the MMA's field operations and continue work at Lisht and Thebes. In fact, the Museum was unique in being able to maintain its varied Expedition activities in Egypt during and after World War I. In the summer of 1916, Lansing was in Alexandria on holiday; thereafter and into the fall he was at Cairo and Lisht. He returned to America only in the summer of 1919.

**September 20, 1916**

Shaban Effendi is now excavating the robbed tomb at the cemetery of the Apes. He has found no tombs in the vicinity and thinks that the tomb itself has been completely cleared. No one has yet seen the stuff and I do not think it will come to light until some time.

**DOCUMENT 14.** Excerpt from letter of Mackay at Medinet Habu to Lansing at Lisht (MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art)

**October 10, 1916**

Carter is here and in fine form. On Thursday he is coming to stay with me as it is convenient for his work at the Ramesseum.

**DOCUMENT 15.** Gardiner notes (GI Gardiner MSS AHG/23 56.27a)

**Undated**

From the 1916 Theban find behind Medinet Habû: Bought by Lord Carnarvon

Carter's notes:

12 limestone canopic jars—human heads of the following three princesses of Thothmes III [three inscriptions as in Fig. 19, see Cats. **1–12**]

1 alabaster vase, 23 cms high [sketch as in Fig. 22, see Cat. **81**]

1 alabaster vase, 24 cms high [sketch as in Fig. 22, see Cat. **79**]

3 alabaster vases, 22 to cms high [sketch of piriform jar], one of them bearing [inscription as in Fig. 23; others presumably in Fig. 22]

1 serpentine vase, 20 cms high [sketch as in Fig. 23, see Cat. **74**]

1 broken alabaster vase, bearing the legend [inscription as Fig. 21, Cat. **51**]

1 broken (no [base])

**DOCUMENT 16.** Excerpt from letter of Gardiner in London to Carter in Egypt (GI Carter MSS V.98)

**November 2, 1916**

I have seen Lord Carnarvon several times lately, and am deeply interested at the news you send. . . . Before you went out [to Egypt, Oct. 1916] I had permission to insert a paragraph in the Journal about the native finds, but . . . I have not alluded to them at all in the forthcoming Journal [Gardiner was editor of the *JEA* from 1916 to 1921].

I do hope you will have good luck. With such infinitely more important work to do (for I sincerely hope you may be allowed to go on still further) I regard it as only natural that you should postpone the Luxor job [copying reliefs]. . . . Moreover, since Mackay has got to go I should think we shall want you on the W. Bank: I hope to God the tombs won't get ragged in his absence.

The princesses you name are quite unknown, and they are certainly not identical with those on the Edinboro labels (Rhind). Newberry told me once that the latter are daughters of Th. IV not Th. III, and although the hieratic writing is a little obscure I think it is 10 to 1 he is right. The queen is, I imagine, Hatshepsut II, the mother of Amenophis II and wife of Tuthmosis III. . . . I conjure you by Amon Rasonther and all the gods of Thebes and Londonet to keep a very full record and to let us have it for the Journal. . . . I shall be immensely interested to see the inscriptions and wonder whether there are any ostraca.

## Chapter 2

**DOCUMENT 17.** Excerpt from letter of Burton in Cairo to Curator of Egyptian Art Albert Lythgoe in New York (MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art)

Lythgoe was head of the MMA's Department of Egyptian Art from 1906 to 1929 but was not in Egypt between the spring of 1914 and the fall of 1922.

**November 8, 1916**

Carter arrived here about 5 weeks ago [Sept. 27] and went almost at once up to Luxor. . . . There were fantastic stories [regarding the Qurud tomb] going about Cairo of the number of gold items found, but [the Luxor dealer Mohammed] Mohassib's son, who I met in Cairo in September, said the reports were grossly exaggerated. Legrain [Chief Inspector of Luxor] went up to Luxor to see into the affair and didn't even take the trouble to go out to see the tomb. He told me so himself! However Carter went up soon after he arrived and shortly after applied for permission to dig, I don't know exactly where. . . . Mackay I believe got permission to clear the robbed tomb, but I think the robbers had been pretty thorough in their work.

**DOCUMENT 18.** Excerpt from letter of Carter in Egypt to Gardiner in London (GI Gardiner MSS AHG/42 55.4)

**November 21, 1916**

In regard to work on the new site—the western side of the Mountain [Wady A]—I have sent full reports to Ld.C. 1. Upon the site itself. 2. Details of the Tomb—which is really a preparatory one for the Queen Hatshepsut (I). The three princesses are certainly of Thothmes IIIrd and if you look carefully you will see a similarity to the names upon the Rhind Tablets though I would not like to say that they are the same.—might they not be concubines?

. . . . I am off tomorrow to the mountains to continue our investigations there and only ask for good luck. I say tomorrow, weather permitting, as today we have had terrible rains storms, heavy hail, lightning and thunder. The Valleys are now seething rivers, and the roof of my house leaking everywhere—Bestial! I have seen nothing like it since 1899!

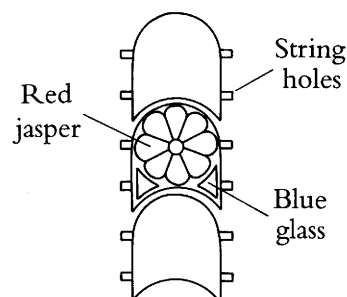
Now as I am writing a *heavy* wind has risen which may help matters eventually but for the moment—'bloody' especially with a bad cold.

When you able to make out anything from my copies of the Graffiti—send with first report.

**DOCUMENT 19.** Excerpt from letter of Lansing at Lisht to Lythgoe in New York (MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art)

**December 13, 1916**

. . . . I saw at [Cairo dealer Maurice] Nahman's the only things which have come down, so he says, of that Luxor find. This is a sketch of one of a number of gold sort of band. It's rather crude



Some of the cloisonnée plaques are inscribed on back (embossed).



There were also some very coarse plain gold beads. . . . there was an investigation [of the robbery] which of course resulted in nothing.

**DOCUMENT 20.** Excerpt from letter of Gardiner in London to Carter in Egypt (GI Carter MSS V.99)

**March 4, 1917**

I am going to send you transcriptions and notes on *all* your graffiti in course of time . . .

**DOCUMENT 21.** Excerpt from letter of Lansing in Qurna to Lythgoe in New York (MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art)

**March 27, 1917**

Last market day Carter took me with him to the site of last summer's robbery. . . . Various tales are current as to the nature of the stuff and what was paid for it. A moderate estimate is £1700. A lot of gold was certainly found. A sort of shroud made of those horseshoe shaped things which I saw at Nahman's and described to you. These have been forged in large quantities of late. I hear of gold headdresses, sandals and so forth. Also of alabasters, many of the common ointment vase shape, with a gold band about the base, lip, and lid . . . It is said that three bodies were found.

Two government diggers are reported to have been asked to work the place in case more intact tombs were discoverable, but when they refused Carter was permitted to work there so that no more would be robbed. The site is too far away to make guarding it thoroughly feasible. It is in the direction of the Gebbanet el Garud, the robbed tomb being in that particular valley. The valley east, and that west, of it also contain tombs, and in a much larger Wadi still farther to the west there are evidences too. The general position is west and in line with the big hill above us; South of the narrow plateau which lies south of the West Valley of the Kings.

Carter and I rode up this valley and then climbed up to the plateau by an ancient path and down the other side. We went down into the valley at the west of the Apes. . . . There are no tombs visible here, but the heaps of chip and traces of what seems to be a road for getting up the sarcophagus over the large boulders which fill the narrow bed show that something remains to be found. There are also graffiti of the Dyn. XXI inspectors.

Coming back he pointed out the robbed tomb to me [Wady D], and in the eastern wadi a tomb which he himself discovered [Wady A]—unused, but containing a crystalline sandstone sarcophagus of Hatshepsut. It is half way up a cliff at least Fifty meters high. The mouth is in a narrow cleft, and to work it he had to have himself let down from the top. This tomb supports his theory that the site is that of the Dyn. XVIII queens and princesses, Hatshepsut having given up this tomb and moved to Biban el Muluk when she became supreme.

**DOCUMENT 22.** Excerpt from letter of Lansing in Qurna to his mother in America (MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art)

In 1917, Hoffman Philip was counselor to the American embassy in Turkey and visiting Egypt (Mrs. Hoffman Philip to the author, 27 Aug. 1984); by August he had left for France (Lansing to his mother, 13 Aug. 1917, MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art). He purchased three stone storage vessels and the neck of a stone cosmetic jar (Chap. 5, Cats. 58, 63, 84, 96; Winlock 1948: 12; Lansing to Nora Scott, 18 Aug. 1958, MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art), and apparently a silver duck head Carter had recorded (164).

**April 19, 1917**

I've been entertaining for a few days . . . Mr. Hoffman Philip, Counsellor of the Embassy at Constantinople. He's at loose ends just now . . . so as he has . . . come back up here, a place which he professes to love. He has a much better than average interest in the tombs and such around here, being especially fond of the nobles tombs, some of which he visits over and over again. I took pity on him riding over from Luxor whenever he wanted to see the tombs and asked him to stay at the house. . . . When the war started Philip wanted to resign and join up, but the Department is not permitting it. So he remains here very much bored with himself until he gets further orders.

## Chapter 2

**DOCUMENT 23.** Excerpt from letter of Gardiner in London to Carter in Luxor (GI Carter MSS V.100)

**May 3, 1917**

The article [on the southwest wadys and Hatshepsut's Wady A tomb] which is now at the printers, incorporates your account of the entire region excluding the *graffiti*, which I should like to work over quietly with you in less troubled times, and also excluding the account of the tomb of the 3 princesses. It was your small *pencil* map which I had to have traced, because I was assured that it could not be satisfactorily reproduced as it stood.

. . . . You know it is a very considerable responsibility to me as editor to write up your articles but at the present moment a closer collaboration seems impracticable.

**DOCUMENT 24.** Excerpt from letter of Carter in Cairo to Carnarvon in England (MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art)

**June 7, 1918**

Mohammed Mohassib [offered me] a large gold frog, with lapis lazuli set in back—as coming from the Luxor find, fortunately I tumbled to it very quickly, and have since discovered the maker—a clever Greek jeweller in Cairo—who minutely described it to me, and admitted it to be copied from a late bronze [see Fig. 220, p. 271].

**DOCUMENT 25.** Excerpt from letter of Winlock in Qurna to Lythgoe in New York (MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art)

**February 25, 1920**

I hear stories of [the Thothmes III's concubines] find quite often and they are all consistent. Its called the tomb of Nefertari in the rumors. The three concubines appear to have been completely equipped—all alike—from gold sandals on their feet up to gold crowns on their heads with inlaid rosettes on the crowns and gazelle heads on their foreheads. Gilani [Gilani Suleiman started as an assistant to Winlock in 1906 and became assistant foreman of the Expedition by 1936] gave me a very circumstantial tale about them. Each had in addition to her jewelry a mirror, two silver vases, a gold cup and a gold mounted alabaster kohl pot. And each one had all her fingers and toes encased in a gold sheath.

**DOCUMENT 26.** Excerpt from letter of MMA Director Edward R. Robinson in Cairo to Winlock in Qurna (MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art)

Lily Place was of a New York family but traveled and lived abroad with her sister; they had an apartment in Cairo from about 1910 and settled there about 1914–15. They collected Egyptian, Islamic, Indian, Japanese, and Chinese art. After her sister died about 1920, Lily Place offered their collections to the MMA with the understanding that things not desired would be passed on to Minneapolis and other smaller museums. Minneapolis did receive things from her (E. R. Robinson to Lythgoe, 11 Feb. 1921, and Winlock to Robinson, 17 Mar. 1921, both MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art; G. Scott 1992: ixf.).

**February 8, 1921**

Today [Miss Lily Place gave] me a fine gold chain . . . which she says she promised Lythgoe. . . . It is one of four which she bought of different dealers (Blanchard, Tano &?) in the fall of 1919, all of the same type. Of these she has given one to [Director of the Antiquities Service Pierre] Lacau for the Museum [Chap. 5, 155] . . . and the other two are made into one necklace for herself, but come to us later.

**DOCUMENT 27.** Passage from Carter MS concerning Wady Qurud (GI Carter MSS vi.2.8, pp. 216–26; quoted as “Carter notebook 17 [Sketch XII]” in James 1992: 185)

**Undated and untitled** (written “many years” after the find, according to James, but note Doc. 28, probably derived

from Carter or one of his manuscripts). This is undoubtedly the major source of Winlock's account of the find in 1948: 8–10, and is perhaps the one Gardiner refers to in Document 5.

For many years the modern filibustering fellahîn have recognized in [the southwest wadys] the hand of Man, and for that reason they have ransacked many of its valleys on the chance of finding spoils. It was, in fact, due to them that the site first came to my knowledge, and of their activities this narrative really begins. Encouraged by “finds” they had made from time to time, such as the votive offerings hidden under boulders embedded in silt in the Valley of the Apes—in other words small objects that were consecrated in fulfilment of a vow to those sacred animals, who were supposed to laud the rising sun—serious gangs of illicit diggers began to search this region for more important discoveries.

For a long time their researches were fruitless, and, I think, would still have been, had it not been for a famous and more experienced tomb-robber, by name Hadji Âli. This man was astute enough to recognize, from test holes he had made, an artificial deposit—a mass of debris comprising limestone chips resulting from the work of dynastic stone-masons when hewing out a tomb—that had been hidden in a narrow canyon at the head of the Valley of the Apes. But although he recognized those limestone chips as coming from an ancient tomb, he did not know whence they came. Even after weeks of delving around the neighbourhood, he was still unable to solve the problem. In despair, he was driven to give up his secret and call other diggers to consultation. Here he made a false step, for it resulted only in a heated dispute, which caused him to give the matter up and to await a more convenient opportunity to further his researches. His plans were, however, anticipated. A brighter specimen among the other diggers, Hassân Sirri by name, having got rid of Hadji Âli, collected together a number of accomplices and continued to rummage around the spot. It happened that within a few days they chanced upon the actual tomb. It was cut in the floor of a deeper and wider part of the canyon, not very far from where Hadji Âli had found the deposit. It was in a place where past torrential rain-waters had whirled round in an eddy, formed a cup in the rock, broken through the wall of the cliff, and poured down into the valley below. Hassân Sirri, the leader of a gang, had had sufficient nous to realize the filling of this tomb was not only similar to that found in Hadji's deposit, but that it had not been touched since ancient times—technically what the natives call *nâshu*, i.e. undisturbed or virgin ground, in contradistinction to *radîm*, disturbed ground.

I can well imagine this leading spirit of the rival gang plotting against Hadji Âli; and the care he took to arrange a rendezvous to make the attack upon the “find.” And, indeed, he and his accomplices kept the secret so well that Hadji Âli had not the slightest suspicion of the discovery they had made within what he looked upon as his particular claim.

At the first opportunity suitable for their purpose, they set off at the break of dawn to realize their dreams. They climbed into the canyon and burrowed into that filling like rabbits. Whether it was owing or not to the fear that Hadji might discover their duplicity, never was there a quicker or odder clearing of a tomb! In brief, they soon bared the upper portion of the entrance doorway which they found blocked up with stone masonry. Through this masonry they forced their way, and tunneled a hole through the filling of a fairly long sub-rock passage, which proved to lead to a low tomb-chamber, containing, apparently, three complete burials and a large number of objects including alabaster jars. One would have thought that at such a unique moment they would have shown a certain amount of self-control. But no! Here in the heat of excitement, they quarrelled and fought one another over the contents of the chamber. Each man grabbing whatever he could lay his hands upon, and these rapacious proceedings continued till their greed was satiated with an over-abundance of spoil—gold objects, jewellery and the like. Those that wore nether garments knotted up the lower ends of the legs and used them as sacks to carry away their loot; others put their spoils in the few baskets they had brought for the purpose of digging, and tied them up with their turbans; and those that had neither, stripped themselves of their over shirt in which they then carried their goods. After thus sacking the tomb, their excitement abated, at least, sufficiently for them to have the sense to cover up its entrance, and to remove all outward traces of their activities.

With their spoils they trailed over the mountain, stumbling under their loads, until they reached the village of Gurna, apparently, soon after midnight. In the village, at a well bordering the arable fields, and not far from the mouth of the Valley of the Kings, they performed the following ceremony: after partaking of a few crumbs of bread mixed with salt, each man took solemn oaths never to divulge the secret, nor, under any circumstances, give one another away. They then recited the *Fâthah*—the opening chapter of the Kor.ân—as a blessing for their deeds. Then they repaired to their homes, rested a while, tidied themselves up, and early in the morning, as it was Yom el-Sûkh—(“Market Day”), they took their plunder and crossed over the river to Luxor.

## Chapter 2

The above narrative I gleaned from various inhabitants of the village. Obviously there are many details that require to be filled in to complete the picture, of which I have no record. But, what followed became more or less common knowledge.

It is sad to think how those ancient relics must have suffered under such treatment, and how every record of those burials is now completely lost. However, in short, to bring the matter once to a point, the spoils were sold that very same morning to the Luxor Antiquity dealers. It is said for an aggregate sum of something like eleven hundred pounds.

This sudden wealth proved too much for those tomb-plunderers, men that never had more than a few piastres, had now hundreds of sovereigns in their pockets. They began to spend their money right and left, they bought fine clothes, they hired two horse-cabs and drove in broad daylight about the town, until all eyes were turned towards them. The population of Luxor began to ask themselves: "Why this behaviour?—And whence these riches?"—Envy soon began to play its part. Unsuccessful diggers, who must have guessed the truth, began to betray the successful ones. Many were the tales they told, mostly exaggerated inventions, no doubt, but very typical of native invidiousness. Hence the story gradually leaked out, reached the ears of the officials and became the subject of an inquiry.

Cross questions and crooked answers was the sequence that followed. Those who had least, accused those who had most. The whole village of Gurna was agog. The popular imagination, indeed, long kept itself busy with the affair.

By the time the local officials had collected a certain amount of evidence, and they began to be understanding things, the humble homes of the suspects became easy prey at the hands of the police. They were surrounded and searched, and the scene must have been a stirring one. But little or nothing was found, save, eventually, the scene of the discovery and the pillaged tomb itself. . . .

The favourite wife of one of the suspects, upon finding her homestead surrounded by the police authorities, and fearing lest the "cache" of money—her husband's proceeds from the discovery—might be found and confiscated, hastily hid it up, put it in an earthenware pot with some corn to hide it, and placed the pot on the top of a large basket full of grain prepared for the miller. This she carried upon her head and passed out ostensibly for the village mill. She would have succeeded had it not been for an envious neighbour who, having made a shrewd guess as to what the little pot contained, jogged the woman, causing the vessel to crash into a dozen pieces upon the ground, and its glittering contents roll down the hillside. The village onlookers made one dash! Hardly a minute expired before they had vanished, each with his prize. That neighbour died within a year! For various reasons, however, the connecting link regarding his sudden death slipped the memory of all concerned. Indeed, the attitude the community took upon the subject was: "It is difficult to imagine there could be any serious suspicion of murder, or the slightest grounds for implicating any particular individual as the perpetrator; and, that as none such was on record, it was safe to assume that none existed."

And now a few words as to Hadji Âli, who very rightly considered himself a victim at the hands of his fellow diggers. He, like a true oriental, wreaked his vengeance in silence. Having guessed, or gleaned in some way, that the men buried in the near vicinity of the tomb the heavier material they couldn't possibly carry away at the time of the discovery, he slipped up into the mountain, and astutely found the remaining buried spoil. These he removed for his own purpose, and, no doubt, not very long after, he sold them and had his pockets filled with the proceeds.

A short description treating upon the nature of the discovery will now bring this particular narrative to a close. Unfortunately, veracity is a virtue extremely rare in Modern Egypt, and exaggeration is generally the practice which prevails among the *fellahîn* when describing anything in the way of a "find." Thus, only by closely examining the various statements, and winnowing the chaff from the wheat, can one get any idea of what they really found. It becomes, however, fairly clear that there were three complete burials in the tomb-chamber. Each burial seems to have been in a nest of three coffins, placed one inside the other. But as the grave during periodic spates had been badly water-logged, all such wood-work had perished and fallen to pieces. Upon the decayed mummies they found much jewellery—gold fillets, bracelets, armlets, necklaces, belts and gold vessels. And what apparently astonished the natives most, were gold sandals upon the feet. Placed around the burials were a great number of alabaster vases, large and small, and twelve limestone canopic jars, in which the viscera (i.e. the brain, heart, liver and the intestines) were preserved. The usual number of canopic jars for a single burial is four. The statement that twelve of these jars were found in the tomb-chamber, strengthens the supposition that it contained three burials. Judging by the inscriptions upon some of the canopic jars and alabaster vessels that have come to light since, the burials were of harîm women of the court of Tuthmosis III—the

great king who made Egypt a power, and whose magnificent hypogeum is excavated in a similar canyon at the head of the Valley of the Kings, on the other side of the mountain, in almost a direct line with this grave.

The scene of the discovery was examined by the Museum official, who found many traces of the plunder, and by sifting the remaining rubbish in the chamber they also found some gold and semi-precious stone beads, as well as broken parts of jewellery the thieves had overlooked in their excitement. The tomb cut in the floor of the canyon was of a quite simple type. A shallow descending entrance leading to a doorway, an irregular sloping passage which gave direct access to a low but fairly spacious burial chamber. The simplicity of this tomb suggests that the women, although from the royal court, were not of the royal family but possibly concubines.

The lull created among these illicit diggers by the presence of authorities did not last very long. Such a strong incentive as the rich discovery, the absence of many officials owing to the Great War, to say nothing of the general demoralization caused by the War itself, had naturally created a great revival of activity on the part of the local native tomb-robbers. Hence, the moment official eyes were turned in the other directions, prospecting parties were out in all directions, and this site became a hot-bed of marauding gangs.

At the time referred to above, I was engaged upon war-work at headquarters in Cairo; but when I was on a short holiday at Gurna, about the middle of October 1916, I found myself involved unexpectedly in one of these illicit diggings. [continues with Queen Hatshepsut tomb discovered in his Wady A]

**DOCUMENT 28.** Excerpt from Lord Carnarvon MS concerning glass (MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art; James 1992: 207, 400f.)

Carnarvon obtained a concession to work in the Valley of the Kings in April, 1915 but was not in Egypt from 1914 to February, 1919; he returned February–March of 1920, February 1921, and February–March of 1922, then again in November of that year when Carter opened the tomb of Tutankhamun (James 1992: 170, 205, 211–2, 413–5). Carnarvon's greatest contribution to archaeology was the financial support of Carter's excavations (see Strudwick 2001 on Carnarvon); he also financed a number of important acquisitions, however, among them those that Carter searched out at dealers and judged to be from the Wady Qurud. Of the latter objects some were added to Carnarvon's collection; he later gave these to the MMA or specified that they should be sold to the MMA after his death (Chap. 5, Cats. 97, 103–4, 136 selective, 144–50). Spelling and grammatical errors, especially prevalent here, have again been left intact.

**(1919)**

During the summer of 1916 Antiquarian Egypt was excited by the rumour that an untouched tomb of princesses had been found by natives The tomb was to the N.W. of the Wadi Gurud or Monkey Valley. In the latter valley a few years previous many antiquities had been found by the natives These chiefly consisted of shawabti figur One or two examples (No ) are in this Coll.<sup>n</sup> but the finest piece a magnificent blue faience ushabti in a sarcophagus was bought by the British Museum.

There were hundreds of other votive offerings found up this valley & curiously enough they were merely buried beneath stones lying in the Valley The tomb of these princesses was situate in a water-course & the natives found the tomb absolutely untouched Owing to water all the coffins & wooden objects as well as the mummies were completely destroyed—However from all reports there still remained a mass of gold & silver ornaments as well as jewellery

There were about nine men concerned in the finding and despoiling of the tomb, & the spoils were divided among them. M M [Mohammed Mohassib] the old Luxor dealer buying them 1740£ for the find—But he did not get everything. There was apparently among other things a sort of shirt of gold & stone inlaid rosettes. Other dealers got hold of some of these, within a short space of time numerous forgeries were on the market. These now seem to have disappeared for I have seen none of them this year. The Gov<sup>t</sup> now began moving in the matter & started a raid on Mohamed's premises Of course nothing was found, the only result being that the antiquities have for the present disappeared—. . . It is of course a thousand pities that some expert archaeologist did not make the find for even when the things appear there will be no proof as to how the articles were used or worn & I imagine they will have suffered pretty considerably from rough native handling.

## Chapter 2

**DOCUMENT 29.** Carter MS description of find, “A Discovery of a Tomb of Three Princesses of the Reign of Thothmes III” (MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art); an abbreviated version of Document 27 account of find

### Before April 1921

During the summer of 1916 a remarkable discovery was made by the arabs of Gurna, on the West side of the Libyan range of hills of Western Thebes.

These natives apparently for some time past had knowledge of the existence of isolated tombs in that remote part of the Theban necropolis, and from time to time they continued to plunder them of the few remains left by ancient tomb robbers.

During the years 1913 and 1914 the arabs found that the famous valley now known as GABBÂNAT EL QIRÛD contained numerous votive offerings hidden under the larger boulders that cover the bed of the valley. From this source came much valuable material in the form of faience, bronze, and stone votive figures of fine Egyptian late New Empire art, which are now distributed throughout the principal museums of the world. This discovery led to a further and far more important find. At the head of the valley GABBÂNAT EL QIRÛD and the smaller collateral valleys rock-cut tombs prove to be hidden in the faces of the cliffs and mountain ravines. Later investigation has proved them to be the lost burial places of the royal wives, princesses, and royal children of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

It was in 1916 during these illicit diggings that the arabs came upon the unrecorded and unique discovery comprising an untouched rock-cut tomb of three princesses or royal concubines of the reign of that most famous Egyptian king THOTHMES III. This remarkable tomb—it being the only royal burial ever discovered unplundered—was hidden in a rift high up at the head of the valley GABBÂNAT EL QIRÛD, in a spot only accessible by long ladders from below, or by ropes slung from the cliff above into a rift which had been gradually worn into a sort of canyon by periodical torrential rains. Here they found cut in the bed of the ravine an opening giving access to a long narrow passage (some 17 meters in length), which led to a small burial chamber containing three burials of unique type. These burials were undisturbed since their interment, save for rain waters that had percolated through the filling of the passage and the collapse of the rock ceiling of the chamber. This had caused certain deterioration and breakage, and it appears that from the water infiltration all the objects in wood had been destroyed, and that only stone and metal had been preserved.

Eight or nine arabs were concerned in the plundering of these particular burials, and the objects were divided up among them. They entered the tomb by burrowing a small hole through the filling of the passage, which accounts for a great deal of the rough handling of the antiquities found. The heavier objects such as the larger alabaster vases and canopic jars, were reburied in the valley until opportunity occurred for their transport to the dealers.

**DOCUMENT 30.** Excerpt from letter of Winlock in Qurna to Lythgoe in New York (MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art)

Arthur Mace was a curatorial and expedition member of the MMA staff during the years 1906–14 and 1919–22. From November 1922 into 1924, he assisted Carter in the excavation of the tomb of Tutankhamun.

### January 23, 1922

The day before Mace left he and I took a long walk around the southern valleys of the Goorn as he said he wanted to see the Tomb of Hatshepsut. As a matter of fact we went a good deal beyond that wandering up all of the valleys to their heads. We took along some lunch, a kodak and an article by Carter which he had written for the *Journal* two or three years ago. We came into one valley which was perfectly magnificent with enormous cliffs rising sheer up from the bottom. At the head of it there was a tremendous door-like place of which I took a couple of snapshots as we drew near it. At last, after we had struggled over the rocks and the valley bottom we came to a point where we could see that the valley ended in a great fissure about 50 meters deep with its bottom some 10 meters above the valley floor. Dangling from the bottom of the crack against the rock there were a couple of strands of Arab saggia rope. The end of the rope was just out of reach but Mace and I climbed on a pile of rocks and then tried to swarm up the rope but without any luck because we twirled around and around and could get no foothold anywhere.



## Documentation, 1916-48

I am going back someday soon with a ladder to try to get up into the crack because it is just at the point where Carter describes the Tomb of some Princesses which it is rumored was plundered by Arabs in 1916. In fact we have an old man on our work named Mohammed Hamad who claims to have been one of the men who found the tomb in the crack and got out of it what he describes as an untold quantity of gold which they say was sold to Moh. Mohassib.

**DOCUMENT 31.** Excerpt from letter of Winlock in Qurna to Lythgoe in New York (MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art)

**March 28, 1922**

[I have heard of] innumerable beads which were neglected by the first thieves and were found by others who sold them to [Luxor dealer] Moharib Todros etc.

**DOCUMENT 32.** Excerpt from letter of Winlock in New York to Russell Plimpton, Director of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts (MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art) when Winlock was writing his book (1948)

**November 27, 1943**

I have just heard of a bequest of Miss Lily Place to your Museum made a few years ago . . . do they include a string of 5-lobed, granular gold beads found in Egypt in 1916? She presented a string of such beads about 19 or 20 cm. long to the Metropolitan Museum in 1921 and kept a certain number of the beads to give to some other Museum.

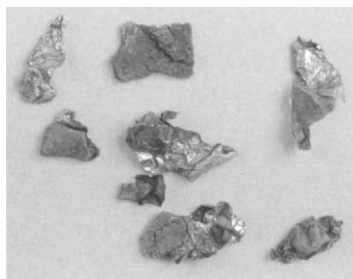
**DOCUMENT 33.** Excerpt from letter of Phyllis Lytle, Registrar of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, to Winlock in New York (MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art)

**December 8, 1943**

The only thing in our collection answering your description is a Ptolemaic necklace of round and barrel-shaped garnet beads alternating with a series of small gold beads made up of five granules. . . .

This necklace, however, has been restrung since the beads came to us as a gift in 1929 . . . its length now is fifteen inches [38.1 cm]. . . . [the diameter of the gold beads] is two millimeters.

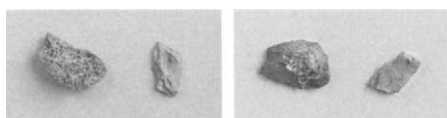
## Chapter 2



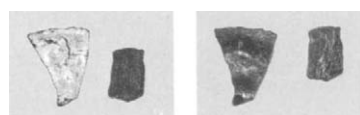
a. Three photos of gold leaf. Entire amount (top), larger pieces (left), fragments with plaster adhering (above)



b. Small pieces of wood



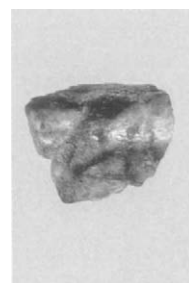
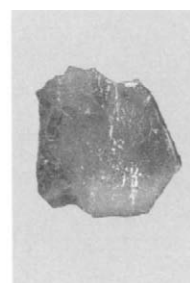
c. Both photos: front and back of bone (left) and glass (right)



d. Both photos: pieces of bitumen with plaster (left) and with impression of graining (right)

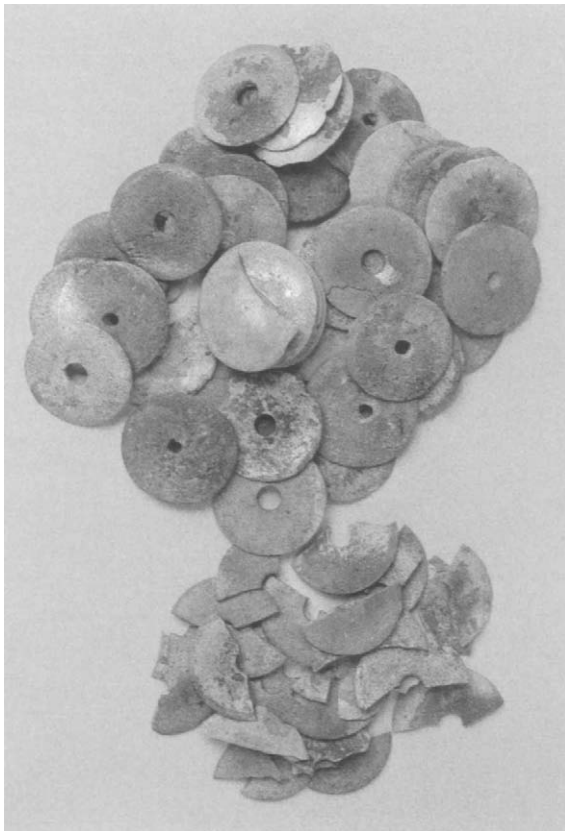


e. Front (left) and back (right) of silver sheet fragment



f. Top surface of serpentine vessel rim fragment

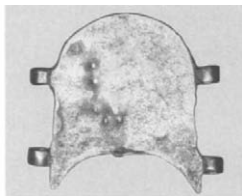
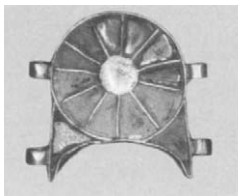
Fig. 16a–f. Objects from Mohammed Chaban's clearance, September 28, 1916 (Doc. 3). Cairo Museum, 1:1



a. Faience lentoid beads



b. Egyptian blue lentoid beads



c. Front (left), back (center), and side (right) of rosette element



d. Carnelian and glass inlays, carnelian bead



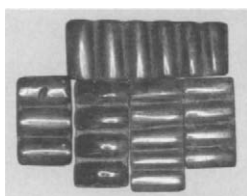
e. Cylinder beads of turquoise glass (four lower right) and carnelian



f. Tube and bugle beads of Egyptian blue



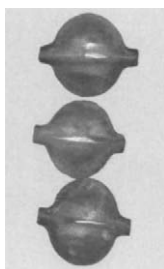
g. Gold and lapis lazuli spacers



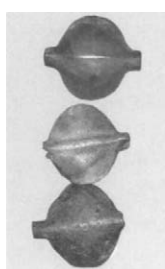
h. Ridged carnelian plaques for inlay



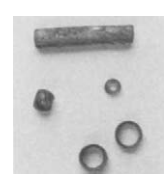
i. Barrel beads of turquoise glass (two on left) and carnelian



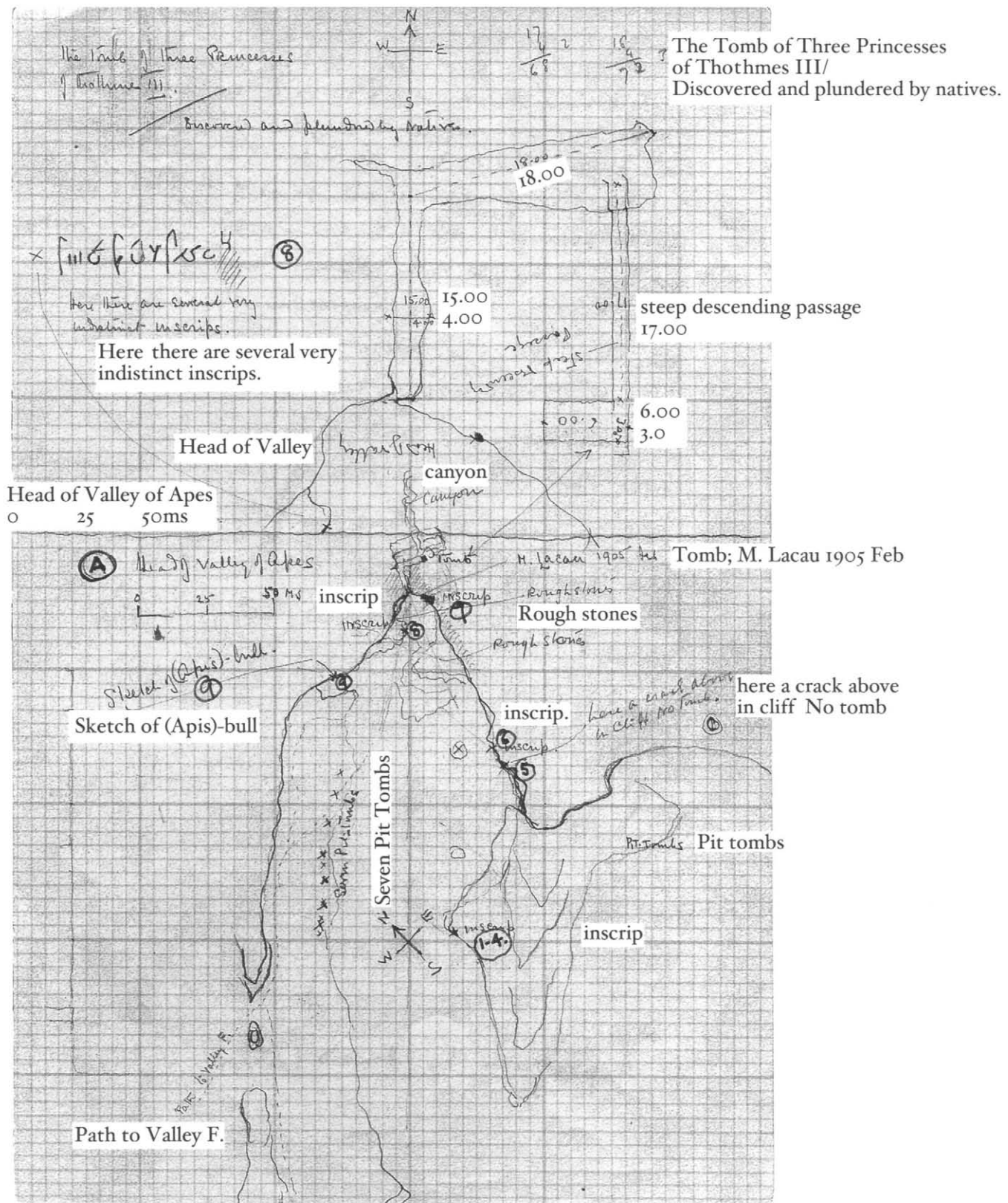
j. Acacia-seed beads of turquoise glass (two lower right) and carnelian (remaining four)



k. Front and back of glass bead with metal tube



l. Faience, carnelian, and gold beads



[on verso, in Carter's hand]

The mouth of the Valley of the Apes is wide and bounded on either side by quite low foot hills which gradually melt away into the plain. As you ascend the Valley bed these hills lighten but it is only at the very end that the sides become steep perpendicular cliffs. At the foot of the sides of the valley towards the mouth are graves of the apes; and another peculiar feature is that under and along the side of the larger boulders that cover the bed of the valley mimic burials of votive models in the form of shabtis in faience stone and wood placed in faience and pottery model coffins: some are (?) viscera wrapped in linen in mummy form with head and hands in bronze. These appear to date from the early xviii dynasty down to the later Ramessides as the inscriptions upon them show. But all such deposits have been dug by the natives and during this last 10 years the shops in Luxor have reaped a large harvest from them.

Fig. 18. Howard Carter records of Wady Qurud exploration, fall 1916 (Doc. 4)





Fig. 19. Howard Carter notes concerning objects associated with Wady Qurud, fall 1916 (Doc. 4)

## Chapter 2

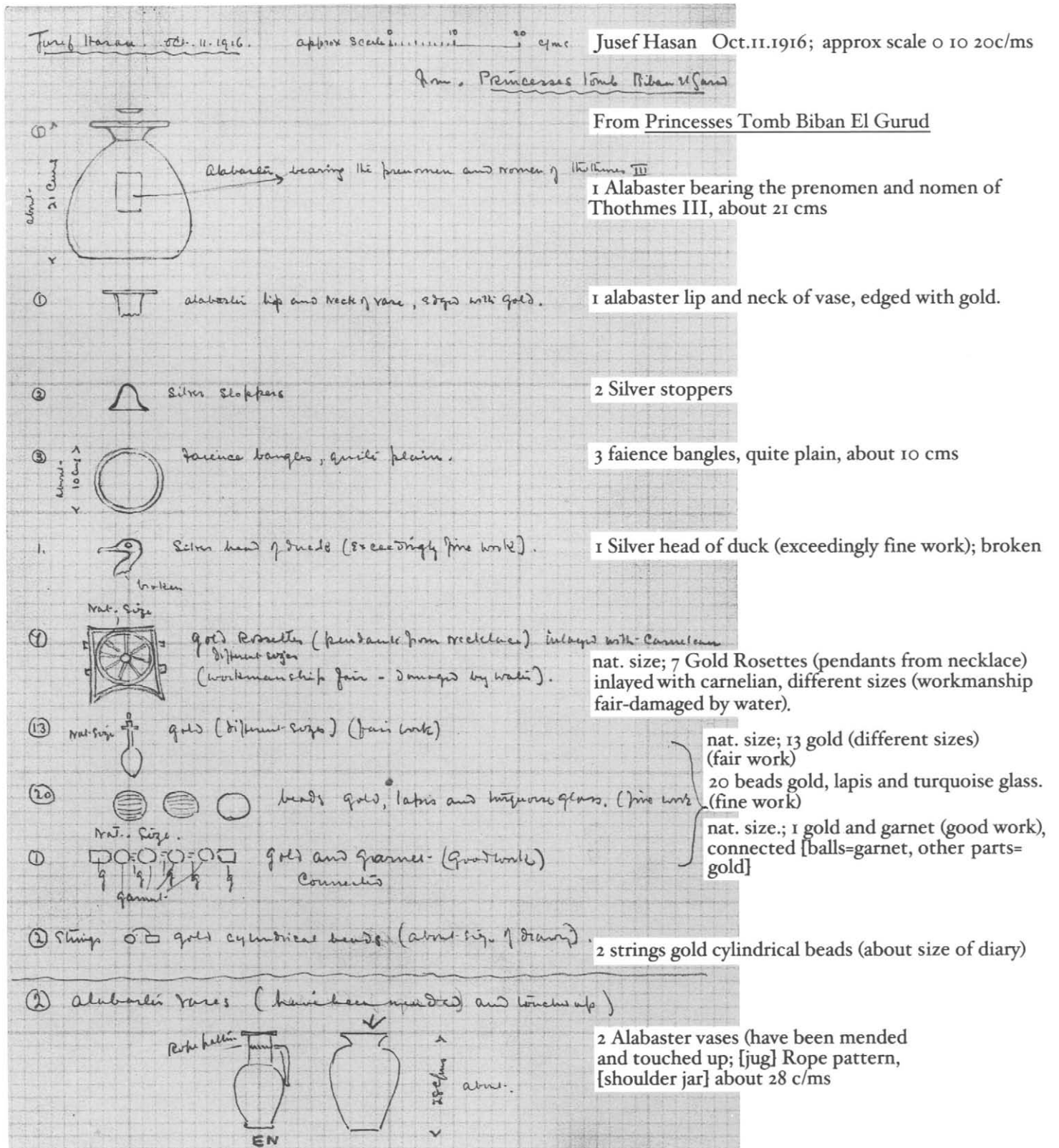


Fig. 20. Howard Carter notes of objects reported from Wady Qurud, October 1916 and another occasion (Doc. 4)

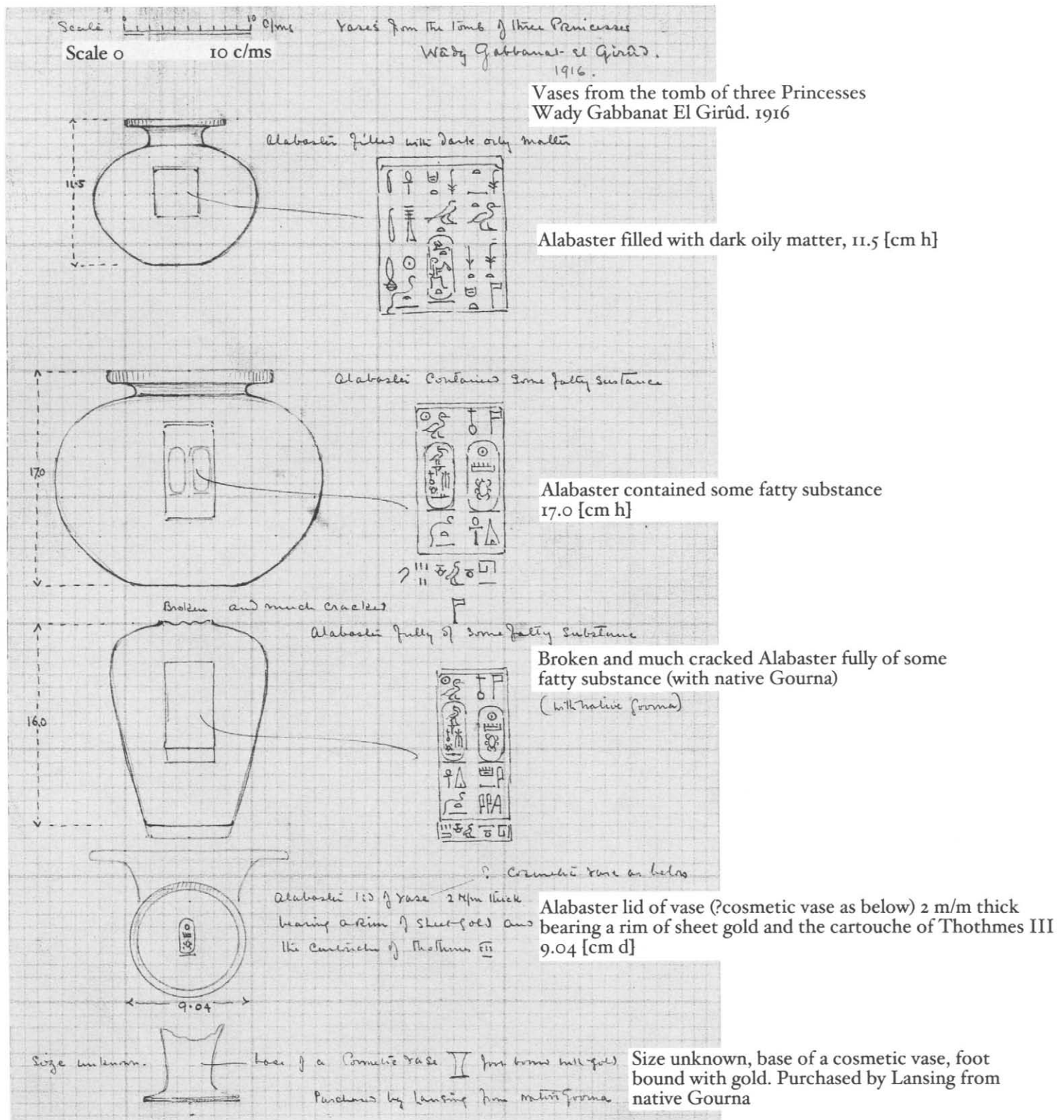


Fig. 21. Howard Carter notes of objects reported from Wady Qurud, fall 1916 (Doc. 4)



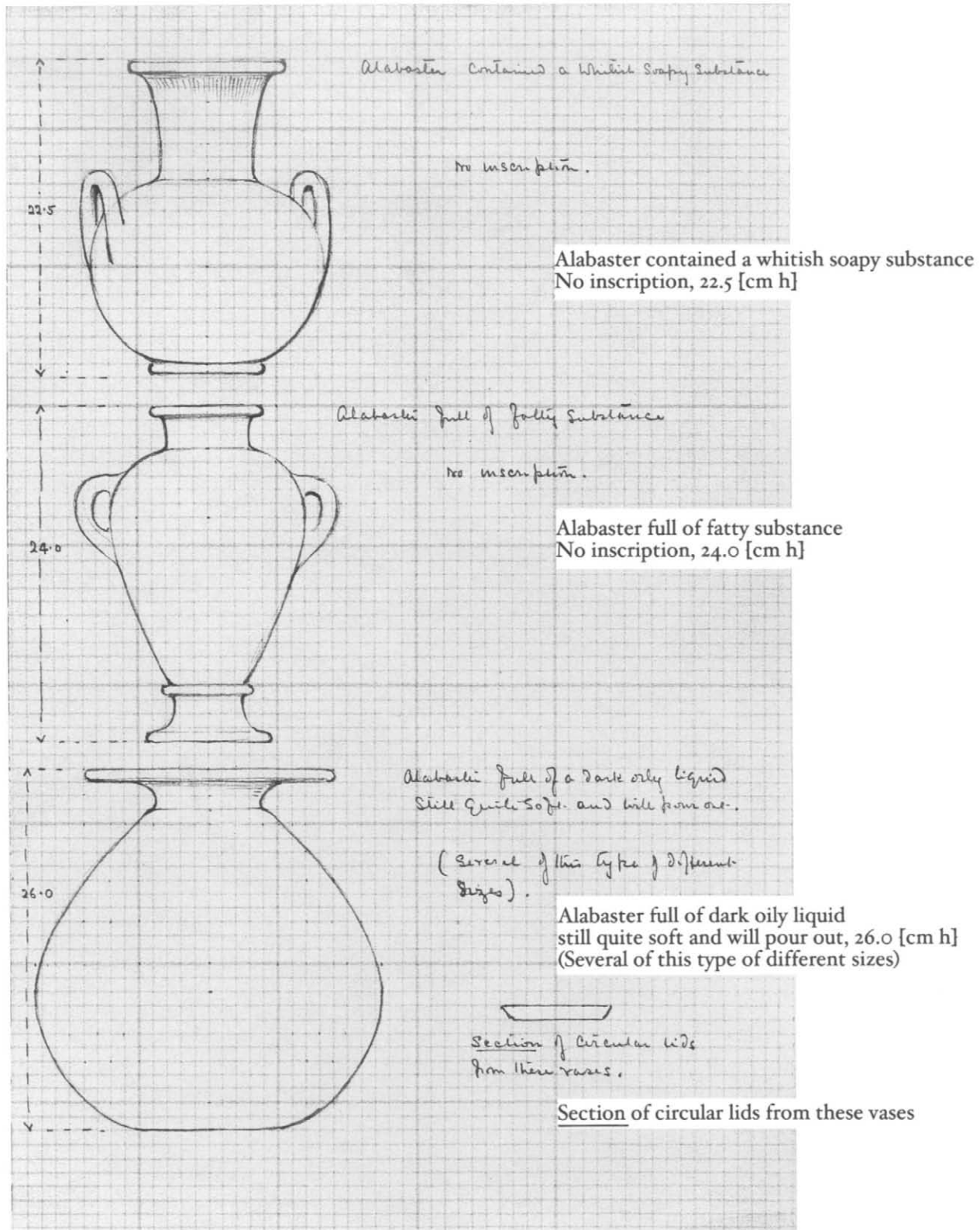


Fig. 22. Howard Carter notes of objects reported from Wady Qurud, fall 1916 (Doc. 4)

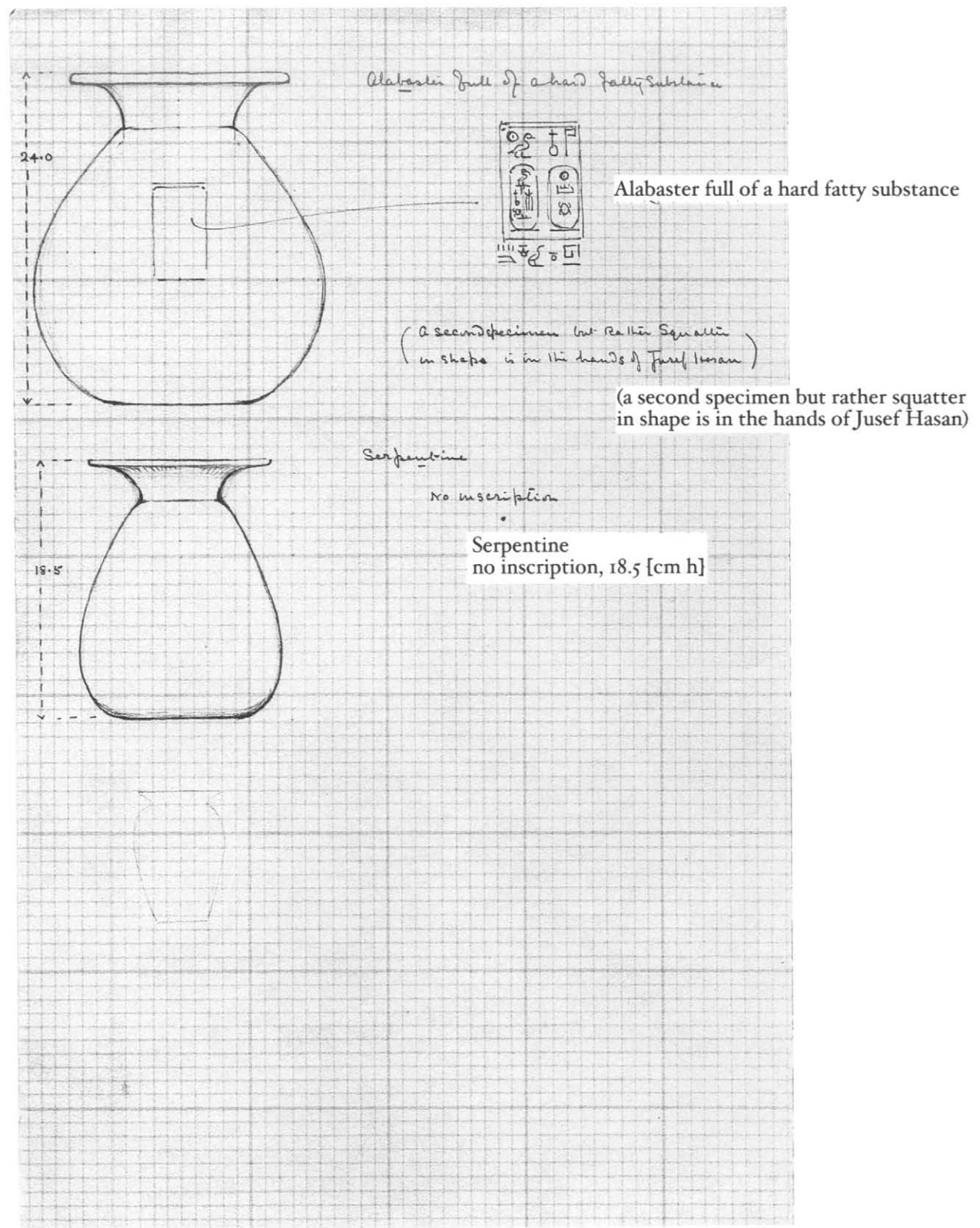


Fig. 23. Howard Carter notes of objects reported from Wady Qurud, fall 1916 (Doc. 4)



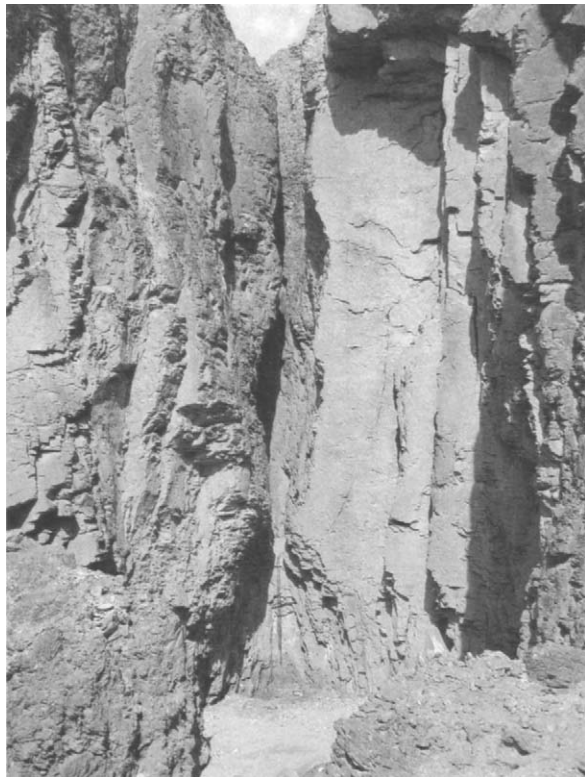
a. Above the tomb, looking down toward platform and toward the Nile Valley



b. View toward head of wady from area of peak in previous photo



c. View toward head of wady from wady bed

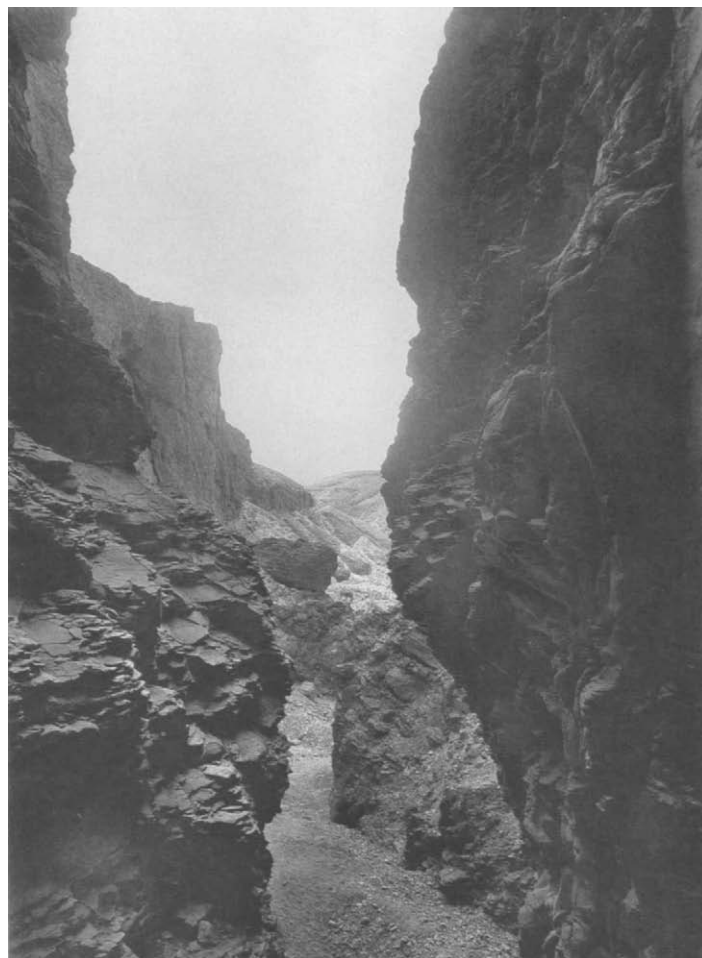


d. Closer view of c; note rope hanging from platform

Fig. 24a-d. Snapshots taken by Herbert Winlock, January 23, 1922 (Doc. 6)



a. At head of wady, toward crevice where tomb is located



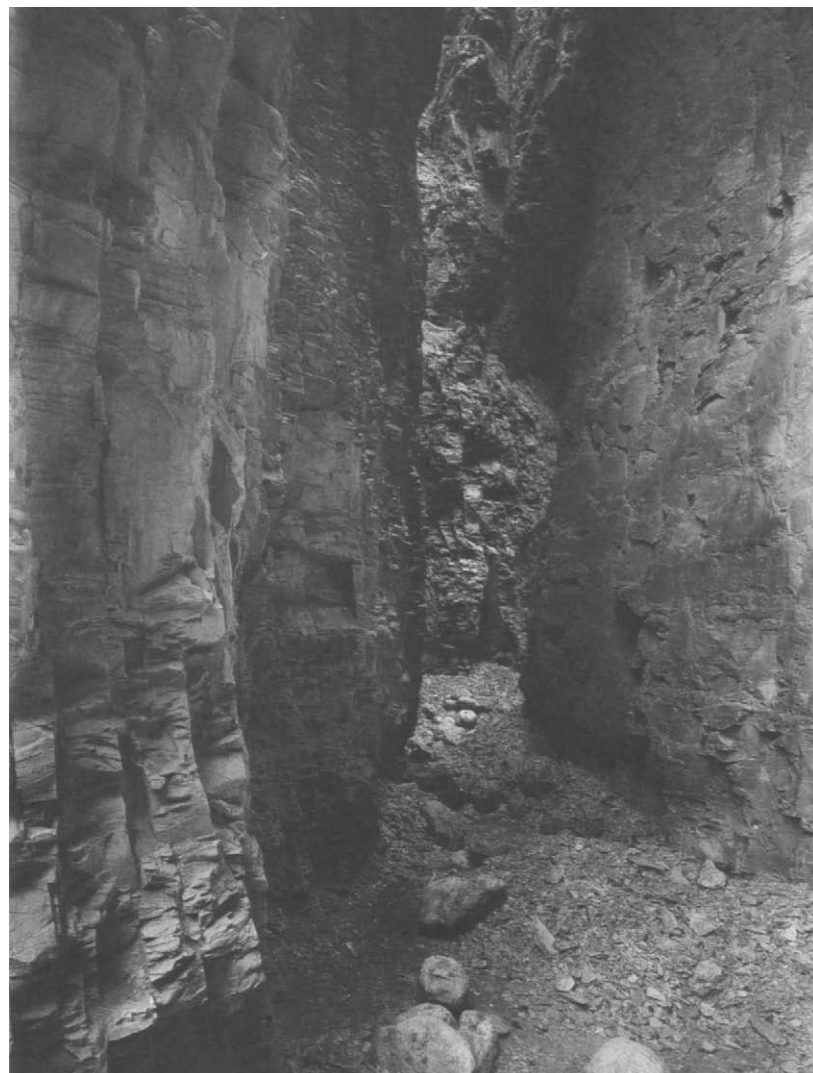
b. Standing on platform, looking out toward wady

Fig. 25a-b. Photos taken by Harry Burton, spring 1922 (Doc. 7)





a. Standing within platform, looking out toward wady



b. Looking north along platform in area later labelled “a–d”



c. On platform, looking toward tomb opening



d. Mouth of tomb leading to descending corridor

Fig. 26a–d. Photos taken by Harry Burton, spring 1922 (Doc. 7)

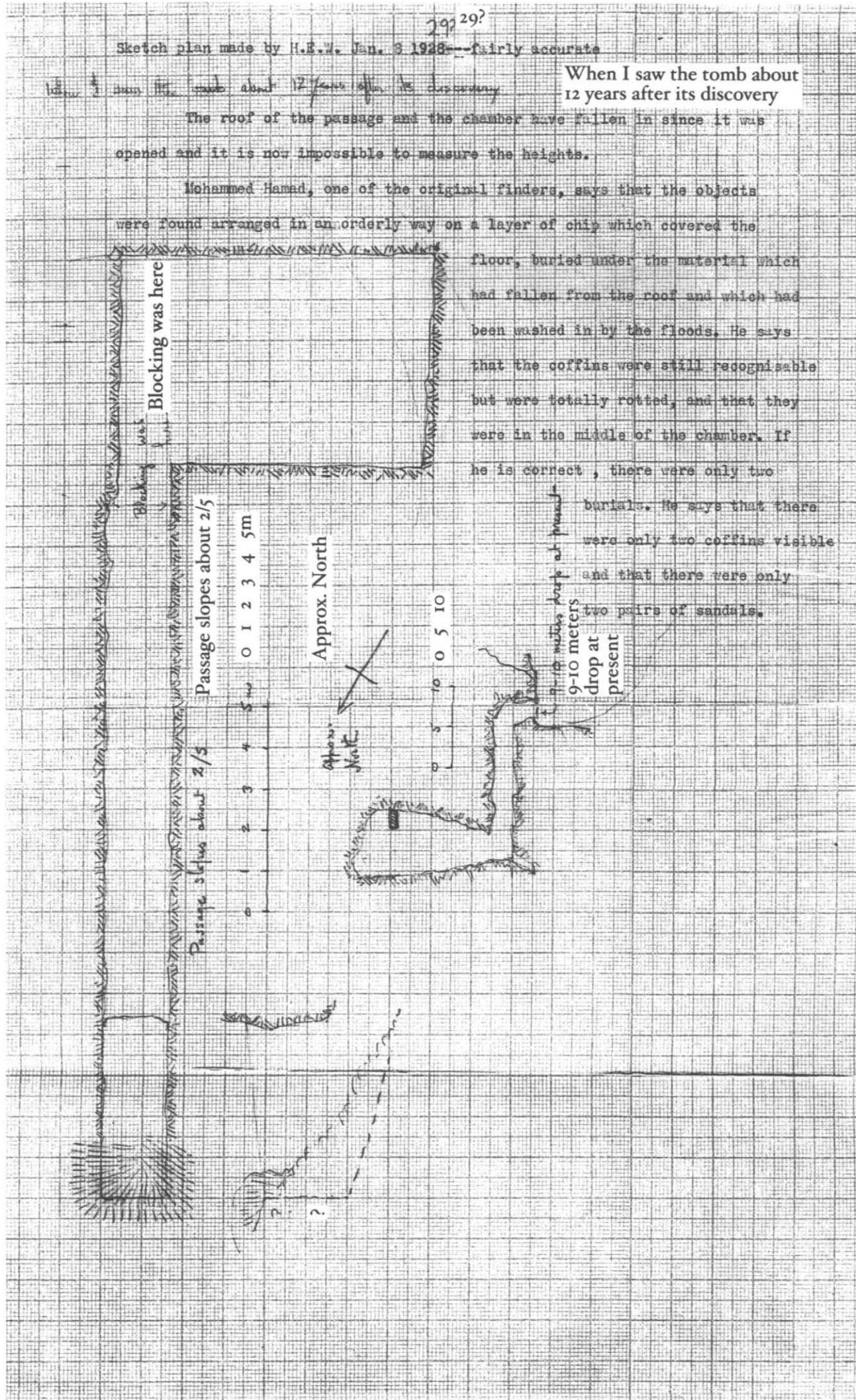


Fig. 27. Winlock's notes at the tomb, January 18, 1928 or 1929 (Doc. 8)





# CHAPTER 3. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AT TOMB 1 BY THE MMA, 1988

## INTRODUCTION

### GOALS

Various factors prompted field work in 1988 as a complement to archival and object research.

Comparative information cited in Chapter 1 was consistent with Wady D1 as a Tuthmoside tomb for royal women: the tomb had a southwest wady location, gorge configuration of early 18th dynasty type, and nearby Dynasty 21 graffiti of necropolis officials who surveyed royal tombs. However, the debris seen by earlier explorers outside of and within the tomb, as described in Documents 1–9 of Chapter 2, did not allow a precise description of the tomb nor an elevation to be produced.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, while Chaban and Carter had retrieved some small objects from the site, it was thought that new field work might confirm the provenance of art market objects for which there were no absolute links to the tomb, and determine whether there were traces of heretofore unattested objects—such as foundation deposits, shawabtys, boxes for canopic jars or jewels, food offerings, furniture, sistra, or ritual items.

Fieldwork also had the potential of verifying or disproving the robbers' descriptions in Documents 10–33 (such as a blocking at both ends of the descending corridor, and coffins placed side by side with heads to the south and rotted by damp, Winlock 1948: 6), or uncovering other types of information such as where the skeletons had been placed.

### ORGANIZATION AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Work was undertaken at the site in November–December 1988 with the permission of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization (now the Supreme Council for Antiquities). Dr. Ahmed Moussa and Mrs. Farida Badawi processed papers quickly in Abbasiya; Heshmet Iklib did the same in Luxor during the absence of Mohammed el-Saghir; and Mohammed Nasr was very efficient and supportive throughout the project on the West Bank. Ahmed Moursi was the responsible and helpful inspector. When the work was completed, Ali Hassan made every effort to see whether study samples could be brought to New York, and tried to locate Mohammed Chaban's report of his 1916 clearance, alas, to no effect.

Many colleagues, staff, and friends helped the project on the West Bank. Günter Heindl, archaeologist with the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, organized the initial work program; supervised, drew, and photographed the excavation at the wady head and on the platform (including the tomb's entrance cut); and drew and photographed the tomb's burial chamber as well as parts of its descending corridor after the author cleared it. Christopher Kirby, a Cambridge student, drew almost all the pots and objects, and explored the surrounding area for ancient graffiti, workmen's huts, and paths. The Qurna villager Abdel-Hamid Osman Taya helped considerably with processing pottery.

Frédérique Groisy, assisted by Vincent Rondot, mapped the Pit/Chamber through the friendly offer of Jean Jacquet. Those who helped with pottery are mentioned in the Pottery section below. Huib E. de Wit, of the University of Amsterdam, visited for two days and discussed geological questions in both the tomb and surrounding area; Claudia Starke looked at bones; Martha and Lanny Bell helped explore ancient paths and stone huts; Abd el-Aziz Sadek discussed the CEDAE's work in the area, and—with Fathy Hassanein—various other subjects; Janoš Karkowsky shared visits to KV 20 and 38.

Heindl prepared for the work at the site by clearing a path for vehicles from a point south of Deir el-Mohareb into the desert, running along the foot of the mountains to the approximate mouth of Wady A. This road led within a ten-minute walk of the tomb; travel time for staff from German House and an average twenty workmen from Qurnet Murai was thus cut to half an hour. Archaeological personnel lived at the German House, through the kindness of DAIK Director Rainer Stadelmann, and were helped by Ahmed Abdullah Mohammed Abdul-Rahman. Various colleagues working on the West Bank—chiefly the members of the Swiss Institute under the direction of Horst Jaritz, and of the Heidelberg mission under the direction of Karl-Joachim Seyfried—lent moral support. Water was brought to the wady each day by donkeys, and three guards slept in a tent there at night. A 30' wooden ladder and

---

<sup>1</sup> The source and accuracy of the elevation in Kurz 1977: pl. 207 is not known.

## Chapter 3

a generator to supply light to the descending corridor and tomb chambers were the only pieces of substantial equipment needed. The project was noted by Leclant (1990: 394 and 1991: 222f.) and Lilyquist (1991, 1995b, 1998a).

### CONVENTIONS

Measurements are metric.

The entries of the Pottery Registers are preceded by a “p” and written in bold in order to differentiate them from the Catalogue numbers of Chapters 5–7 (e.g., **p103** versus **103**). A few sherds did not receive a **p** number and are referred to by their “WQP” designation; they were not drawn.

### ARCHITECTURE; see pp. 78–90

#### THE TOMB SITE AS FOUND; see pp. 78–82

The site as found in October 1988 is shown in Figs. 30–1. Debris, basically loose earth containing stone chip, was piled to left and right of the wady head (Area I, see Fig. 29). That on the right side also contained areas of hardened mud with pebbles. A pile of stones rested against the end itself, and in front of it was a depression filled with boulders, straw, and fine sand (a sieving spot?). Cornhusks and dried yellow scorpions were noted.

Further to the right of the depression, an important graffito first copied by Carter was marked by a small pile of stones (Figs. 14, 18; unpublished GI Carter MSS I.D. 179 no. 1 = CEDAE 3945/Černý 1359, see Appendix A). Even further around the *gebel* line to the south there were two small pits (the southernmost only was documented).

The general aspect of the wady head did not, in detail, correspond to earlier records. There seemed to be more debris than was documented in Burton’s photograph of 1922 (Fig. 25a); however, the two pits on the south were not noted in the literature and therefore must not have been exposed to earlier explorers.

On the platform (Area II), the debris in the first section (numbered “a” and “b”) was massed rather evenly against each rock face, 20 to 50 cm high, with a clear space down the middle (“d”) and boulders grouped mainly toward the middle (Figs. 32–3). In the second section of the platform (Figs. 32, 34), there were two heaps of debris (“e” and “f”), and it seemed that here, too, there was more debris than when visited by Burton in 1922 and the Berkeley Theban Mapping Project in 1982 (unpublished documentation). Photos indicate that little rock had fallen from the walls since Burton’s day; thus, the added debris must have been washed in by rains or possibly been taken from the descending corridor and burial chamber.

Among the platform debris was a plastic Baraka water bottle, a meat tin of 1985, a cake tin of 1986, bits of modern cloth, cornhusks, date pits, remains of a fire, and cigarette wrappers. A modern graffito of 1957 was on the *gebel* wall, and, on the west wall near the entrance, there was evidence of a bird nesting. Fine gray dust and spider webs covered at least the lower 10 of the approximately 20 meter-high walls, and Monarch butterflies occasionally flitted about. A small beige spider was observed—called *abu shabut* by the workmen, the father or spinner of the webs. The limestone was oxidized a golden yellow; sunlight hit only sections “a,” “b,” and “d” of the platform during the months of work.

The descending corridor appeared unevenly cut (Area III, Figs. 32, 35), and was filled with debris that allowed a crawl space of a little over a meter (Fig. 36). Toward the lower end was a modern rubber basket, and at the bottom—in a drop in elevation—were two hoes and three straw baskets (Fig. 37).

The debris in the burial chamber resembled a moonscape of valleys and mountains (Area IV, Figs. 32, 36). There were a few bats and their secretions on a very broken, vaulted ceiling.

### GENERAL SCHEME OF EXCAVATION

Clearing began at the wady head (Area I), moving clockwise from the west, past the end and over to the east, and then up to the platform (Area II), the descending corridor (Area III), and the burial chamber (Area IV). The small pit and chamber south of the wady head (Pit and Chamber) were the last to be cleared.

### DESCRIPTION OF CLEARANCE AND CONTEXT OF FINDS

#### Wady head (Area I); see pp. 80, 83f., 86f.

The small pit nearest graffito 3945/1359 was unfortunately covered over without mapping or exploration. Furthermore, the area of boulders, straw, and sand into which the ladder to the platform was placed was never completely

cleared (Figs. 29–31). Aside from these omissions, debris was cleared to bedrock on the west, and increased in height on the east; boulders were placed along the outer edge of the western outcrop. Pieces of gypsum were found in the debris, probably from higher up in the cliffs. Bone was also found (either animal or human, according to Claudia Starke; Fig. 81f), and wood (sometimes charred) that could not be assigned to a specific object. The other items were to become all too familiar as visitors' and robbers' remains: black cloth, various sizes of rope and wood (often stained purple), charred wooden rungs from rope ladders, and Matoussian cigarette wrappers.

There were also pharaonic remains, however, mostly pottery of Tuthmoside type (see the Pottery section below). No whole pot was found, but many reconstructable shapes were assembled for recording; the breaks were usually very clean, although often covered with fine silt. A few sherds had been exposed to smoke—their edges as well (p26, p31, p38, p46)—either from ancient or modern activity at the site. Some sherds were worn (p27, p35, p48, p51); on several, the slip had flaked away (p27, p35), and sherds of the low-fired Nile B2 storage jar had usually lost their self-slipped surface (p5–p6). Most items were easy to mend, particularly those from large storage jars and amphorae, although the breaks on sherds of one amphora were covered with a cement-like layer that prevented mending. Remains of most of the large storage jars (p1–p5, p7–p9, p11–p15), as well as other large jars and amphorae (p90, p92–p99, p101), were found in Area I; these included the sherds with hieratic inscriptions thought to name inhabitants of the tomb (Chapter 8).

In addition to pottery, part of a pottery “box” was found (Fig. 81a, c), as well as fragments of two other unidentified pottery items (Fig. 81b, g) and the rim fragments of two serpentinite vessels (Fig. 81d–e).

#### **Platform (Area II);** see pp. 79f.

Heindl supervised the clearing of the platform to bedrock, and lettered the various areas of debris “a” to “f,” dividing “e” and “f” into earlier and later phases and including in f/2 the area of the entrance cut (Fig. 32). The debris was 20–80 cm deep. He considered all material to have come from the tomb, the boulders having been part of the blocking from the descending corridor, and the stone fragments, chips, finer *gebel* material, and sand to have been from the burial chamber as well. However, upon considering the fact that in 1988 there appeared to be more debris in areas II and III than in 1922, it is likely that at least the chip and smaller rock in areas II and III were primarily either washed down from the mountains above, or had come loose from the rock walls surrounding the platform. Whether the boulders could have been from the descending corridor is another question; it would not have been necessary to move them far from the entrance cut to gain access to the tomb. It is quite possible that they were from the crevice above the platform (Fig. 26c [center, top of photo]), presumably the “hollow in the rock above the plundered tomb” that Carter pried free of boulders when he unsuccessfully investigated it for a tomb site (Doc. 5, p. 32). Romer believed the area had been a dyke for diverting water (communication, 26 Nov. 1984).

The debris on II seems to have been deposited at different times, however, with Heindl believing that sections e/1 and f/1 were of a different period than a, b, c, e/2, and f/2. He located robbers' traces throughout: sandy spots from sieving in a, d and e/1; remains of fire in b and between f/1 and f/2; and extensive robbers' remains in f/1 (cf. Figs. 32, 38–9). The robbers' remains included a wine bottle and plastic bottle filled with fuel; an older glass bottle with a wick which could burn well and an older tin lamp; a Pyrozol insect spray can turned into a water pipe, perhaps five years old; and four green palm fronds with spells of the Koran against *afrit* (spirits). Cigarette wrappers of the Samsun company (founded in 1938, defunct in 1980 according to the workmen) were found in e/1 and f/2, along with recent Arabic newspaper and nylon netting; a USA grain bag lay in the entrance cut.

Otherwise, the finds were: wood, a bottle stopper, twigs, ropes, parts of baskets, ladder rungs, a chicken bone, date seeds, a cigar wrapper (“Sarpa . . .”) from rue Mansour, modern water-jar sherds, unidentified bone (presumably animal, Fig. 82e), and black, blue, and gingham cloth. Vessels that were not considered ancient were also found: WQP83 (or in the burial chamber), WQP65a, and WQP66.

Together with the modern material on the platform (Area II), however, there were pharaonic remains: an example of the large storage jars mainly found in Area I (p91) and sherds of 18th dynasty type (p42, p50)—including those thought to belong with sherds found in Areas I and IV (p57, p113) and sherds of the same ware as found in IV (p91). While some pottery was of the same type or belonged to the same vessel as pots found in Area I (p30, p88, p101, p111), one large rim on II and IV had no links to anything below (p91).

Objects notable for their rarity and relative preciousness were: fragments of lentoid beads (one of faience, one of Egyptian blue) and an oval piece of decayed turquoise glass from area c; a fragment of an Egyptian blue lentoid bead from f/1; and, from the area of the entrance cut (f/2), a small faience tube bead, two further fragments of faience lentoids, and nine additional fragments of turquoise glass (Fig. 82a, c). A prehistoric hand axe was also found there—in section e, Fig. 82d—and a limestone fragment with black stripes (Fig. 82f).

Once cleaned of a final thin layer of mud (Fig. 40), the platform and entrance cut revealed the fact that the first leg of the platform runs generally with the bedding planes of the *gebel* (Fig. 42), the second perpendicular to it (Fig. 43),

## Chapter 3

and the descending corridor again parallel (Fig. 44). Small sections of rock had not allowed durable steps to be made in the entrance cut; four large roughly cut examples descend from the west, and two from the north (Figs. 41, 43–4). Also evident after cleaning was the color change of the *gebel* wall; the lighter tone where debris had been piled was an indication that the lower sections of the walls had been covered a long time.

### **Descending corridor (Area III);** see pp. 80–6

Since work on the platform had taken three weeks with twelve men (all debris was carried to the wady floor) and few ancient remains had been found, only the top and bottom of the descending corridor were cleared to measure the slope of the passage (Figs. 36–7, as found). This debris was much like that at the wady head and on the platform: loose dry earth with stone chips, occasional boulders, and modern robbers' remains. However, a tube bead of Egyptian blue was recovered from either the corridor or the burial chamber beyond.

Although there was no way to determine the condition of the corridor at the time of robbery, attempts were made to establish the original dimensions of the corridor and to determine whether blockings had sealed it. The ceiling presented a broken, concave surface covered with mud and a whitish, oatmeal-like material (Figs. 37, 45); a white deposit (lime?) lay along the fissures. No chiseled surfaces could be detected.

At the lower end of the corridor, there was a horizontal patch of material on the floor that the workmen believed was *muna* (mud plaster), the remnants of an ancient sill. This was a hard substance composed of fine brown dust with tiny limestone chips in it, also looking like oatmeal. Slightly within the burial chamber, a second, more irregular patch of this material was located that had somewhat larger chips in it. As this material had been found on the walls of the corridor over fissured surfaces, and, as it had extended into the burial chamber to a height of about 1 m near the entrance, the author concluded that this material was more likely formed naturally than by man. However, it was also observed that the corridor walls were chiseled at the point of juncture with the burial chamber, to a height of more than 1.9 m; and, in line with the south side of the “sill,” there was a small corner on the east wall at the 1.9 m height. The distance between the corridor walls where the “sill” was positioned was 1.18 m, and its southern edge was 0.9 m north of the burial chamber (Fig. 46).

### **Burial chamber (Area IV);** see pp. 80, 82, 84, 86f.

As with the descending corridor, the burial chamber (roughly 5.2 x 7.5 m) was filled with a great deal of debris upon arrival (Fig. 36); this made an understanding of its ancient condition impossible. Clearing of the chamber was begun in four stages, first to an even level about 1.8 m above the original floor (IV and IV2); then on the eastern half, downward about a meter (IVe/2); the entire west half (IVw/2); and finally, completion of the east half (i.e., IVe/2).

Characteristic of the debris of this chamber were—in addition to the loose dry earth, smaller chips, robbers' remains, skin and bone (Fig. 82g), and occasional pieces of ancient pottery and bits of glass or beads that were found (Fig. 82a–c)—large chunks of limestone that had fallen from the ceiling, often still intact despite the turning over of debris (modern robbers' items were eventually found very near the floor). Also characteristic of the chamber's debris was the concentration of stone chip along the walls, and, finally, at a level of somewhat more than a meter from the floor, the presence of a more homogenous, less disturbed strata.

Within the center of this less disturbed area was a patch of mud and chip, sand, and fine chip (the sand and fine chip could have been sieving areas or natural formations). As for the mud, air bubbles within it indicated that it had flowed; the bubbles were sometimes colored yellow or red, due to being near limestone that had iron oxides on its surface (de Wit). Chunks of fine brown silt were also observed. Finally, in one smallish area a few centimeters off the floor at the center of the room, there was a thin horizontal layer of completely homogenous fine silt; below it, the finer quality of whitish dust and chip appeared again.

Other than this “undisturbed unit” within the bottom strata, however, the loose debris contained various robbers' traces, albeit fewer and generally older than heretofore mentioned. Rather near the floor, however, there was electric cable, a match box, the cork tip of a cigarette, ladder rungs, a Samsun wrapper, a piece of large rope used as a wick, black cloth, pieces of thick green glass, and a fake plaster finger ring. Pottery found in the chamber included vessels that were not considered ancient: WQP65a, WQP66, and possibly WQP83. There were also a number of silverfish on the walls.

Several important pharaonic sherds did appear in the burial chamber, however (p100, one of the large storage jars, and part of p57), as did a faience tube bead, sections of two Egyptian blue lentoid beads, and four bits of turquoise glass (Fig. 82b). The central part near the floor was sieved, but no pieces of bone, wood, or stone antiquities were found.

Having cleared the chamber of all debris, the question of the chamber's original dimensions was addressed. The southeast, southwest, and northwest corners of the room were observed to curve inward about 2.0 m from the floor, below two horizontal layers of chert (Figs. 47–9). All four walls were found chiseled below the chert (even though the

east and west walls would not have needed to be, since they run parallel to the bedding plane of the *gebel*). Above the chert the limestone was broken in a vaulted arc, its texture like bricks that had been shaped by bedding-plane fissures and fissures perpendicular to them. Various bands of chert ran within the chiseled walls below, but it was remarkable that, above the double band, there was no further band visible in the ca. 1.50 m reaching to the apex of the chamber. This upper section vaulted east-west; perhaps as much as 400 cubic meters of stone had fallen in to create it.

This upper ceiling section was also notable for four patches of very black robber's smoke (the highest being about 4.40 m from the floor), fissures blackened by bats, mud layers (all the way to the top), and white (lime?) deposits in the fissures. Presumably the ceiling fell in because of the lack of reinforcing chert layer(s), water seepage from above, and humidity from rain water entering the corridor. This chamber is, after all, the ultimate catchment for water coming off the plateau and emptying into Wady D. Its floor is approximately the level of the wady head, and an examination of the east side of the head shows that there are no chert bands between a double band (presumably that of the burial chamber's original ceiling) and two thinner chert bands—one near the level of the platform and another about a meter below it. Substantial rains are well known on the West Bank. A storm during the 1930s was reported to R. Stadelmann by Sheikh Abdel Maaboud (deceased ca. 1983) when it seemed that a river was flowing in the Valley of the Kings, and Helen Jacquet saw the aftermath of water damage in the late 1950s when the entire tomb of Ramesses II was flooded (communications, 1988). Stadelmann further reported that 10 cm of rain falling in a morning at the Sety I temple required two to three days to drain.

H. de Wit examined part of the mud area in the center of the cleared chamber, as well as the chamber's walls and ceiling. He was inclined to think that the mud on the floor was of rather recent origin, particularly as no antiquities had been found in it. This would mean that little of the ceiling had fallen in—or little debris washed in—before the robbers entered in 1916. Indeed, Mohammed Hamad told Winlock that there was a blocking at both ends of the corridor, stating that the objects were “all in the chamber, arranged in an orderly way on a layer of chip which covered the floor, and were buried only by the rock which had subsequently fallen from the roof or been washed in by the floods.” He claimed that two coffins were recognizable (Winlock 1948: 5f.; Carter's sources had mentioned three sets of nested coffins, Doc. 27, p. 40). There are presently three smoke spots at the lower end of the corridor's east wall—1.0 to 1.10 m above the double band of chert of the burial chamber, and one at the south end of the corridor's west wall, 1 m above the burial chamber's chert band there—indicating that the corridor was filled with debris at some point. There are also smoke spots on the north, south, and east chiseled walls of the burial chamber, and on the broken vaulted ceiling (Figs. 45, 47, 49). As these spots are not dated, it is impossible to know which of the lower ones were made by the original robbers.

In general, it seems that much of the debris found in the chamber in 1988—including boulders found at a high level there—washed in since the robbery. Some corroboration of this theory is offered by the configuration of the surface above the tomb, along the top of its gorge (Frontispiece, Figs. 4 and 24a): a water-worn fissure there seems to be just above the spot in the tomb where mud was found. In other words, mud high on the ceiling of the chamber today and the mud area near the floor are—as suggested by de Wit—the result of rains, water seepage from above, and breakdown of the *gebel*.

#### **Pit south of wady head (Pit); see pp. 88–90**

If the large tomb at Wady D was periodically worked over by robbers since 1916, this does not seem to have been the case with the small plundered pit excavated in the *gebel* floor south of the wady head (Fig. 29).

This pit was one of two observed on the right side of the wady head upon arrival, its east face parallel with the *gebel* cliff. Neither pit was sketched by Carter, and the one excavated is not visible in Burton's 1922 photo (Fig. 25a). Thomas did not mention either pit, referring only to the seven Carter had noted further to the west along the wady bed (Figs. 10, 18). Thomas considered the seven pits subsidiary to the gorge tomb, as paralleled in Wadys A–C (Thomas 1966: 198). Since the pit excavated in 1988 was cut into rock, it was likely pharaonic.

Excavation revealed that an east-west rectangular pit had been cut downward (Pit), its eastern end in good rock and its western end in conglomerate. This pit measured roughly 1.0 x 2.0 m, and, near the surface in loose conglomerate, ancient sherds of types already encountered at Area I were found. A broken piece of orange quartzite, charcoal, and burnt wood as well as a cigarette or match box were also found (Figs. 83h, 84b). While excavating, good quality rock was uncovered on the east; this was the stratum into which a chamber was eventually hollowed (Chamber; Figs. 51, 53). The floor of this chamber was 3.5 m below the wady bed. Examination of the Chamber and the rocky side walls of the Pit revealed that a horizontal layer of chert separated the upper conglomerate from the good rock surface below it.

The Pit was also excavated in a westward direction, where a series of steps leading to the Chamber was revealed (Fig. 52). The steps were rather rough and crumbly near the surface but more stable further down.

The fill of the Pit yielded the following:

## Chapter 3

*in the approximately 1.0 x 2.0 m depression at the surface and close to the gebel face, about a meter below the ground surface*

a few cigarette or match box remains, sherds, and the following items thought to be Tuthmoside in date (see Fig. 28 for most): two model tools (Fig. 83a, c, e), a model offering pot with slight residue (**p75**), a serpentinite vessel handle (Fig. 83b), and the rim of a small travertine ointment jar (Fig. 83d);

*slightly higher than these remains and to the west, when the Pit was extended*

a mass of leather, bone, wood, and textile, some charred and covered with resin (Fig. 84c–e).

The nail-studded leather appeared to be sandal fragments, probably of Roman or Coptic date (see Chap. 1); near them were modern black cloth, fine sand, and post-New Kingdom sherds (**p103–p108**). Also from this expanded area was a sherd that joined a New Kingdom sherd from the wady head (**p41**); a second sherd from Area I (**p89**) may also have belonged to a sherd in the pit. Other fragments from Area I matched sherds found in the Pit (**p33–p34**, **p60**, **p76**, **p83**, **p112**).



Fig. 28. Model objects from fill of Pit.  
Left to right: axe, blade, miniature bowl,  
rim of travertine ointment jar

The Pit further yielded 18th dynasty pottery: the neck of a decorated marl jug (**p85**), part of a large foreign jar (**p102**), a wall sherd of an extremely large marl jar (WQPB), and another model dish (**p77**). Also found were: a partially abraded, fine-grained black granite fragment that seemed to have been the shoulder of a statue (Fig. 83f), a three-sided limestone fragment (Fig. 83g), a piece of a faience finger ring (Fig. 83d [bottom]), and a section of wood worked with a rounded corner (Fig. 84a). All of these could have been contemporary with the tomb in the gorge above.

### **Chamber opening off pit (Chamber);** see pp. 88–90

The rock cut Chamber that opened off the eastern end of the Pit was approximately 1.25 m high, its floor about 3.5 m from the surface (Fig. 53). The ceiling had fallen in slightly, so that slivers of limestone lay on the surface of the fill; dusty spider webs were also seen, as on the gorge's platform. From top to bottom, the fill was composed of a layer of bubble-filled silt about 5 cm deep and 25 cm from the ceiling, a 10 cm layer of silt, and a 30 cm mass of mud and small chip that housed one large and at least four small boulders. The bottom of this fill had big chunks of stone and fine dirt.

When the fill was removed (Fig. 55), the Chamber was seen to be roughly the width of the Pit, with its side walls twice the length of the back wall and its rear wall having slightly rounded corners. The hard but uneven floor was lower in the front than at the back (Fig. 50; mud had seeped into the floor so that it was impossible to be sure of the original surface). Only the right wall had been cut all the way to the floor; elsewhere stone had been left in the juncture between wall and floor. Parts of the left and rear walls had collapsed due to water; the back wall had also fallen in and appeared to have niches because of an east-west fault that ran westward up the entrance stairs. There was one layer of chert at the ceiling and floor levels (Fig. 54), and at least three other chert layers between them. No plaster traces were found on the floor.

The fill of the Chamber was, of course, contiguous with the fill of the entrance cut, since no barrier separated them. In the Chamber were some 18th dynasty sherds heavily coated with mud (**p32**, **p52**, **p55**, WQP109) and the following items illustrated in Fig. 85a–d: a lapis melon bead that matched a bead retrieved in the main tomb by Carter (Fig. 19), pieces of bone, a gray mud sealing and a reddish mud (jar) sealing, wood (some with gesso), bits of copper alloy and of translucent amber glass, and gold leaf.

The metal bits from the Chamber could relate to the metal blades, model offering dishes, and travertine oint-

ment jar rim in the adjoining pit, as could the rim of a pottery saucer similar to **p76**. On the other hand, the serpentine vessel handle there and the lapis bead and scrap of gold leaf in the Chamber relate to finds from the gorge tomb.

The large gypsum-coated storage jars of brown ware found at Area I (**p5**) were represented in the Pit and Chamber by four rims, three bases, and a large bagful of body sherds. Sherds of gray fabric from amphorae were found there, as well as one sherd of P 23 fabric<sup>2</sup> (see Wares from outside the Nile Valley, p. 65) and one sherd of a red carinated bowl with black rim (see **p33**). A rim from the Chamber (see **p88**) was probably for a base found on the platform.

## POTTERY; see pp. 91–105

### INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Pottery was the chief find at the excavation of 1988, with about 120 vessels recorded. This material was fragmentary; thus, the summary below—followed by the Pottery Registers of 113 items—may not reflect the full range of types originally present at the site. Most pottery recorded was Tuthmoside, with only a small amount first millennium BC–Coptic or modern in date.

The quantity of pottery found had not been anticipated, and a full-time ceramicist was not present; most drawings were prepared by Christopher Kirby. Thankfully, a number of archaeologists volunteered help: David Aston and later Pamela Rose made site visits to identify fabrics, check and remake drawings, and name comparisons; Helen Jacquet was also helpful with discussion of pottery at Karnak. In America, drawings and a few fabric samples were seen by Dorothea Arnold, Janine Bourriau, Eliezer Oren, Peter Lacovara, Stuart Smith, Barbara Aston, and Irmgard Hein. Pat Podzorski and Joan Knudsen made comparative material available in Berkeley, as did Deborah Darnell in Egypt. Anne Seiler very kindly agreed to review the manuscript in late 1999–early 2000. The author takes responsibility for the Pottery Registers, filling lacunae, and preparing the summary.

For numbering, see Conventions at the beginning of this chapter.

### OVERVIEW OF THE TUTHMOSIDE POTTERY

#### Provenance

Almost all pottery was found at the wady head, Area I. Small quantities were found on the platform above (Area II) and in the burial chamber (Area IV), or further out on the wady floor (in the Pit and its Chamber). For pottery in particular find spots, see Description of clearance above.

The author considers most sherds to have come originally from the main tomb for the following reasons:

- the types found are known in the Tuthmoside period;
- many sherds were coated with gypsum, a feature known for pottery used at or deposited in a tomb (Hulin 1984);
- sherds found on the platform were of the same wares as the bulk found at the wady head;
- the tomb is not on a path to another tomb;
- a number of types are unlikely to have been left by patrolmen and tomb builders;
- hieratic labels appear to name the deceased.

#### General characteristics

Of the Tuthmoside pottery, a large storage jar (**p1–p15**) was the most common shape, almost always with white-wash, and very occasionally blackened or flattened from over firing. The rim was sloping (**p1**) or rolled (**p4**); the fabric was usually Nile B2. Of Nile B2, the following tally was made:

- highly-fired purplish sherds with handmade bases: three recorded rims (**p1**, **p4**, **p7**) and twelve additional groups with rims (including an extremely large example) or bases (WQP94b);
- medium-fired reddish ware: four bases;
- low-fired brownish ware: two recorded rims (**p5–p6**), three other rims, and six handmade bases.

<sup>2</sup> The letter “P” in the Vienna system was assigned to foreign fabrics; for published descriptions of those found at Amarna and Saqqara, see references in Nicholson and Rose 1985: 147–9; Bourriau 1990a; D. Aston

1991: 48f.; D. Aston 1997b: 93f.; D. Aston 1998: 69–74; Bourriau and Erikson 1998: 107.



## Chapter 3

There was little gypsum on the medium-fired examples and a good deal on the highly fired.

The large, partially handmade storage jar was also typed in Nile D (**p9–p15**), as were two additional rims, and three wheel-made bases. Seiler (1999: 217) states that Nile silt with limestone appears in this shape during the Second Intermediate period, and is followed by the use of Nile/marl mixture. She also describes the partly wheel-, partly handmade construction of these vessels, as does Rose (2001: 18). Hieratic inscriptions were on three of the Nile B2 jars (**p1–p3**), and on one jar of Nile D (**p15**). Altogether, sixteen rims and fourteen bases were counted, but there was evidence for at least thirty separate jars. The shape of the rim places the type in the early 18th dynasty (Seiler 1999: 216–9).

The second most common shape represented was the storage amphora of Canaanite shape. Of those pots thought to be of Marl D (**p91–p98**), most were a gray fabric with calcium temper and occasional large hematite chips. These vessels usually had a thick greenish white surface, and, occasionally, a thick pink interior surface. There were also examples of a Marl D red or purple fabric (**p90**) with the gypsum coating thinner and more yellow. Remains of Canaanite-shape amphorae from outside the Nile Valley were also found: **p99–p102**.

Otherwise, the pottery was composed of small dishes, jars, larger bowls, and a few bread and beer jars. These were mainly of Nile silt, often with red wash or highlights, and were assignable to the Tuthmoside period. A good many examples had been whitewashed. See the Pottery Register below for details.

### Shapes

Slightly more than half of the Nile-ware tomb vessels were open shapes; of marls, a quarter of the shapes were open. These findings correspond with the view that silt wares were more often used for food presentation, while harder clays were generally used for storage and transport.

### Fabrics and surfaces

As the fabrics were initially typed in the Vienna system as described by Nordström and Bourriau (1993: 168–82), and as the sherds have been reburied at the site since 1989, the Vienna system used at the site is maintained here. Nile B2 was used for more than 70% of the entries, Marl A2 and A4 for 12%, Marl D for 9%, and non-Nile Valley fabrics for 4%. On fabrics, see also Bourriau and Nicholson 1992.

#### *Nile B2*

A number of open shapes were completely uncoated (**p16, p39–p40, p42, p48–p51, p53, p65, p74, p76**) but many of the Nile B2 shapes were decorated in some way. Sometimes red wash provided highlights: on rims (**p19, p23–p24, p26, p45**), as spots (**p20, p54**; also with a red band on the rim in **p22, WQP109**), or as spots with stripes (**p21**). A purple-black paint was also used (**p18**). In other cases, the wash covered the inside (**p52**), or inside and outside of the vessel (**p25, p44, p47**; once in combination with a darker rim and interior spots, **p30**; another time polished(?) with a black rim, **p33**). In other open forms where red either wholly or partially covered the exterior, interiors were polished (**p27, p32, p35**) and/or pattern burnished (**p31, p34, p36–p38**).

Closed forms were found uncoated (**p64, p66**) or covered with a red wash (**p57–p58, p60–p61, p63**), sometimes decorated with painted stripes (**p70–p73**). Two examples also had a red coat with pattern burnishing (**p68–p69**).

A gypsum wash was added to various open forms: seemingly uncoated ware (**p41**), uncoated ware with red-washed rim (**p29**) and ware with red-washed interior (**p52**). Gypsum also appeared on closed forms (**p62**), applied over red wash (**p57**), and was characteristic of the large store jars **p1–p8**.

#### *Nile D*

Most of the vessels of this fabric were storage jars covered with gypsum wash (**p9–p15, p59**). Usually these sherds were light red on the surface and maroon within, with much sand and limestone temper that appeared as blue specs. A few smaller open forms of Nile D had red wash on the rim (**p28**), or on the interior, spreading onto the exterior of the rim (**p17**); a larger open form had dark red spots inside and a medium-red rim (**WQP45**). A piece whose date is not clear had red wash and gypsum (**p112**).

#### *Nile E*

One base sherd from a cooking pot—with smoke traces, hand smoothing inside, and lots of sand temper (**WQPE**)—was identified by Hein as Nile E.

*Marl A2*

A thin-walled body sherd of an extremely large storage jar (WQPB) was found in the Pit, one that Rose thought she knew at Malqata and Amarna.

Gypsum wash was found on closed forms **p88–p89**.

*Marl A4*

Vessels of this fabric were uncoated and of both open (**p78–p79, p81**) and closed (**p82–p84**) shapes. Several sherds had painted decoration (**p85–p87**), one apparently also had red wash (**p82**). Rose believes it to be an Upper Egyptian fabric (2001: 18).

Gypsum wash was found on open form **p80**.

*Marl D*

According to Bourriau, this fabric has been found in a Second Intermediate period level at Memphis as a well-developed specimen; Marl D is thus probably a northern fabric (communication, 21 Feb. 2002). This accords with Seiler's experience at Thebes: it is not in the DAIK's 17th dynasty contexts, nor those of very early Dynasty 18. Seiler sees it arriving at Thebes "with the major change in pottery production that took place in the time of Hatshepsut" (communication, 8 Apr. 2002). As might be expected because of the dense, hard clay, the largest percentage of pots represented at Wady Qurud were amphorae of Canaanite shape, with green, pink, or cream-colored surfaces (**p91–p98**; whether the slip was self or applied was usually not determined); a thinner-walled large Marl D jar had gypsum wash (**p90**). A jug with burnished cream slip had a painted band at the base of the neck (**p85**). Some problematic fragments were correlated with this fabric: an open rim with gypsum wash (**p109**) and a closed base with gypsum surface (**p110**).

*Oases*

Rim **p100**, with yellow body and gray slip, was identified by Bourriau as an Oasis fabric that occurs at Memphis (communication, 21 Feb. 2002). In fact, **p100** has a stepped rim, as does a Ramesside rim of this fabric from Qantir (D. Aston 1998: 537 no. 2206; see also loc. cit. 73, 536f., and CCE 6 for post-New Kingdom oases fabrics). A similar fabric, also from the oases according to Bourriau and found at both Memphis and Amarna, exists in a salmon-colored sherd from the Chamber (WQPK); B. Aston stated that examples of this fabric with uniform orange section occur at Saqqara (communication, 20 Oct. 1998). The author believes the fabric of WQPK was represented in sherds from Areas I (cylindrical body joined by a thin wall section to a pointed base) and from IIa that seemed to join them (note the thinness of the wall between base and upper section in D. Aston 1998: 537 no. 2203). WQPK was analyzed with neutron activation analysis by Patrick McGovern (PMG586). See also Rose (2001: 18).

*Foreign*

The most complete vessel of foreign origin, **p99**, was identified by D. Aston in 1988 as a Levantine fabric found at Saqqara and elsewhere (P 23; D. Aston 1998: 69, fabric IV.07.01). Part of a second vessel of the same ware was found as well (**p102**).

Rim **p101** (from a Canaanite jar?) had a fine, pink fabric, not identified by any who saw it.

**Inscriptions**

Four fragmentary hieratic labels were excavated (**p1–p3, p15**), all originally on large, whitewashed jars partially made on a turning device. James Hoch discusses these inscriptions in Chapter 8, judging them to be in group writing and likely to be foreign names because they are consistent and comparatively early, do not call to mind the names of known commodities, and occur with an incised line that make them more formal than what would be expected for commodity dockets.

Comparative inscribed tomb pottery shows names and commodities—for example *b3k*-oil on two pottery jugs from the tomb of Maiherpri (Daressy 1902: CG 24010, 24013) and Canaanite-type amphorae from Buhen (Serpico 1999: 269). Early Dynasty 18 names and commodities were written on storage jars excavated by the MMA that are similar to those from the Wady Qurud with inscriptions (tomb 1017, above Hatshepsut's temple; MMA 22.3.362–.368; Winlock 1922: 34). These inscribed sherds, and several reconstructed jars of whitewashed light red silt found with them, were accompanied by simple bowls for use as lids. Two sherds were marked "natron," a third "sawdust," and a fourth *inst*

## Chapter 3

(a plant) and “sawdust.” Three other sherds had personal names: Hori, Montunakht,<sup>3</sup> and . . . montu. Because of the commodities mentioned, and because of some of the other finds in the shaft—the total included a skeleton, beef bones, bits of a Third Intermediate period mummy case, a mud sealing with the jackal over nine captives, a basket wrapped in resin-soaked linen, soaked rags, salt, *thin* and chaff, and a wooden adze-shaped scraper with traces that indicated it could have been used for embalming—Winlock guessed the hieratic names to be those of embalmers. It would seem, however, that the tomb was more of a collecting place than an intact deposit, and it is as likely that the names written belonged to those for whom the embalming materials had been prepared. A pottery krater with painted decoration from QV 72, contemporary with the Wady Qurud tomb, was inscribed “king’s son Baki,” while a second krater accompanying it had “sycamore fruits” (Lecuyot 1996: 149f., pl. 1a), showing that both types of inscriptions could be applied to objects for the deceased. Jacobus van Dijk states that Late period names on pots at Saqqara occasionally have a name together with the contents, but thinks it probable that a name by itself was on a Ramesside amphora (communication, 5 Oct. 1999; see van Dijk 1997a). Interestingly, one of Winlock’s personal names had an incised mark near it, and one of his name-labels had ink lines nearby. Two of the Wady Qurud ink inscriptions appear in relation to an incised straight line to which the hieratic inscriptions seem to have been positioned (**p1**, above; **p3**, to the right).

TT 85 has representations of these whitewashed jars with hieroglyphic inscriptions on them for “water,” “beer,” and “good beer” (H. Guksch communication, 27 Sept. 1999); and one of Lecuyot’s late Dynasty 18/early Dynasty 19 examples had a hieratic label listing “beer” as its contents (Koenig 1988: 126; Lecuyot 1996: 151, pl. 2c, from QV 32). A jar contemporary with those of Winlock and those from the Wady Qurud was found in the *Vallée des trois puits* with hieratic traces, apparently too faint to be read (Loyrette 1997: 187). Yvan Koenig’s corpus of Deir el-Medina hieratic labels—which includes personal names as well as commodities (Koenig 1979–80: 49–53 for the former)—unfortunately lacks descriptions of shapes, although a few vessels with content labels have subsequently been published by Bavay et al. (2000).

### Marks

The large foreign jar **p102** had an ink “crook” on it; vessels **p25**, **p27**, **p81** had incised marks.

### Functions

All Tuthmoside vessel types must have had a function at the burial site, either as funerary provision, cult ritual, or even funerary banquet (cf. Seiler 1995a; Rose 2001). Function can be suggested for some shapes:

#### *Ritual*

Miniature open form for foundation deposit: **p75–p77**

Hes-jar(?): **p89**

Funerary ritual(?): **p88**

Incense holder or lamp: **p26**, **p46**

#### *Commodities*

Jars and amphorae for various products: **p57–p64**, **p90–p94**, **p96–p102**

Amphora for beer storage(?): **p95** (cf. Winlock 1932: 31f., pl. 31)

#### *Food and drink*

Jars for beer: **p65–p66**

Bottles for water: **p68–p69**

Bottles for liquids: **p70–p73**, **p82–p87**

Plates and bowls for foodstuffs: **p16–p56**, **p78–p81**

#### *Commodities or embalming materials(?)*

Large, whitewashed storage jar with constricted neck and conical rim, similar to the modern water jar (*zir*): **p1–p15**. It is on three of these jars that hieratic inscriptions were found. The author takes the inscriptions as names of two of the deceased (see Hoch, p. 332 below).

---

<sup>3</sup> There may also be a second inscription, at right angles to the first, with a suggested reading of *bit* (honey) by J. van Dijk (communication, 6 Oct. 1999).

Contemporary uninscribed examples have been found in the Valley of the Kings: KV 42 still has a number of such jars within (G. Johnson 1999: 25; El-Bialy 1999: pl. 44b), and Donald Ryan found remains of them in KV 27, 45, and 21 (twenty-four in the latter, some with linen strips and bags of powder, presumably natron; Ryan communication, 6 Oct. 1999). Earlier in the century, a number of fragmentary examples associated with natron were recovered from the tombs of Amenhotep II and Tuthmosis III (Daressy 1902: 216 no. 24882, 292 no. 24956), and at least one of ten examples in the tomb of Maiherpri was filled with natron (ibid.: 20 nos. 24037–46). One example with natron was recovered in tomb B, *Vallée des trois puits* (Loyrette 1997: 180–2), and a broader shape of the type was later used for embalming materials for Tutankhamun (Winlock 1941: 6f., pl. 7a). Seiler traces the type back to the Middle Kingdom (1999: 216–9).

No content remains were noticed on the fragmentary examples found at the head of the Wady Qurud; likewise those in contemporary-to-slightly-later burials of Nakhtmin (fourteen counted, from the shaft: Guksch 1995: 81, *grosse Vorratsgefässe*), Tjanuni (seals for fourteen, sherds for many more, from burial chamber 1: Brack and Brack 1977: 66 1/43, *grosser Tonkrug*), and deceased in the Valley of the Queens (Loyrette and Fekri 1991: 14f.; Lecuyot 1996: 149f., VdR 9, 94, and 18, *jarres de stockage*; Loyrette 1997: 187, L III–IV, fig. 8a–e). However, Loyrette and Fekri point out that representations of the shape occur not only in scenes with Osiris (as in Brack and Brack 1977: pls. 20b, 27c), but also in scenes with grain and beer; the hieratic labels mentioned above confirm these associations.

It is not clear how long the type continues, Lecuyot (1996) indicates that it was into Dynasty 19. The Wady Qurud examples are perhaps closest to the drawings from Nakhtmin (*supra*). The illustrated example from KV 21 is slender (D. Aston et al. 2000: cat. 1).

#### *Vessel support*

Stand: **p74**

#### **Signs of use**

H. Jacquet commented that a number of sherds at the site seemed wind- and sand-worn; such wear would presumably have come after discovery in 1916. Some items had especially worn or flaked surfaces (**p27**, **p35**, **p48**, **p51**), perhaps from water damage in the burial chamber or in Area I. The fire damage on the exterior and/or interior of some open forms could have come from ancient or modern activity (**p26**, **p31**, **p38**, **p46**, WQPE). Seiler knows various vessel shapes used in the cult celebrated at a tomb, sometimes showing traces of burning inside and out (communication, 9 Feb. 2000). No “spade sherds” were noted that could have been used for digging.

#### **Date**

Just as there are differences in the funerary goods associated with the tomb (for example, the gold sheet ornaments in Chap. 5, Cats. **24–9**), there were differences in its pottery wares. Three hieratic labels are on pots of Nile B2 and one on a pot of Nile D; but whether this signifies that that pottery was made at different times or by different potters is unknown.

General parallels to late Second Intermediate period–Tuthmosis IV pottery can be found in Seiler (1999) and also Askamit, D. Aston (1996b), Bourriau, Brack and Brack, Bruyère, Carnarvon and Carter, Daressy, T. Davis (1906), Dorner and Aston, Fuscaldo, Guidotti, Guksch, Hein (1994a), Holladay, Holthoer, Hope, Lansing and Hayes, Lecuyot, Loyrette, Loyrette and Fekri, G. Nagel, Petrie (1909), Rose, Schiaparelli (1923), Seiler, S. Smith, Szafránski, B. Williams, and Winlock (1932). The bulk of the pottery was initially termed pre-Malqata (D. Aston), generally Tuthmoside (Bourriau), and most recently, transitional between the “early New Kingdom” and “advanced Tuthmoside style” (Arnold communication, 4 Apr. 2002).

Some specific comparisons are in the Pottery Register, others made by colleagues follow:

- p1–p15**: similar to large storage jar from KV 21 in the earlier part of the Hatshepsut–Tuthmosis IV period (D. Aston et al. 2000: 15);
- p18**, **p33** black rims, an “early New Kingdom” trait (Arnold communication, 4 Apr. 2002), not much beyond Hatshepsut/Tuthmosis III at Memphis (Bourriau communication, 1989). See the black and red rims on Hatshepsut (Szafránski 1992) and Tuthmosis III pottery at Deir el-Bahari (Hein communication from Szafránski, 22 Nov. 1999);
- p40**, **p44**: conical bowls, largely 15th century (B. Williams 1992: 34f.);
- p58**: typical of the Amenhotep I–Tuthmosis III era (Bourriau communication, 1989);

## Chapter 3

- p69:** generally a Second Intermediate period form (Bourriau communication, 1989); at Thebes in Dynasty 17 burials (Arnold communication, 4 Apr. 2002);  
**p86–p87:** later Tuthmosis III period, scarce here (Arnold communication, 4 Apr. 2002);  
**p99:** similar to a Late Bronze I shape (D. Aston 1998: 69, fabric IV.07.01: see Amiran 1969: pl. 43.2).

The occurrence of modern pottery at the site made it difficult to be sure of the date of several items from Areas I, II, and IV (**p109–p113**); Tuthmoside parallels have not been found, and the fabrics were not recognized. For post-Dynasty 18 pottery comparisons see D. Aston (1999) and D. Aston, B. Aston, and Brock (1998).

### ORGANIZATION AND CONVENTIONS OF POTTERY REGISTERS

The New Kingdom entries are organized by fabric (Nile silts, desert marls, oases and foreign fabrics), starting with those made on a turning device and preceding to those altogether wheel-made. Within each category, items are arranged from open to closed shape. Post-New Kingdom and examples of uncertain date conclude the registers.

The drawings are printed at 1:3, and all measurements are in centimeters. Extensive red wash is indicated by abbreviated stippling. In other words, the narrow strips running along the profile of **p25** indicate that the entire interior and exterior surfaces were washed with red.

#### NEW KINGDOM POTTERY REGISTER (**p1–p102**)

**Silt wares, hand-turned;** see pp. 91–3

*Storage jars, made on a hand-turned device*

**p1** WQP89, Area I  
Fig. 56a  
Nile B2 uncoated; gypsum wash.  
Rim Diam 20.1, restored H 65.6, greatest Diam 37.0.  
Horizontal line below neck incised before firing; vertical gouge above accidental(?).  
Hieratic inscription in black ink: Fig. 266b, p. 332.

**p2** WQP2, Area I  
Fig. 56b  
Probably Nile B2; gypsum wash.  
W of sherd 7.2.  
Hieratic inscription in black ink: Fig. 266c, p. 332.

**p3** WQP90a, Area I  
Fig. 56c  
Nile B2; gypsum wash.  
W of sherd 11.2.  
Vertical line on right incised before firing.  
Hieratic inscription in black ink: Fig. 266a, p. 332.

**p4** WQP90b, Area I  
Fig. 57a  
Nile B2; red wash; gypsum coating.  
Rim Diam 23.5.

**p5** WQP97, Area I  
Fig. 57b  
Nile B2 finely levigated brown ware; gypsum wash on exterior, and on interior rim.  
Rim Diam 22.0.

**p6** WQP98, WQ excavations, not specific  
Fig. 57c  
Nile B2 brown ware; self slip flaked off.  
Rim Diam 21.9.

**p7** WQ96, Area I  
Fig. 57d  
Nile B2 red ware; gypsum wash on exterior, extended to cover interior rim.  
Rim Diam 22.0.

**p8** WQP95, Area I  
Fig. 57e  
Nile B2 uncoated; gypsum wash.  
Greatest Diam 31.2.  
Base for **p4**(?)

**p9** WQP99, Area I  
Fig. 58a  
Nile D uncoated dark gray fabric; gypsum wash.  
Rim Diam 19.9.  
Over fired; diagonal lines incised before firing.

**p10** WQP100, Area I(?)  
Fig. 58b  
Nile D uncoated; gypsum wash.  
Rim Diam 26.0.  
Very large wall of red fabric with gypsum wash was found in Pit's chamber.

**p11** WQP88, Area I  
Fig. 58c  
Nile D uncoated red fabric; gypsum wash.  
Rim Diam 18.9.

**p12** WQP87, Area I  
Fig. 58d  
Nile D uncoated; gypsum wash.  
Rim Diam 18.0.

**p13** WQP27a, Area I  
Fig. 58e  
Nile D uncoated light red fabric; gypsum wash.  
Rim Diam 19.0.

## MMA Excavations, 1988

### **p14** WQP15, Area I

Fig. 58f

Nile D uncoated light red fabric; gypsum wash.

Rim Diam 18.0.

### **p15** WQP27b, Area I

Fig. 58g–h

Nile D uncoated light red fabric; gypsum wash.

W of sherd 8.1.

Hieratic inscription in black ink: see Hoch below, p. 332.

**Silt wares, wheel-made;** see pp. 94–9

### *Plates*

### **p16** wqp86, Area I

Fig. 59a

Nile b2 uncoated.

Diam 15.0.

Lid(?)

### **p17** WQP14ab, Area I

Fig. 59b

Nile D; red wash inside and on rim's exterior.

Diam 24.2.

Larger fragment also found.

### **p18** WQP61, Area I

Fig. 59c

Nile B2 uncoated; purple-black rim.

Diam 18.0.

Lid(?).

### **p19** WQP92, Area I

Fig. 59d

Nile B2 uncoated; red washed rim.

Diam 17.9.

### **p20** WQP60, Area I

Fig. 59e

Nile B2; red spots inside and on rim.

Diam 20.0.

### **p21** WQP62, Area I

Fig. 59f

Nile B2 uncoated; red wash on rim and inside (spots and vertical lines).

Diam 19.4.

### **p22** WQP84, Area I

Fig. 59g

Nile B2 uncoated; red washed rim and red spots inside.

Diam 20.8.

### **p23** WQP91, Area I

Fig. 59h

Nile B2 uncoated; red washed rim.

Diam 17.9.

### **p24** WQP59, Area I

Fig. 59i

Nile B2 uncoated; red washed rim.

Diam 18.0.

### **p25** WQP23, Area I

Fig. 59j

Nile B2; completely covered with red wash.

Rim Diam 16.1.

Inner ring on foot.

Incised post-firing owner's mark on exterior.

### **p26** WQP24, Area I

Fig. 59k

Nile B2 uncoated; red washed rim.

Greatest Diam 18.5.

Burned. Seiler states that this type was often used as a lamp or for incense (communication, 12 Nov. 1999).

### *Bowls, round-based*

### **p27** WQP20, Area I

Fig. 60a

Nile B2; completely red washed; polished inside.

W of sherd 5.0.

Surface worn.

Incised lines: *nb t3wy* suggested by D. Aston (cf. D. Aston 1998: 94f.).

### **p28** WQP44, Area I

Fig. 60b

Nile D uncoated; red washed rim.

Diam 26.0.

### **p29** WQP70, Area I

Fig. 60c

Nile B2; red washed rim; gypsum wash.

Rim Diam 34.2.

### **p30** WQP46, Area I

Fig. 60d

Nile B2; completely red washed, with slightly darker rim and interior spots.

Rim Diam 38.0.

Wall fragment WQP45 from Area IIa (not drawn) thought to be from same vessel.

### **p31** WQP30ab/32, Area I

Fig. 61a

Nile B2; red wash on exterior down to shoulder; red polish on interior, with ring burnishing on top and inside of rim.

Rim Diam 45.0.

Fire blackened below carination on exterior, interior flaked off. Drawing reconstructed from one base and two rim sherds.

### **p32** WQP106, Pit's chamber

Fig. 61b

Nile B2; red washed exterior; red polish on top of rim.

Rim Diam 30.0.

String impression below rim; pitting inside.

*Bowls, carinated* See B. Williams 1992: 37, CB—7, fig. 2

### **p33** WQP58, Area I

Fig. 62a

Nile B2; polished red coating; black painted rim.

Rim Diam 22.0.

Identical pieces found in Pit and Chamber.



## Chapter 3

### **p34** WQP22a, Area I

Fig. 62b

Nile B2; red wash on outside; ring burnishing inside above carination.

Rim Diam 23.2.

Belongs with **p35/p41**(?).

Two similar wall fragments from Pit.

### **p35** WQP22b, Area I

Fig. 62c

Nile B2; red wash inside and outside except base.

Base Diam 8.7.

Most of inner surface flaked away.

Belongs with **p34/p40**(?).

Two similar wall fragments from Pit.

### **p36** WQP21, Area I

Fig. 62d

Nile B2; red slip; ring-burnishing inside, and outside down to carination.

Rim Diam 20.5.

### **p37** WQP64, Area I

Fig. 62e

Nile B2; red washed exterior and interior; ring-burnishing on top and inside of rim.

Rim Diam 25.9.

### **p38** WQP31, Area I

Fig. 62f

Nile B2; red slipped and burnished inside, and outside above carination.

Rim Diam 32.0.

Blackened exterior and interior, interior surface flaked away. Profile complete but sherd with rope impression not contiguous.

*Bowls, conical; or beakers* See B. Williams 1992: 34f., Unfinished angular bowl and common bowl, CB—I–2, fig. 1 nos. 1–2c

### **p39** WQP68, Area I

Fig. 63a

Nile B2 uncoated.

Rim Diam 12.0.

Well fired.

### **p40** WQP55, Area I

Fig. 63b

Nile B2 uncoated.

Rim Diam 26.8.

Low fired.

### **p41** WQP71, Area I

Fig. 63c

Nile B2; gypsum wash.

Rim Diam 14.9.

Highly fired.

Joins sherd from Pit.

### **p42** WQP63, Area IIf/1

Fig. 63d

Nile B2 uncoated.

Rim Diam 12.0.

### **p43** WQP72, Area I

Fig. 63e

Nile B2.

Rim Diam 32.0.

Inner surface has fine combing.

### **p44** WQP17, Area I

Fig. 63f

Nile B2; completely red washed.

Rim Diam 25.0.

Hand finished.

Similar from Chamber.

### **p45** WQP49, Area I

Fig. 63g

Nile B2 uncoated; red washed rim.

Rim Diam 32.0.

### *Bases for open forms*

### **p46** WQP85, Area I

Fig. 64a

Nile B2 uncoated; red wash on ring foot.

Base Diam 10.3.

Inner surface burned and deteriorated. Seiler states that this type was often used as a lamp or for incense (communication, 12 Nov. 1999).

### **p47** WQP76, Area I

Fig. 64b

Nile B2; red wash inside, and on outside to base.

Base Diam 5.0.

### **p48** WQP79, Area I

Fig. 64c

Nile B2 uncoated.

Base Diam 6.4.

Slight ring foot.

Somewhat worn.

### **p49** WQP80, Area I

Fig. 64d

Nile B2 uncoated.

Base Diam 12.0.

Incised grooves above base.

### **p50** WQP77, Area IIf/2

Fig. 64e

Nile B2 uncoated.

Base Diam 5.5.

String-cut base.

Similar from Pit's chamber.

### **p51** WQP81, Area I

Fig. 64f

Nile B2 uncoated.

Base Diam 14.0.

Somewhat worn.

### **p52** WQP107, Pit's chamber

Fig. 64g, author drawing

Nile B2; red wash inside; gypsum on exterior.

Base Diam 6.0.

String-cut base.

**p53** WQP78, Area I

Fig. 64h

Nile B2 uncoated.

Base Diam 7.0.

**p54** WQP75, Area I

Fig. 64i

Nile B2 uncoated; red washed spots inside; gypsum wash.

Base Diam 7.0.

**p55** WQP108, Pit's chamber

Fig. 64j, author drawing

Nile B2.

Base Diam 10.4.

Turn marks inside.

**p56** WQP82, Area I

Fig. 64k

Nile B2; red washed exterior.

Base Diam 13.4.

*Jars*

**p57** WQP51a (Area II f/1 and f/2, Area IV w/2 and e/2), b (Area I)

Fig. 65a

Nile B2; red wash on exterior and on interior of mouth; gypsum wash.

Rim Diam 11.9.

Reconstructed shape.

B. Williams 1992: 39, CJ—5–6, fig. 5e.

**p58** WQP50, Area I

Fig. 65b

Nile B2; red washed exterior.

H 30.8.

Sherds of a second example with three strings, and of a third without strings.

Holthoer 1977: 170, SJ 1/IR/1/h–i, pl. 40 no. 185/500:1;

Seiler 1995a: 201, *ovoide Gefässe*; B. Williams 1992: 38,

CJ—1–2, 5–6, fig. 3e.

**p59** WQP73, Area I

Fig. 65c

Nile D; gypsum wash.

Rim Diam 16.0.

**p60** WQP52, Area I

Fig. 65d

Nile B2; red washed exterior; gypsum wash.

Rim Diam 22.0.

Similar found in Pit.

For a small version, Seiler 1992: 129 fig. 11.

**p61** WQP101, Area I

Fig. 65e

Nile B2; red washed exterior.

Highly fired.

Greatest Diam 20.8.

**p62** WQP110, Area I

Fig. 65f

Nile B2; gypsum wash.

Wheel-made base.

**p63** WQP54, Area I

Fig. 65g

Nile B2; red washed exterior.

Greatest Diam 17.4.

Larger uncoated example found not drawn.

**p64** WQP53, Area I

Fig. 65h

Nile B2 uncoated purplish red interior, light red exterior.

Greatest Diam 13.3.

Wheel-made base.

*Beer jars* See B. Williams 1992: 37f., Unfinished jar, fig. 2j, l–m.

**p65** WQP74b, Area I

Fig. 66a

Nile B2 uncoated.

Greatest Diam 12.3.

Very low fired.

Hand-finished base.

WQP74a (not drawn) another example.

**p66** WQP57, Area I

Fig. 66b

Nile B2 uncoated.

Greatest Diam 12.1.

Hand-finished base.

*Beaker*

**p67** WQP67, Area I

Fig. 67

Nile D; red washed exterior.

Rim Diam 8.1.

Highly fired.

*Bottles* For **p70–p73**, see Seiler 1992: 129 fig. 10

**p68** WQP18, Area I

Fig. 68a

Nile B2 sandy fabric; red coated exterior, pattern burnished.

H 7.7.

Holthoer 1977: 132, BO 1/IIR/o/e–f, pl. 29 no. 185/84:25.

**p69** WQP19, Area I

Fig. 68b

Nile B2; red coated exterior, pattern burnished.

Diam 9.0.

Petrie 1909: pl. 42.715–26; Bourriau and Eriksson 1998:

fig. 5:14, “Middle Kingdom style”; B. Williams 1992: 40,

CJ—10, fig. 83a.

**p70** WQP102a, Area I

Fig. 68c, Rose drawing

Nile B2; red washed exterior; black painted band.

Greatest Diam 12.3.

**p71** WQP28, Area I

Fig. 68d

Nile B2; red washed exterior; black painted bands.

W of sherd 8.4.

## Chapter 3

**p72** WQP29, Area I  
Fig. 68e  
Nile B2; red washed exterior; black painted band.  
W of sherd 6.3.

**p73** WQP102b, Area I  
Fig. 68f, Rose drawing  
Nile B2; red washed exterior; two black painted bands.  
Greatest Diam 21.5.

### *Stand*

**p74** WQP69, Area I  
Fig. 69  
Nile B2 uncoated.  
Base Diam 20.0.  
Guidotti 1985: 44 no. 70; B. Williams 1992: 46f., Stand,  
fig. 10p.

### *Miniature open forms*

**p75** WQP117, Pit  
Fig. 70a, author drawing  
Nile B2 homogenous brown fabric with sandy temper.  
Rim Diam 9.0.  
Turn marks exterior and interior; string-cut base.  
Light granular residue.

**p76** WQP1, Area I  
Figs. 28, 70b  
Nile B2 uncoated.  
Rim Diam 7.5.

String-cut base.  
Rim of similar form from Pit.  
Leospo 1988: fig. 101.

**p77** WQP111, Pit  
Fig. 70c, author drawing  
Nile B2 brown fabric.  
Rim Diam 8.5.  
Very asymmetric; string-cut base.  
Holthoer 1977: 90f., MI 4/IR/Oa–b, pl. 19 nos. Q/102  
and /165.

**Marl wares, wheel-made;** see pp. 100–3

### *Bowls*

**p78** WQP47, Area I  
Fig. 71a  
Marl A4.  
Rim Diam 24.0.

**p79** WQP26, Area I  
Fig. 71b  
Marl A4 fine pink fabric.  
Rim Diam 16.1.

**p80** WQP25, Area I  
Fig. 71c  
Marl A4 pink fabric; gypsum wash.  
Rim Diam 16.7.  
WQP35 (not drawn) possibly same pot.

**p81** WQP4, Area I  
Fig. 71d  
Marl A4 pink fabric.  
Rim Diam 20.4.  
Incised potter's mark.

### *Bottles*

**p82** WQP16c, Area I  
Fig. 72a, D. Aston drawing  
Coarse Marl A4 or Marl B (lots of sand); red slip(?);  
one red, two black painted bands.  
Neck Diam 12.1.

**p83** WQP13, Area I  
Fig. 72b  
Marl A4 greenish fabric.  
Diam 13.0.  
Sherds of larger example, and from Pit.

**p84** WQP7, Area I  
Fig. 72c  
Marl A4 pink fabric.  
Restored Diam 12.4.

### *Jugs*

**p85** WQP118, Pit  
Fig. 73a, Rose drawing  
Marl D(?); cream slip vertically burnished; painted black band.  
Greatest Diam 8.0.  
Organic layer on inner surface.

**p86** WQP16a, Area I  
Fig. 73b  
Marl A4 beige fabric; red and black painted bands.  
W of sherd 4.5.  
Seiler 1992: 121 fig. 7.

**p87** WQP16b, Area I  
Fig. 73c  
Coarse Marl A4 or Marl B (lots of sand, some organic  
material, little limestone); pinkish beige fabric; black and  
red painted bands.  
W of sherd 6.5.  
Seiler 1992: 121 fig. 7.

### *Ritual vessels(?)*

**p88** WQP5a, Area I  
Fig. 74a  
Marl A2; gypsum wash.  
Rim Diam 10.2.  
For rims with similar features, cf. Holthoer 1977: 174, XO  
2/IP/O/f, pl. 69.3 in brown ware; Rose 1996: 176 nos.  
104, 107 in marl.

**p89** WQP5b, Area I  
Fig. 74b  
Marl A2 or 4; gypsum wash.  
Base Diam 7.3.  
Fragmentary base of a second, larger example from IIf/2  
found; rim from Pit's chamber probably for it.  
Holthoer 1977: 79, HS 1/IP/O/h, pl. 47.2 of brown ware;  
Guidotti 1985: 46 no. 82.

*Amphorae of Canaanite shape with hand-finished bases*

**p90** WQP48, Area I

Fig. 75a

Marl D; gypsum wash.

Diam 26.8.

**p91** WQP43ab, Area II f/1 and f/2, Area IV

Fig. 75b, Rose drawing

Marl D with cream surface.

Rim Diam 12.1.

Drawing made from two separate pieces.

For high necks, see S. Smith 1995: fig. 6.6 no. e; Brack and

Brack 1980: 71, 3/12, pl. 80; Holthoer 1977: 98, AO

1/IR/O/1/1-m, pl. 22 no. 85/283:36; Daressy 1902: 13f.,

no. 24009.

**p92** WQP38a, Area I

Fig. 75c, D. Aston drawing

Marl D with cream surface.

Greatest Diam 8.0.

Cf. Seiler 1997: 28, ZN 94/108.

**p93** WQP38b, Area I

Fig. 75d

Marl D with iron oxide inclusions and cream surface.

W at handles 17.3.

Same vessel as **p92**(?).

**p94** WQP40ab, Area I

Fig. 75e

Marl D with greenish surface.

Minimum H 52.0.

**p95** WQP34, Area I

Fig. 76a

Marl D pink fabric with greenish surface.

W at handles 32.0.

Pre-fired hole at shoulder height, gypsum patch at base.

**p96** WQP42, Area I

Fig. 76b

Marl D gray fabric with pinkish surface.

W at handles 35.5.

**p97** WQP41ab, Area I

Fig. 77a

Marl D gray fabric with large pieces of hematite, cream surface.

W at handles 20.8.

Drawing made from two separate assemblages.

**p98** WQP39, Area I

Fig. 77b

Marl D gray fabric, greenish surface.

W at handles 20.9.

**Wares from outside the Nile valley; see p. 104**

*Storage jars/amphorae*

**p99** WQP56, Area I

Fig. 78a, composite drawing by Rose and Kirby

Pink fabric with light bluish specks.

Reconstructed H 57.5.

D. Aston identified fabric as P 23.

Hand-finished base; may have had handles, as Amiran 1969:

pl. 43.2, but see a Middle Bronze Palestinian shape without handles, pl. 32.1.

Unsure are: height of rim, angle of central wall fragment (and therefore overall height), diameter of base, presence or absence of handles.

Thicker wheel-turned base of a second vessel also found in

Area I. Wall segment of same ware in Pit (**p102**), as well as wall sherd that could have come from yet another vessel.

D. Aston 1998: 69, fabric IV.07.01; D. Aston et al. 2000: 13.

**p100** WQP103, Area IVe/2

Fig. 78b

Yellow fabric with iron oxide and limestone inclusions, gray slip.

Rim Diam 12.2.

Heavy gypsum patch.

B. Aston communication (20 Oct. 1998) identified fabric as P 25, one now thought to be from Dakhla Oasis as described in D. Aston 1998: 73, 536f.; she cited parallel for this shape, loc. cit. no. 2206.

**p101** WQP6a, Area I

Fig. 78c

Pink fabric with limestone inclusions.

Rim Diam 14.1.

Wall sherds with cream surface also found in Area I, belonging to neck piece (WQP6b) from Area IIc.

**p102** WQP104, Pit

Fig. 78d, Rose drawing

P 23 fabric.

Greatest Diam 30.0.

Black ink "crook."

Same ware as **p99**.

**POST-NEW KINGDOM POTTERY REGISTER (p103–p108)**

**Wheel-made; see pp. 104f.**

*Miscellaneous forms*

**p103** WQP115, Pit

Fig. 79a, Rose drawing

Nile B2.

Base Diam 10.8.

**p104** WQP112, Pit

Fig. 79b, author drawing

Nile B2; cream slip.

Rim Diam 12.4.

String-cut base.

Over baked.

Possibly a lid (cf. Myśliwiec 1987: 50f. no. 301), but see

D. Aston 1996a: 73, Group 8; fig. 217b, e), Nile B2 or D uncoated beaker characteristic of 8th–7th centuries BC.

**p105** WQP114, Pit

Fig. 79c, author drawing

Nile B2 finely levigated dark brown ware.

Rim Diam 14.0.

Seiler 1995b: 220 no. 3, fig. 4.3, Coptic cooking pot;

Lecuyot 1996: 159, pl. 5c.

**p106** WQP113, Pit  
Fig. 79d, author drawing  
Nile C; red wash on exterior and interior of rim.  
Wall sherds with ribbing also found.

**p107** WQP116, Pit  
Fig. 79e, Rose drawing  
Marl D(?) Nile B2(?) Nile D(?). Highly fired fabric with  
heavy cream slip.  
Shoulder Diam 9.0.

**p108** WQP105, Pit  
Fig. 79f  
Nile B2; heavy cream slip.  
Highly fired.

### REGISTER FOR POTTERY OF UNCERTAIN DATE (p109–p113)

**Wheel-made;** see p. 105

#### *Miscellaneous forms*

**p109** WQP33a, Area Iia  
Fig. 80a  
Nile D(?); gypsum wash.  
Diam 22.0.  
Highly fired.  
Mouth of **p110**(?).  
Cf. Holthoer 1977: 167, NJ 3/IR/O/i–k, pl. 39 no.  
185/511:39; for lip, see Bourriau 1990b: fig. 4.2 no.17.

**p110** WQP33b, Area Iia  
Fig. 80b  
Nile D(?); exterior gypsum wash.  
Greatest Diam 21.0.  
See **p109**.

**p111** WQP37, Area I  
Fig. 80c  
Nile D(?).  
Rim Diam 10.0.  
Handle and parts of similar rim found in IIf/2.

**p112** WQP36a, Area I  
Fig. 80d  
Nile D or Nile/Marl mixture; red wash; gypsum.  
Diam 31.3.  
Similar sherds found in Pit.

**p113** WQP36b, Areas I, IIf/1 and f/2, IV2, IVe/2  
Fig. 80e  
Nile D; red wash; gypsum.  
Diam 25.2.

## SMALL FINDS

### ITEMS ACCORDING TO PROVENANCE

**Wady head (Area I);** see p. 106

#### *Faience*

Fragment of lentoid bead (Fig. 82a [bottom row, third from left], c [top row, right]).

#### *Stone*

Fragment of rim from black serpentinite ointment storage vessel (Fig. 81d, e [top]). Upper surface polished; 1.8 x 1.8 x 0.9;

Fragment of rim from a small black serpentinite cosmetic jar (Fig. 81e [bottom]). All original surfaces polished; 1.8 x 1.0 x 0.6.

#### *Pottery*

Fragment of handmade box (Fig. 81a, c), model coffin(?).

Nile B2; core black; surface black, dark brown, light red;

Fragmentary unknown object (Fig. 81b);

Second fragmentary unknown object (Fig. 81g).

#### *Bone*

Two pieces bone (Fig. 81f). Human or animal (Claudia Starke).

**Platform (Area II);** see p. 107

#### *Faience and Egyptian blue*

Fragment of faience lentoid bead from IIc (Fig. 82a [bottom row, left], c [top row, third from right]). Diam ca. 1.5, Th 0.2;

Half an Egyptian blue lentoid bead from IIc (Fig. 82a [bottom row, center], c [bottom row, second from right]). Diam 1.5, Th 0.2;

Short faience tube bead from IIf/2 (Fig. 82a [top row, left], c [bottom row, right]). Shiny well-preserved surface; complete; L 0.55;

Fragment of faience lentoid bead from IIf/2 (Fig. 82a [bottom row, second from left], c [top row, second from right]). Estimated Diam 1.4.

#### *Glass*

Ten fragments of translucent copper-colored glass; oval one from IIc, others from IIf/2 (at least eight in Fig. 82b).

Not from beads; most with crust or veins of white weathering product.

*Stone*

Prehistoric hand axe (Fig. 82d).

Limestone fragment with stripes of black paint from IIf/2 (Fig. 82f).

*Bone*

Seven pieces bone (Fig. 82e). Human or animal (Claudia Starke).

**Descending corridor (Area III) or Burial chamber (IV);** see p. 107

*Egyptian blue*

Standard tube bead (Fig. 82a [top row, center], c [top row, third from left]). Complete; L 1.3.

**Burial chamber (Area IV);** see p. 107

*Faience and Egyptian blue*

Lentoid bead of Egyptian blue (Fig. 82a [bottom row, right], c [top row, second from left]). Diam 1.4, Th 0.15;

Fragment of Egyptian blue lentoid bead (Fig. 82a [bottom row, second from right], c [bottom row, second from left]). Th 0.15;

Long thin faience tube bead (Fig. 82g [top row, right], c [top row, left]). Bright well-preserved turquoise glaze; 1.8 length preserved, one end chipped.

*Glass*

Six fragments of translucent copper-colored glass (some in Fig. 82b). Not from beads; all with crust of white weathering product.

*Skin and bone*

Date and type not identified, skin probably modern (Fig. 82g).

**Pit south of wady head (Pit);** see pp. 108f.

*Vitreous*

Fragment of faience finger ring (*wd3t*[?]; Fig. 83d [photo, bottom]).

*Metal*

Model copper-alloy blade (Figs. 28, 83a, 83c [top]). Apparently complete, although a tear at tip end; Th 0.4;

Model copper-alloy axe (Figs. 28, 83c [bottom], 83e). Tears in edge; Th 0.3.

*Stone*

Handle from a beige and black serpentinite vessel (Fig. 83b). Not polished on inner surface; from an amphora(?).

Diam of handle 1.2;

Rim fragment of a small travertine ointment jar (Figs. 28, 83d [left, and above right]). Inner surface of jar weathered; W of rim 1.0;

Fragment, of statue(?), used as rubber (Fig. 83f). Black fine-grained granite; H 11.0, W 10.0;

Three-sided limestone fragment (Fig. 83g). 10.0 x 14.0.

Fragment of orange quartzite (Fig. 83h). No worked surfaces; L 6.5.

*Wood*

Fragment with rounded corner (Fig. 84a). L 4.2;

Numerous fragments of wood (Fig. 84b).

*Leather and textile*

Coptic sandal parts; textile with resin and traces of burning (Fig. 84c). Note leather fragment with metal nails, center right;

Wad of textile (Fig. 84d).

*Bone*

Vertebra and pieces of resin (Fig. 84e).

**Chamber opening off Pit (Chamber);** see p. 110

*Glass*

Two fragments of translucent amber glass (Fig. 85a [top row, right; lower of the two items is Lilyquist and Brill 1993: 34 no. 7]).

*Stone*

Lapis lazuli melon bead (Fig. 85a [top row, center]). Slightly flattened shape; W 0.5, Diam 0.65.

*Metal*

Fragment of gold leaf (Fig. 85a [bottom row, center]);

Four fragments of copper alloy (Fig. 85a [bottom row, left]).

*Wood*

Fragments (Fig. 85c [upper left], d [top]);

Plastered fragments (Fig. 85c [upper right], d [lower right]).



## Chapter 3

### *Bone*

Two fragments (Fig. 85c [lower left], d [center left]). Not identified.

### *Resin*

Small lump (Fig. 85a [bottom row, right]);  
Broken pieces (Fig. 85c [bottom row, center]).

### *Mud*

Part of a gray mud sealing (Fig. 85c [lower right]);  
Part of a reddish mud (jar) sealing (Fig. 85b).

### *Unknown*

Four small lumps of green material (Fig. 85a [top row, left]).

## CONCLUSIONS FROM 1988 FIELD WORK

The goals as outlined at the beginning of this chapter were partially realized. A proper plan was made, revealing an undecorated burial chamber opening off the right of a descending corridor that conformed with comparative material of early Dynasty 18 tombs for royal women. Additionally, a few steps were found cut at the mouth of the tomb, probably discontinued because of weak bedding planes in the rock.

Finds in the 1988 excavations matched a few items found by Chaban and Carter:

fragments of serpentinite jar rims from Area I; compare that of Chaban (Figs. 81d, 81e, 16f);  
Egyptian blue and faience lentoid beads (approximate Diam, 1.4) from I, II, and IV; compare those of Chaban and Carter, Diam 1.5 (Figs. 82a, c; 17a–b; 19);  
Egyptian blue tube bead (L 1.3) from III or IV; compare those of Egyptian blue and faience of Chaban, L 1.0–1.2 (Figs. 82a, c; 17f);  
lapis melon bead from Chamber, Diam, 0.65; compare example of Carter, .04 x .05 (Figs. 85a, 19);  
gold leaf from Chamber; compare that found by Chaban (Figs. 85a, 16a).

Finds were also retrieved that had not been found by the earlier explorers:

short faience tube bead from Area II (Fig. 82a [upper left], c [lower right]);  
fragments of turquoise glass from Areas II and IV (Fig. 82b);  
fragments of amber glass from Chamber (Fig. 85a);  
fragment of handle for a beige and black serpentinite vessel from Pit (Fig. 83b).  
rim fragment of a small travertine ointment jar from Pit (Figs. 28, 83d [left, and above right]);  
model copper-alloy blade from Pit (Figs. 28; 83a, c [above]);  
model copper-alloy axe from Pit (Figs. 28; 83c [below], e);  
fragment of faience finger ring from Pit (Fig. 83d [below right]).

But the most rewarding new finds were the pottery sherds of Areas I, II, IV, the Pit, and the Chamber adjoining it. These sherds were consistent with pottery of the Tuthmoside period (including that for Meryetamun and from tombs in the Valley of the Kings), and, more specifically, to the end of Hatshepsut's reign or beginning of Tuthmosis III's sole reign. They also gave two names that had been found on art market purchases.

At the same time, the 1988 excavations did not uncover any significant new objects, or the traces of items that surely were there, such as coffins and bones. Physical conditions at the site (moisture, extensive turning over of earth, powdering of debris) and the study of small items retrieved at the tomb showed that this was an unrealistic expectation. Thus, the data that is known from the tomb—described here and in the Catalogue of Chapter 5—cannot be referenced as S. Smith attempted from more intact tombs (S. Smith 1992).

Nor did the 1988 excavations reveal the exact location of any known object. It may be assumed, however, that the bits of glass and the beads of faience and Egyptian blue found in the burial chamber originated there. As for the

canopic jars, funerary trappings, jewelry, stone, silver, and vitreous vessels that must have been there but left no trace, the scattered ancient and modern finds on the platform and at the head of the wady suggest that the robbers of 1916 and of subsequent years arrived on the platform by ropes from above the tomb, and left the platform by using the same means to reach the wady head below.

Most, if not all, of the pottery must also have been in the burial chamber. This is suggested by the remains of two large jars found there (**p100**, WQPB) and by smaller dishes and jars at the wady head that would normally be found in a burial chamber. One hundred twenty-two pottery sherds or groups were judged to be New Kingdom; only four were from the burial chamber and nine from the platform, in comparison with ninety from the wady head, twelve from the Pit, and seven from the Chamber. It is remarkable that the robbers of 1916 would have bothered to remove pottery from the burial chamber, particularly the large amphorae and storage jars; these would have required transport to the south end of the platform and dumping over the edge, as the descending corridor was probably only partially cleared. Perhaps it was subsequent villagers who removed the pottery, allowing Mackay's report to hold, that the robbers "were afraid to carry any rubbish outside so turned it over and over inside the tomb" (Doc. 10, p. 34).

The Pit and Chamber in themselves were new discoveries. Thus it is unfortunate that the area around them was not studied more carefully in 1988, especially as a second pit to the west, noted on arrival, was not explored before being covered by excavated debris. The pit that was recorded yielded remnants of a Tuthmoside foundation deposit (Fig. 28), and those items—as well as the Late period—Coptic pottery, rags, and leather there—were probably original to the location. Carter found model adze and chisel blades in foundation deposits in front of KV 38 and 34 (GI Carter MSS I.J. 386: 221–6, 319; see also Daressy 1902: 286 no. 24930); typologically, a small axe inscribed for Tuthmosis III's wife Sitiah from Abydos may be cited (unpublished CG 16014, SR 10741; Mariette 1880a: pl. 40c; Mariette 1880b: 583f.). As for Coptic remains, graffiti and Carter's observations attest to Coptic habitation in the southwest wadys (Chap. 1). The purpose of the fragment of worked black stone from the Pit is not known (Fig. 83f), but note that an Osiris head and part of a stela were found previously in the Wady Qurud (Chap. 1).

On the other hand, it is unclear whether other ancient remains at the Pit and Chamber came from the gorge tomb—by way of the robbers who needed a place to hide or divide items, see Document 1 (p. 28)—or were part of a subsidiary burial. In the Pit, there was at least one sherd that joined a sherd from the wady head (**p41**; see **p89**). There were also the remains of an amphora (**p102**)—a large vessel to have been brought that far. In the Chamber, there were sherds consistent with sherds at the wady head or the areas above (II–IV), a large storage jar (**p10**), gold leaf, and a lapis bead like that found in the gorge tomb. In any event, the size and careful cutting of the Chamber indicate that it was for a subsidiary burial.

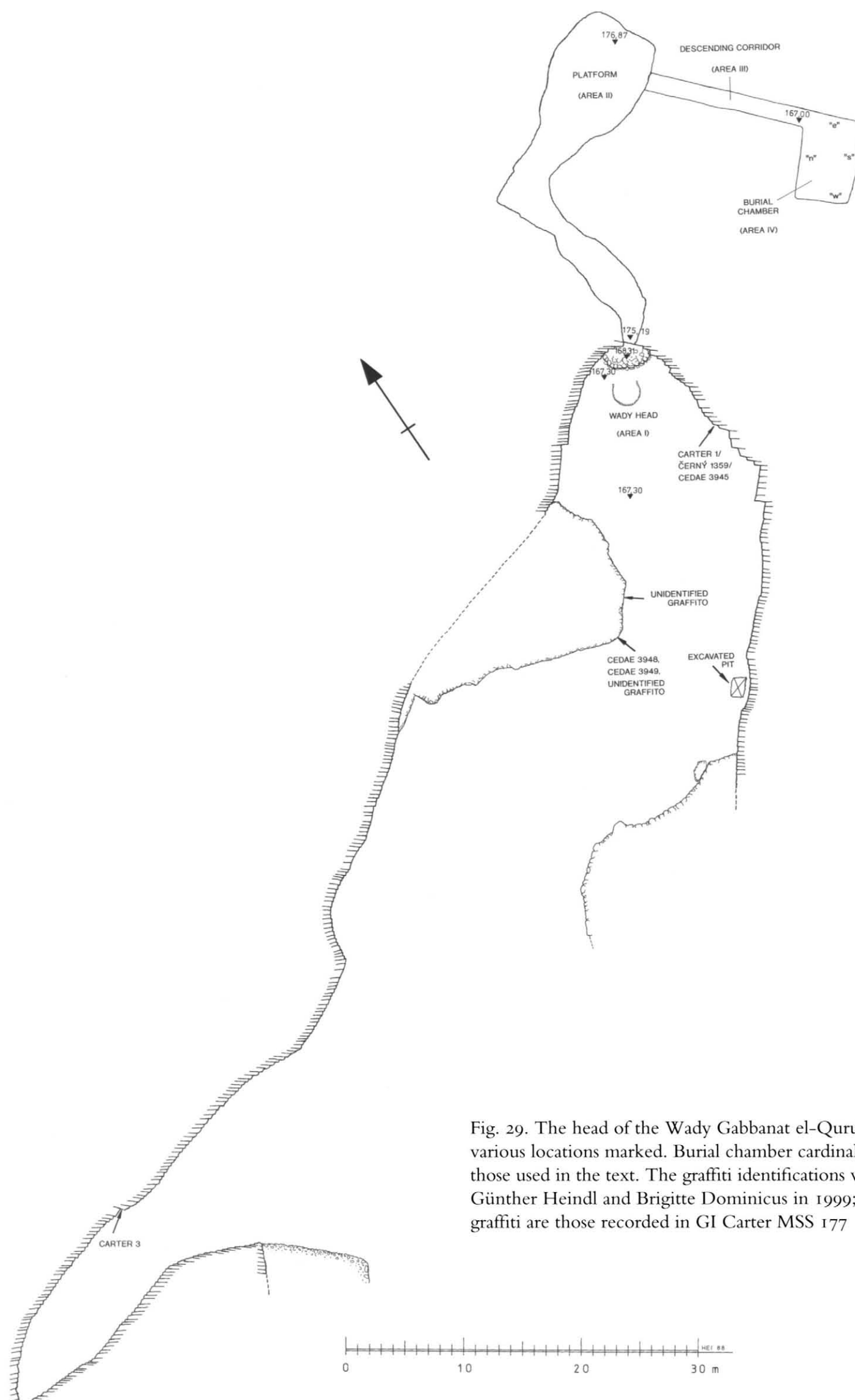


Fig. 29. The head of the Wady Gabbanat el-Qurud, with various locations marked. Burial chamber cardinal points are those used in the text. The graffiti identifications were made by Günther Heindl and Brigitte Dominicus in 1999; the Carter graffiti are those recorded in GI Carter MSS 177



Fig. 30. The wady head as found, with Pit, later excavated, in lower right



Fig. 31. Wady head as found, showing pile of stones around ladder and arrows pointing to graffito 3945 (left, see Appendix 1) and pit not excavated (right)

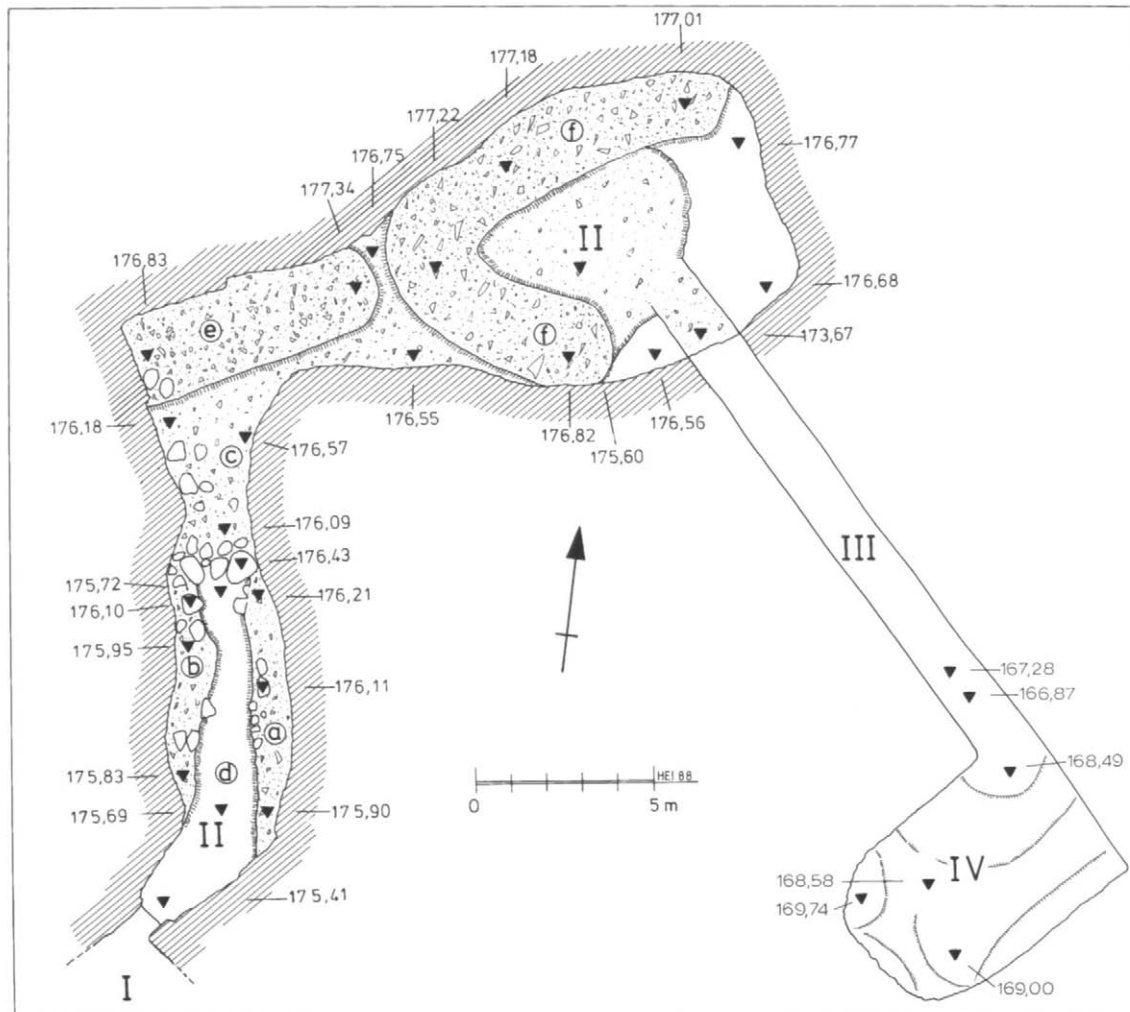


Fig. 32. Platform (Area II), descending corridor (III), and burial chamber (IV) as found, with meters above sea level marked



Fig. 33. Area IIc as found



Fig. 34. Area IIe-f as found

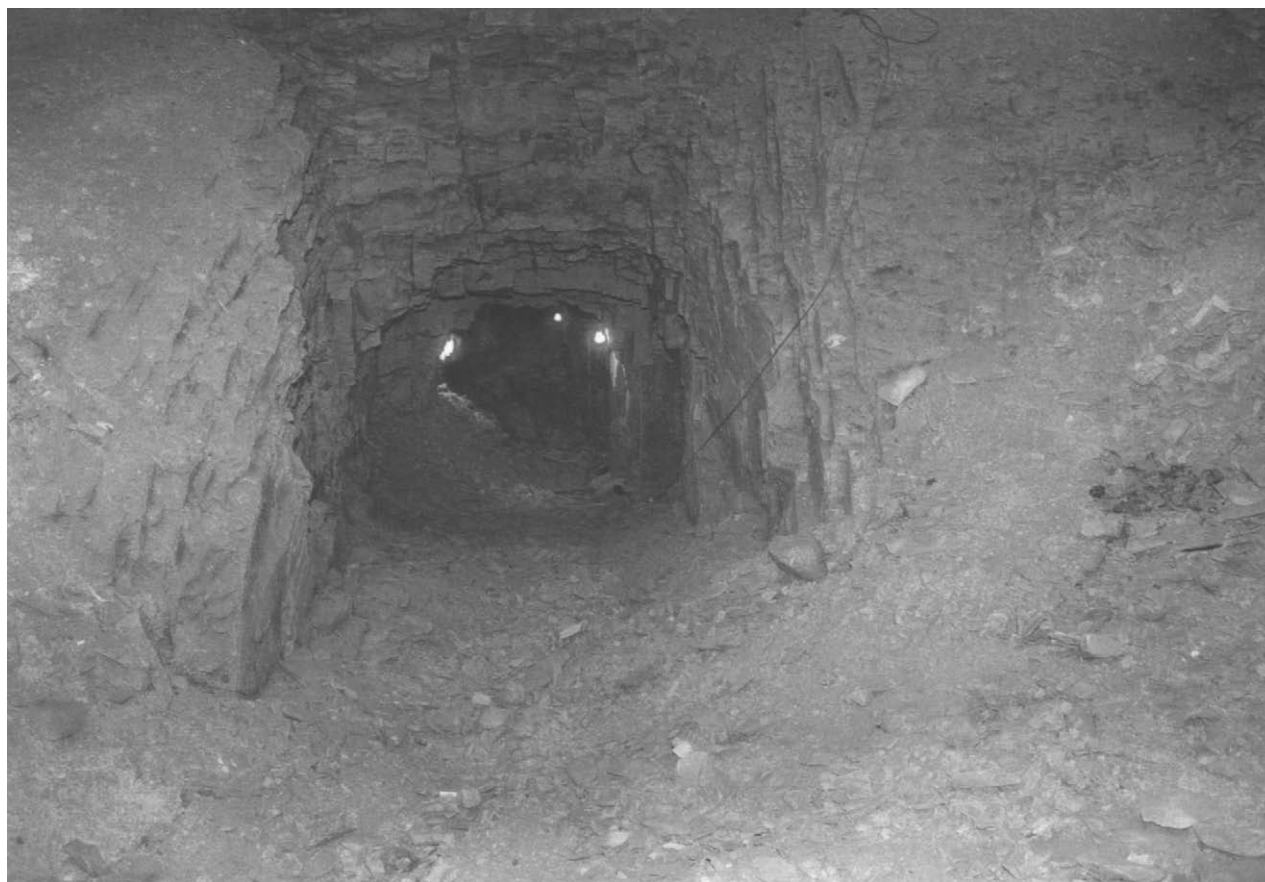


Fig. 35. Mouth of descending corridor as found



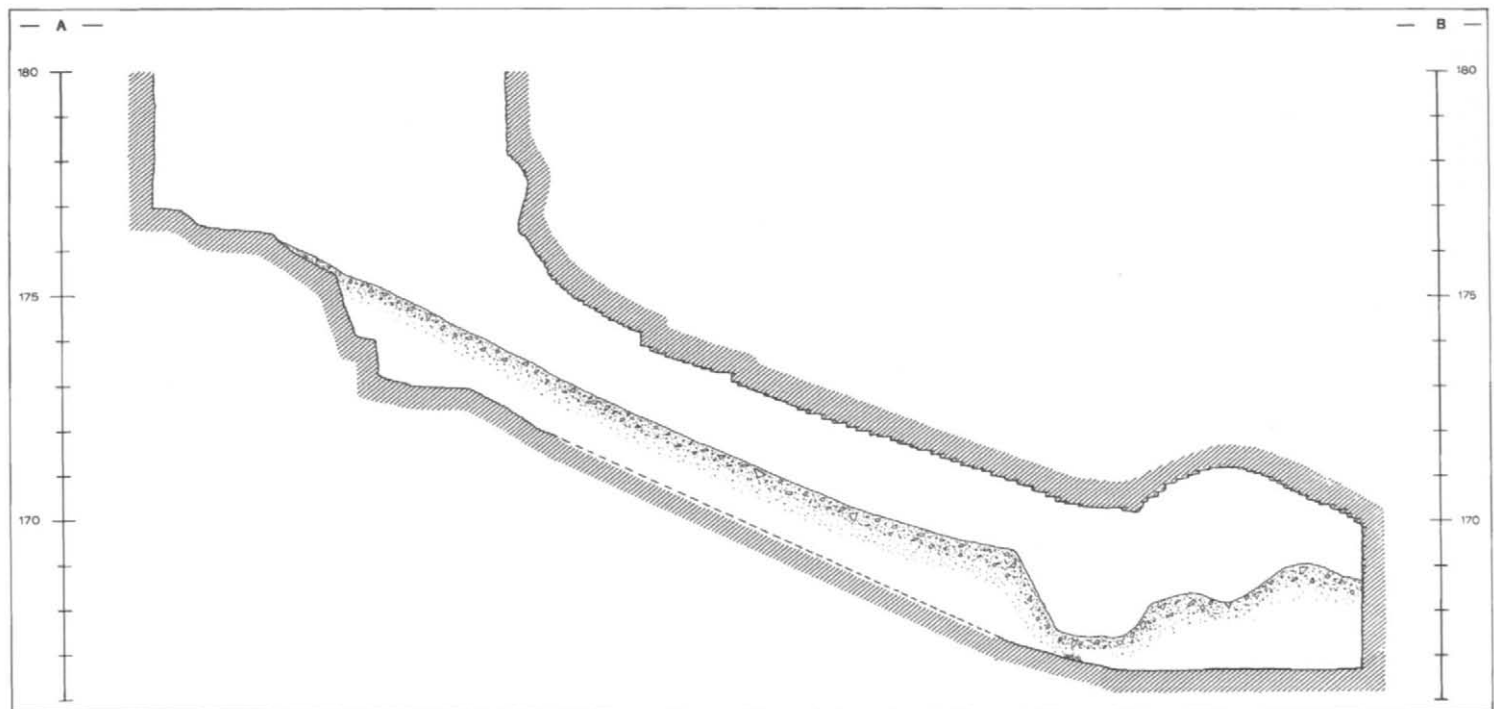


Fig. 36. Section A-B of Fig. 40: descending corridor (Area III) and burial chamber (Area IV) as found. Note "sill" later found at juncture of corridor and chamber

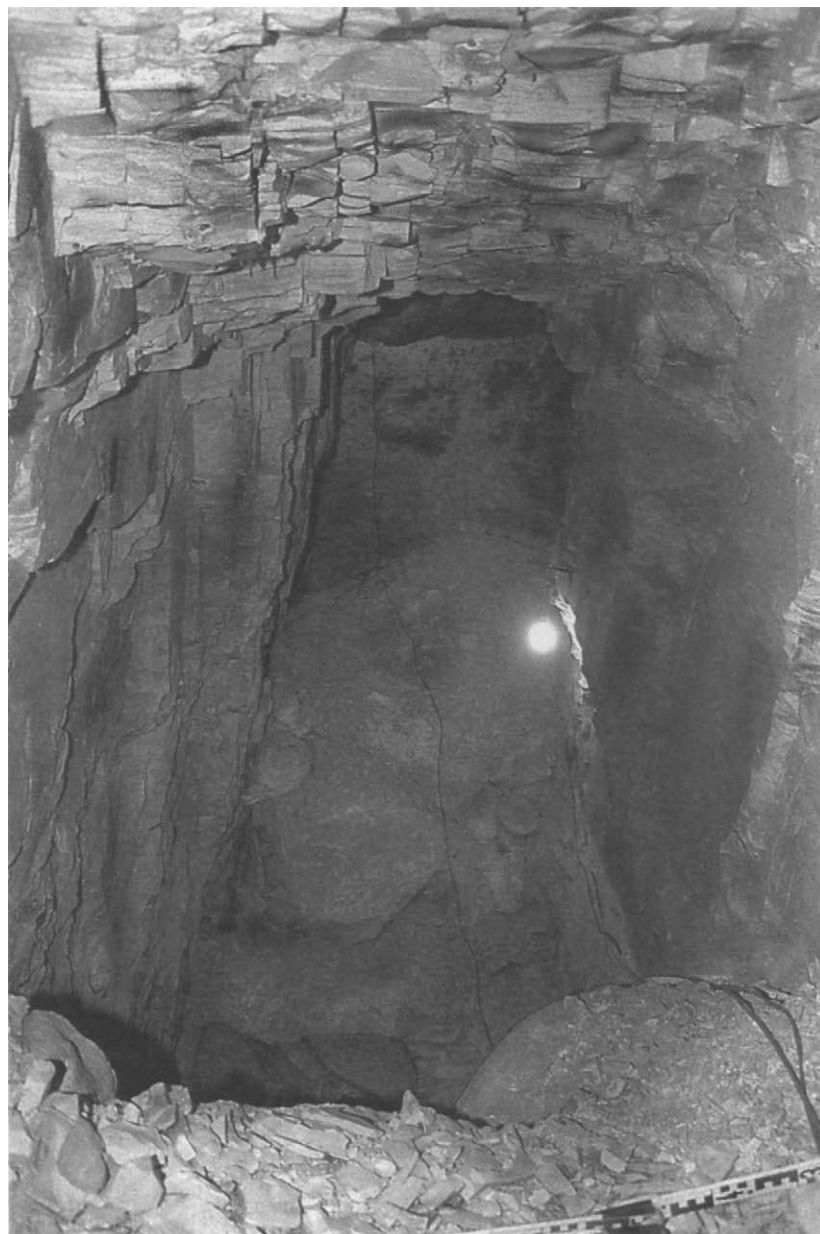


Fig. 37. Bottom of descending corridor as found, with modern baskets in foreground and piled debris of burial chamber beyond

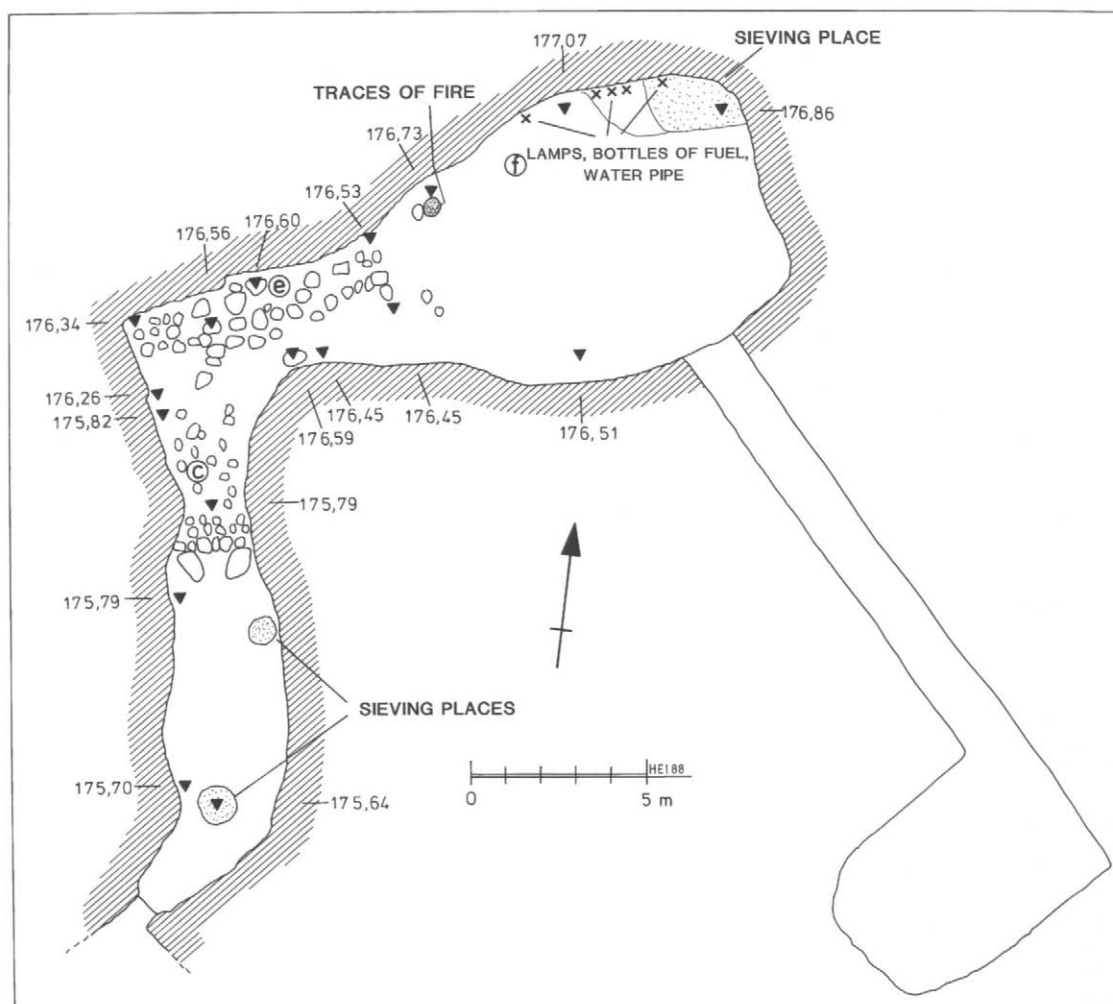


Fig. 38. Cleared platform with meters above sea level marked. Note that sieving places are above bedrock



Fig. 39. Platform area prior to final cleaning

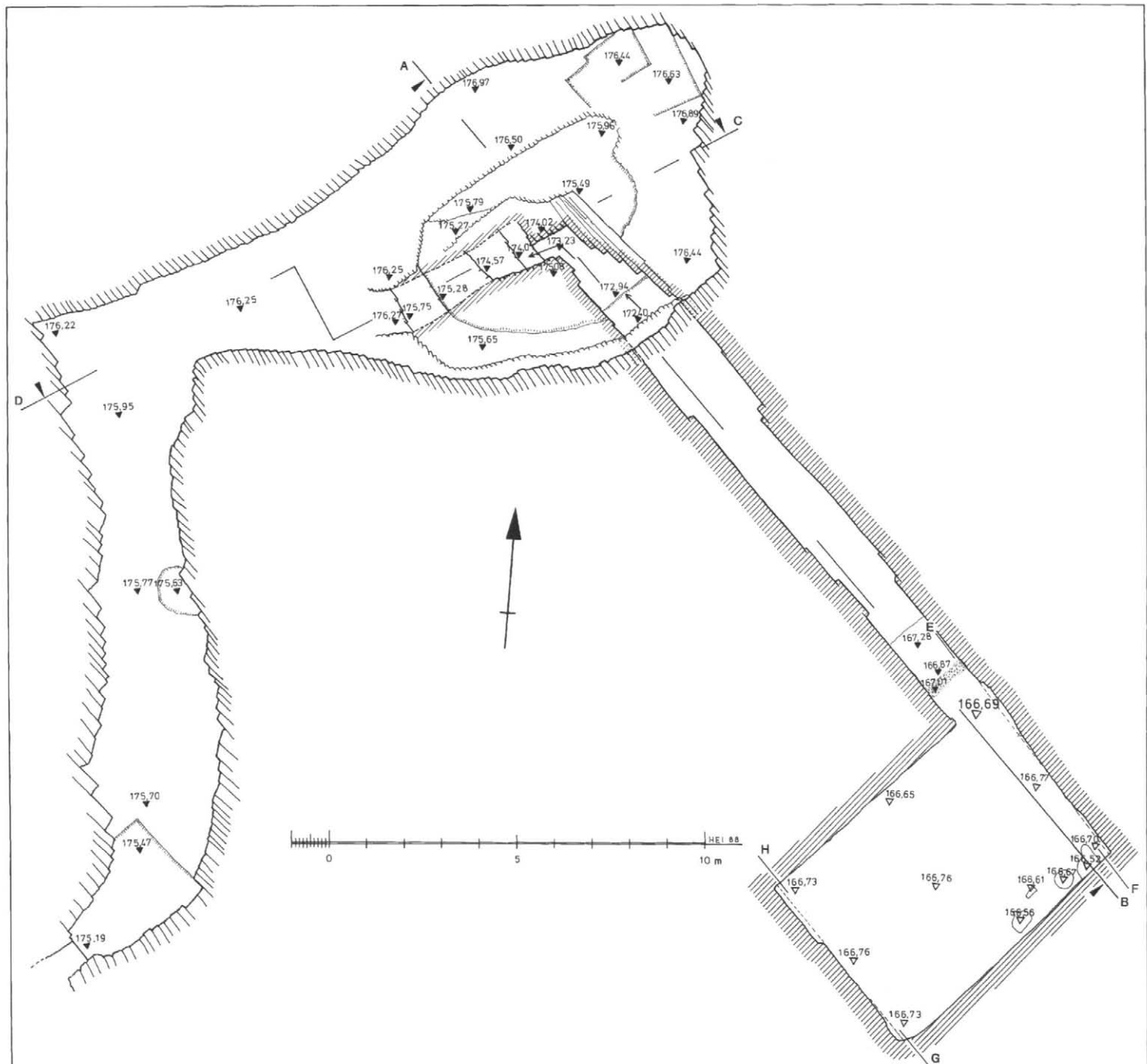


Fig. 40. Platform, bottom of descending corridor, and burial chamber as cleared, with meters above sea level marked. Note “sill” at bottom of descending corridor

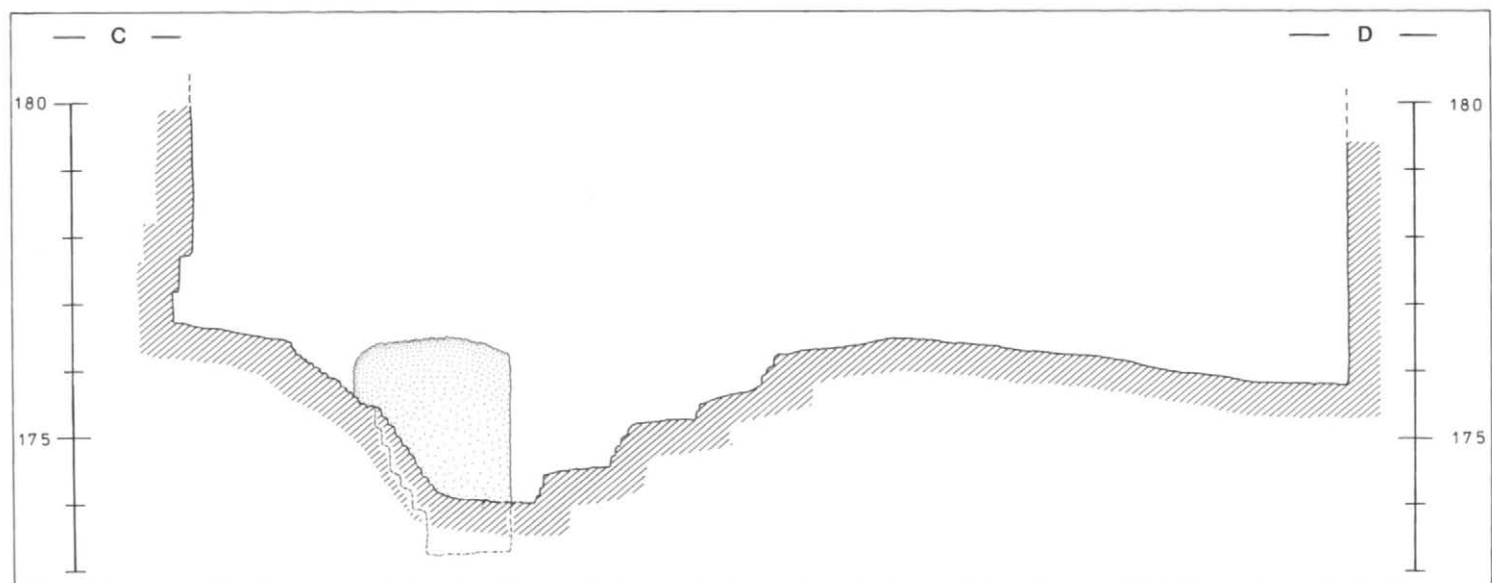


Fig. 4I. Section C-D of Fig. 40: platform as cleared, with step-like surface in doorway indicating plane of section further south

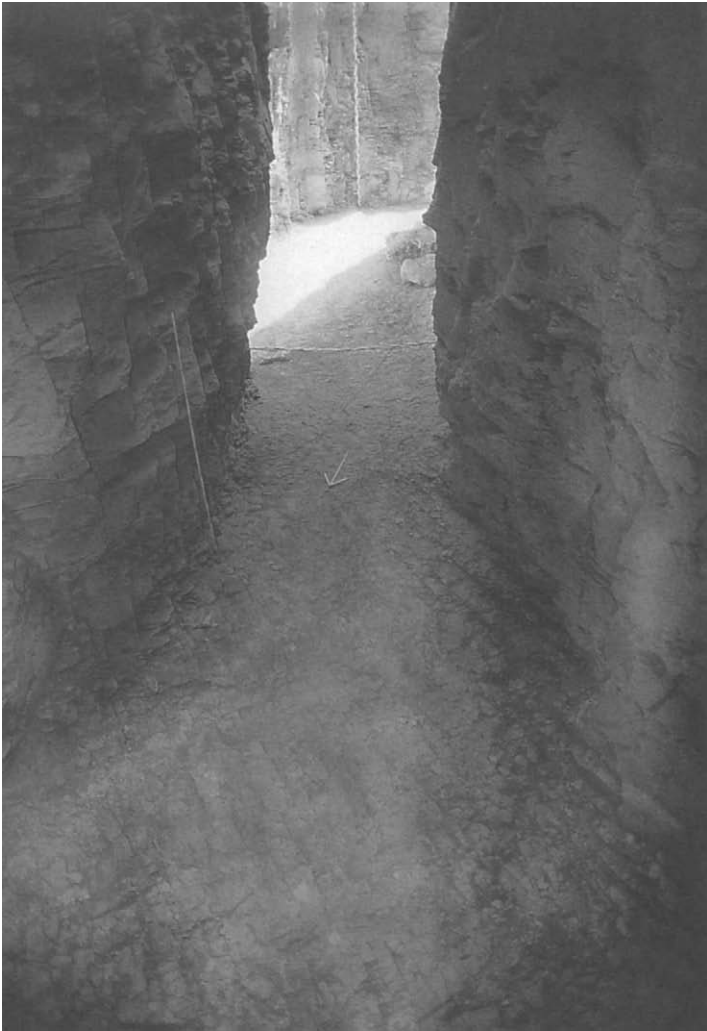


Fig. 42. Platform as cleared, looking south and showing bedding planes of rock in area c-d running diagonally to direction of passage



Fig. 43. Looking west along platform; areas e-f of debris were on right (see Fig. 32). Note poor steps cut from west toward descending corridor



Fig. 44. Looking into the burial chamber after cleaning, rock bedding planes running parallel to passage



Fig. 45. On left, north wall of burial chamber with double bands of chert above electric wire; note smoke smudges at ceiling of descending corridor



Fig. 46. Looking from burial chamber into descending corridor. Note chiseled surfaces on left and right



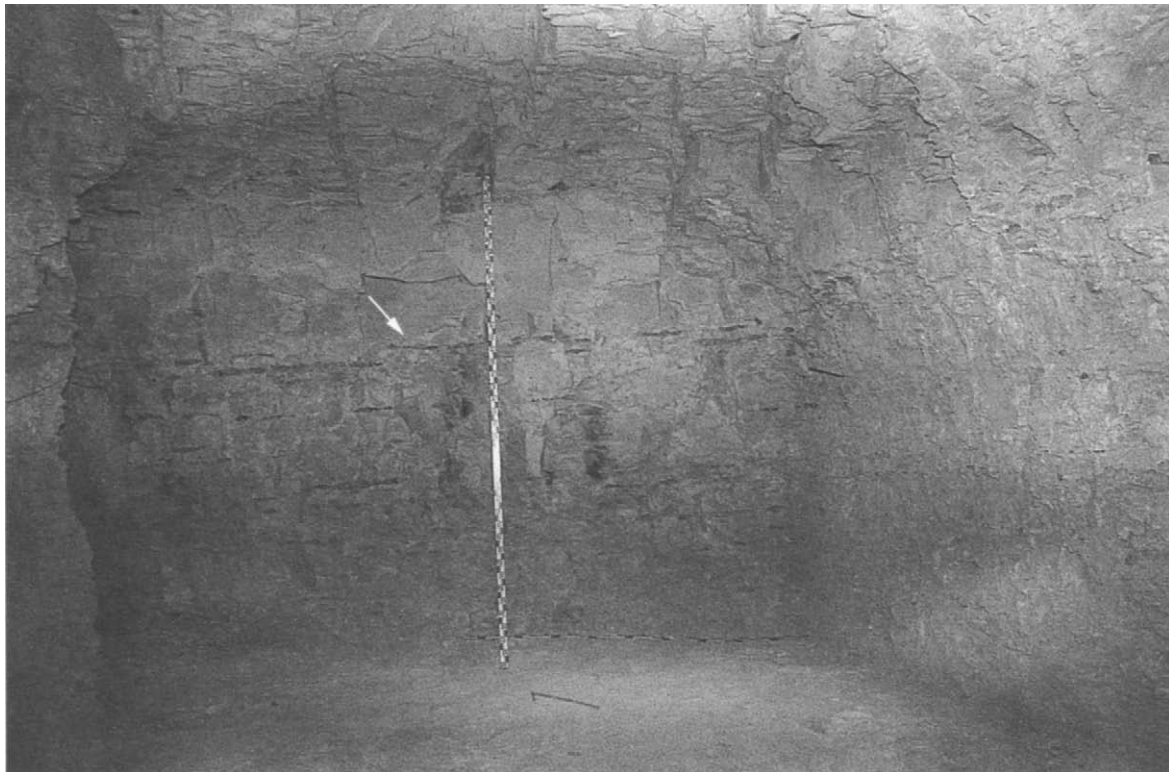


Fig. 47. East wall of burial chamber, south wall on right. Double band of chert is about halfway up meter stick, smoke patches below it

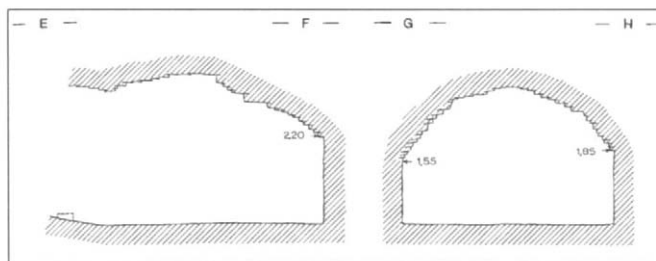


Fig. 48. Sections E-F and G-H of Fig. 40, with height of burial chamber marked. Arrows point to double layer of flint. Note "sill" at lower end of descending corridor



Fig. 49. South (left) and west (right) walls of burial chamber, with double band of chert above 2 meter stick, and smoke patches at upper left and right



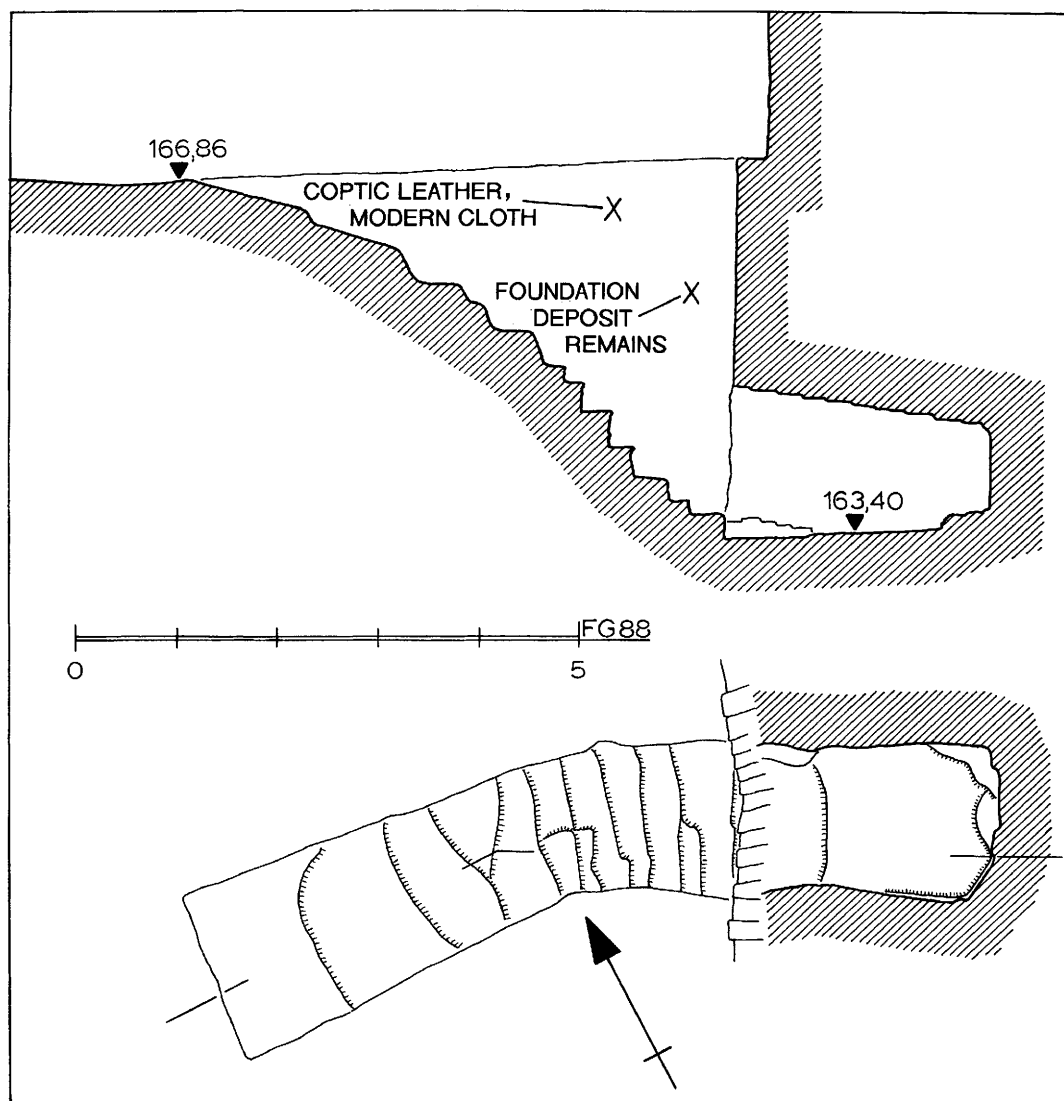


Fig. 50. Plan and section of Pit and Chamber excavated, with meters above sea level marked



Fig. 51. The Pit partially excavated, with conglomerate in lower left giving way to rock in which Chamber was cut



Fig. 52. Looking west in the Pit entrance, the poorer stairs in conglomerate at the top

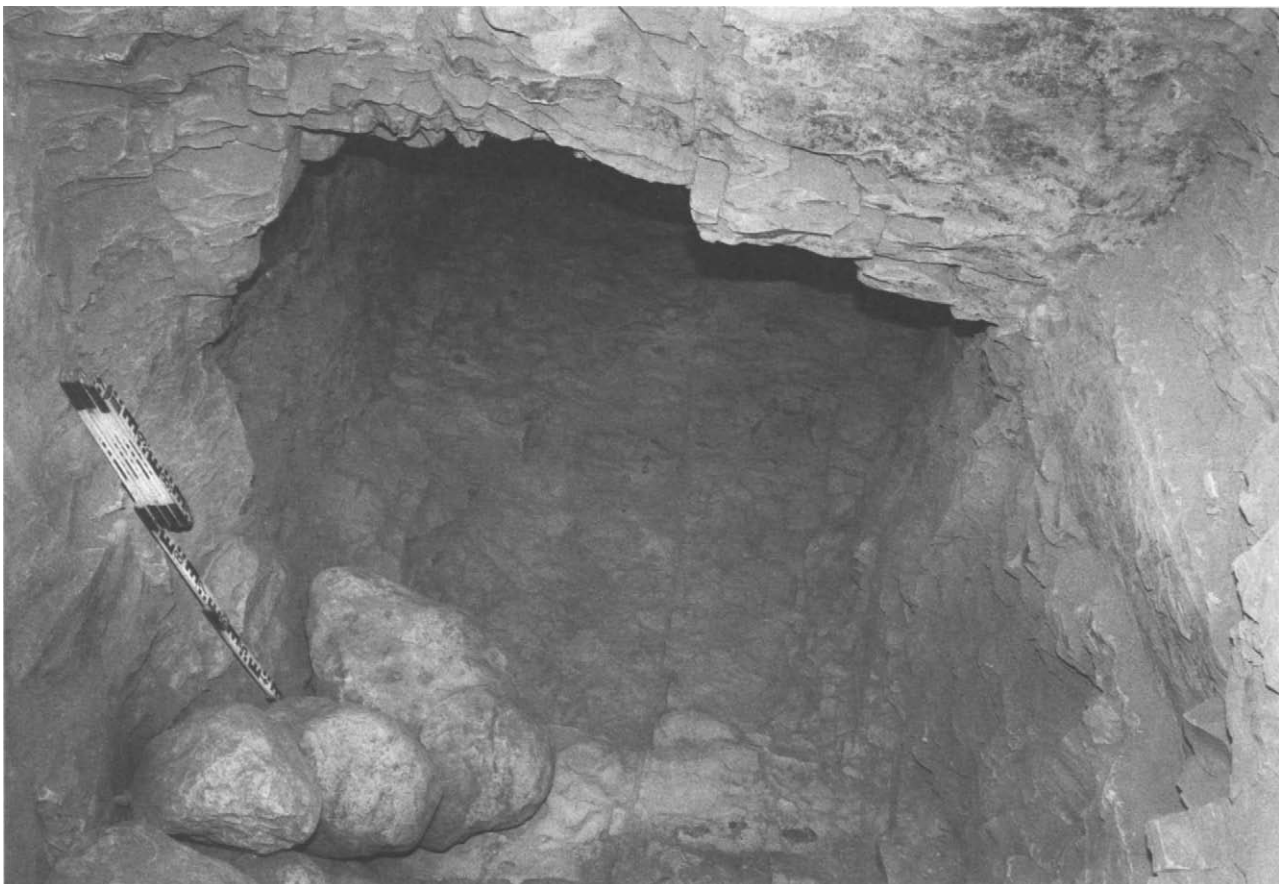


Fig. 53. The mouth of the Chamber after cleaning it and Pit. Boulders on left were found scattered in Chamber



Fig. 54. South wall of Chamber along ceiling; note chiseling of walls

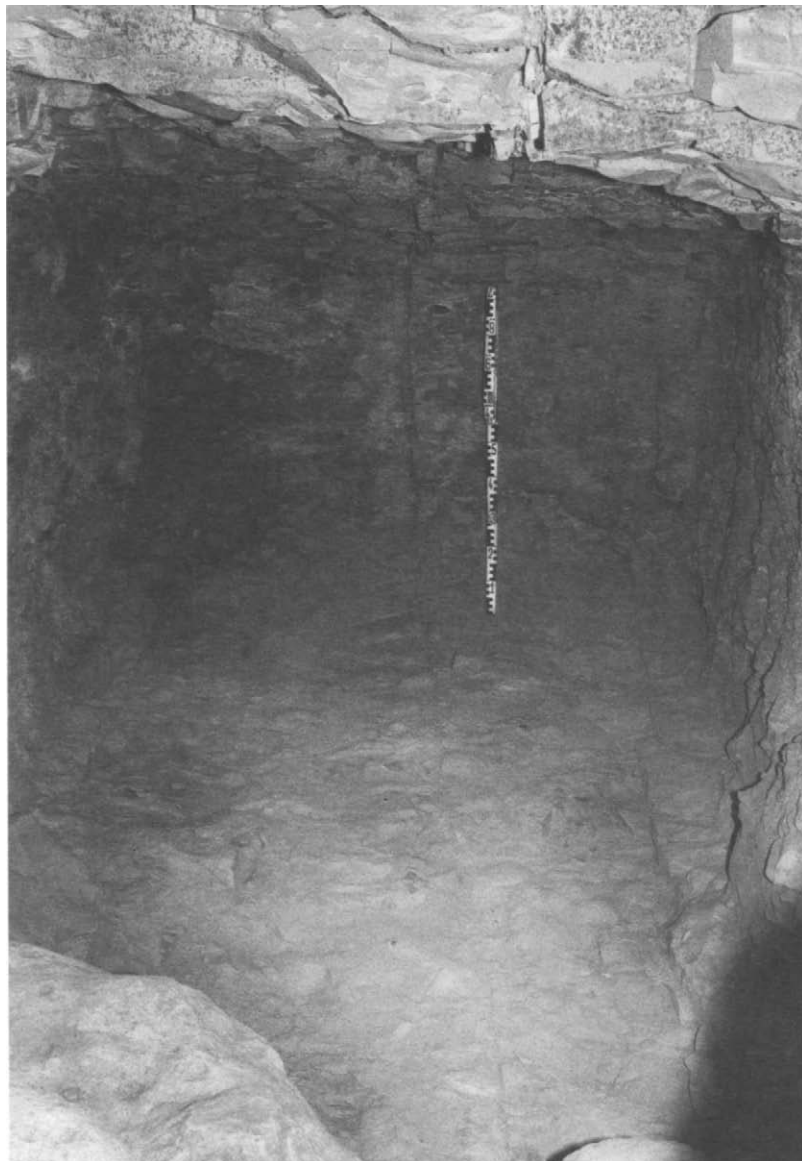


Fig. 55. The Chamber as cleared. Note fissure in rock that runs from rear wall across floor and up steps of Fig. 53

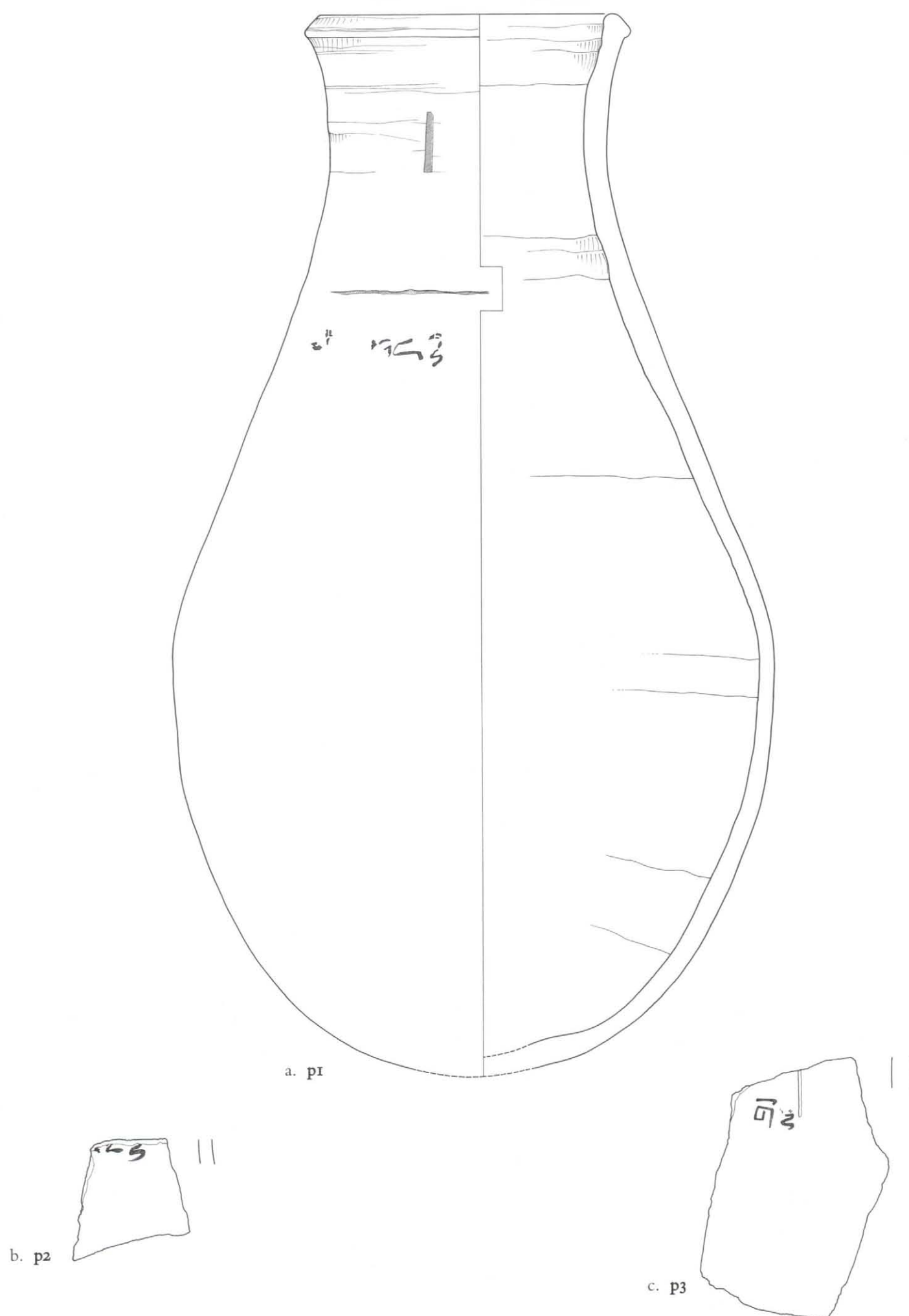


Fig. 56a-c. Inscribed New Kingdom storage jars, Nile silt, formed on a hand-turned device. 1:3. For inscriptions, see p. 332

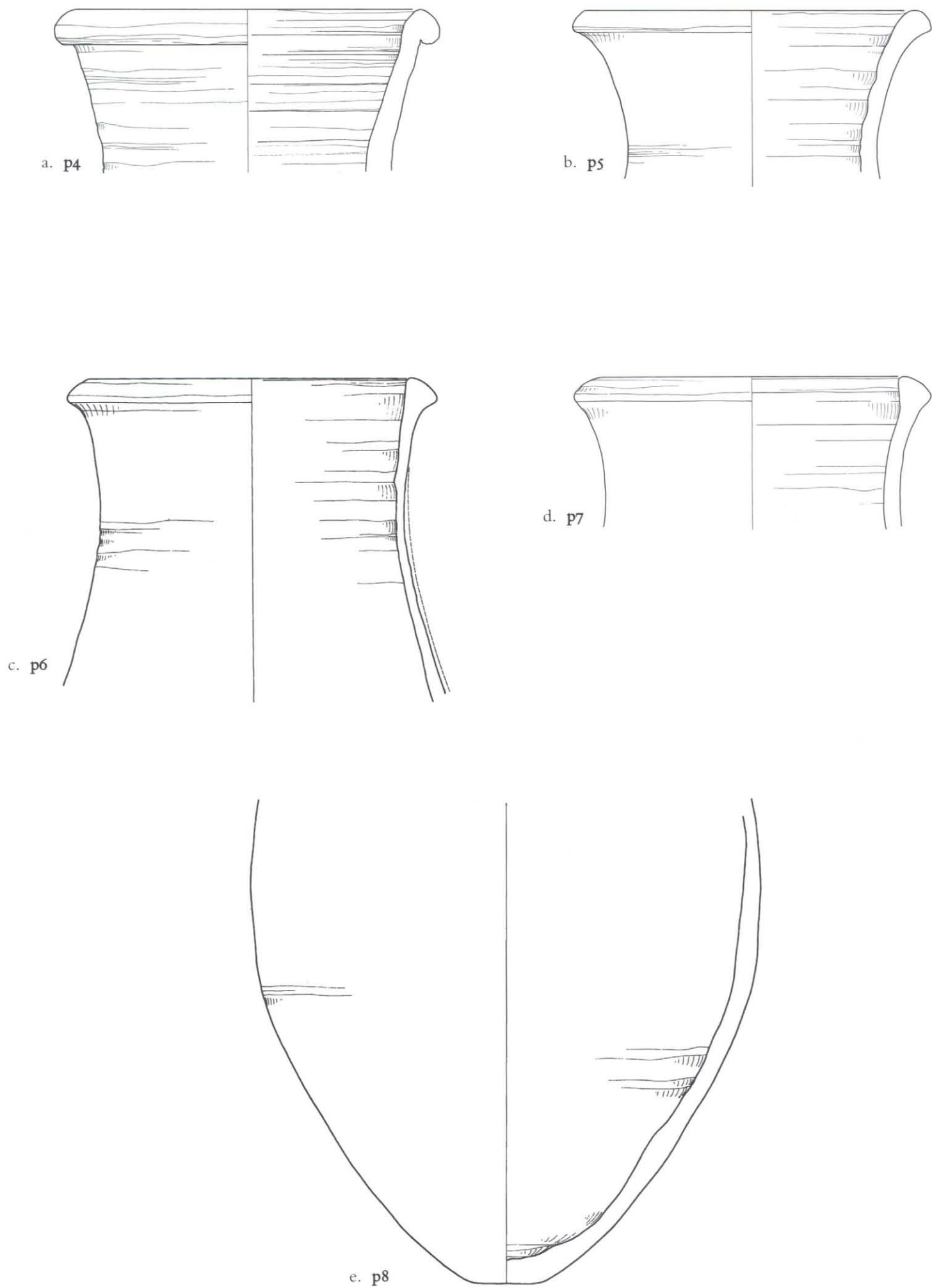


Fig. 57a–e. New Kingdom storage jars, Nile silt, formed on a hand-turned device. 1:3

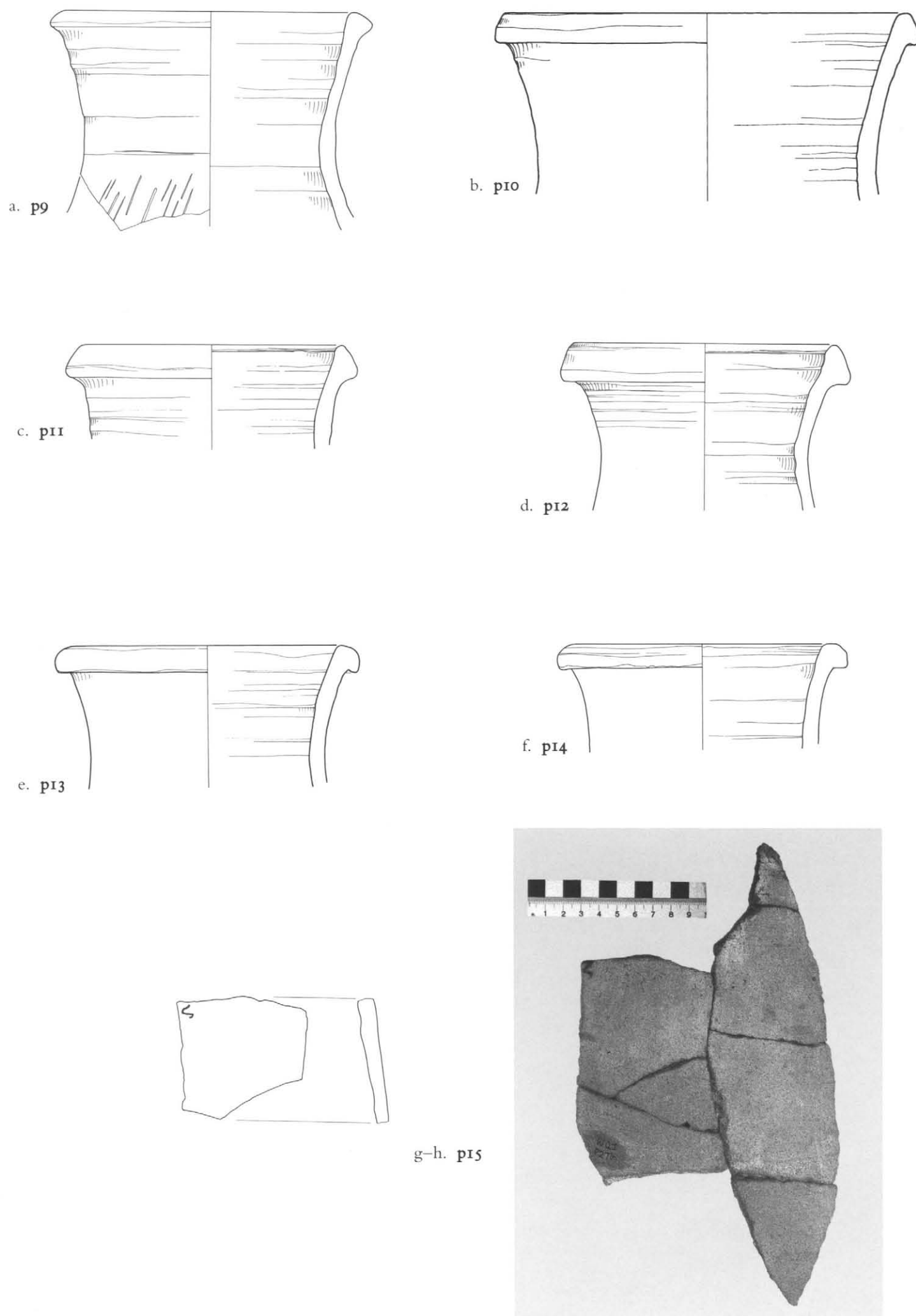


Fig. 58a-h. New Kingdom storage jars, Nile silt, formed on a hand-turned device. Drawings 1:3



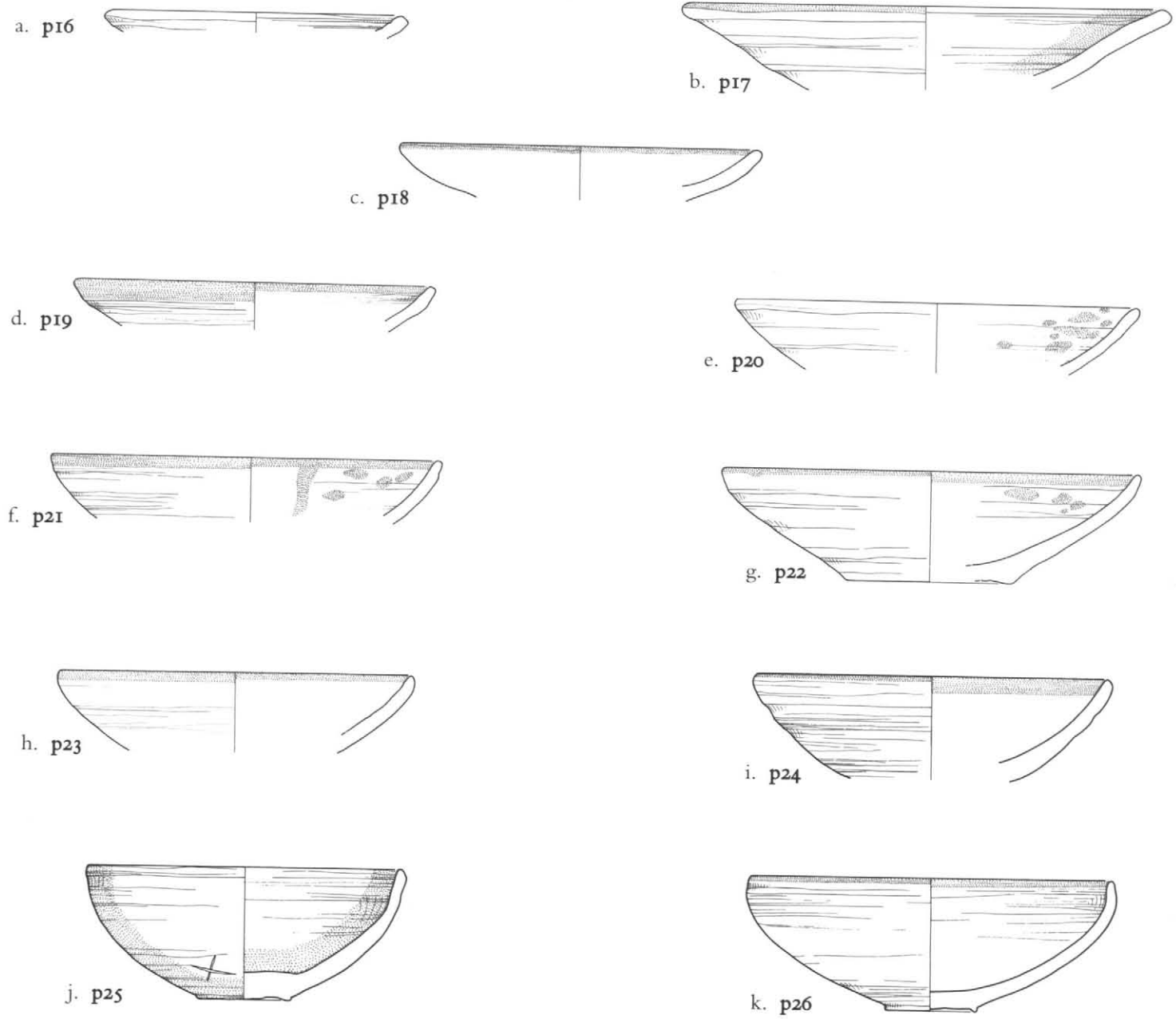


Fig. 59a–k. New Kingdom plates, Nile silt, wheel-made. 1:3

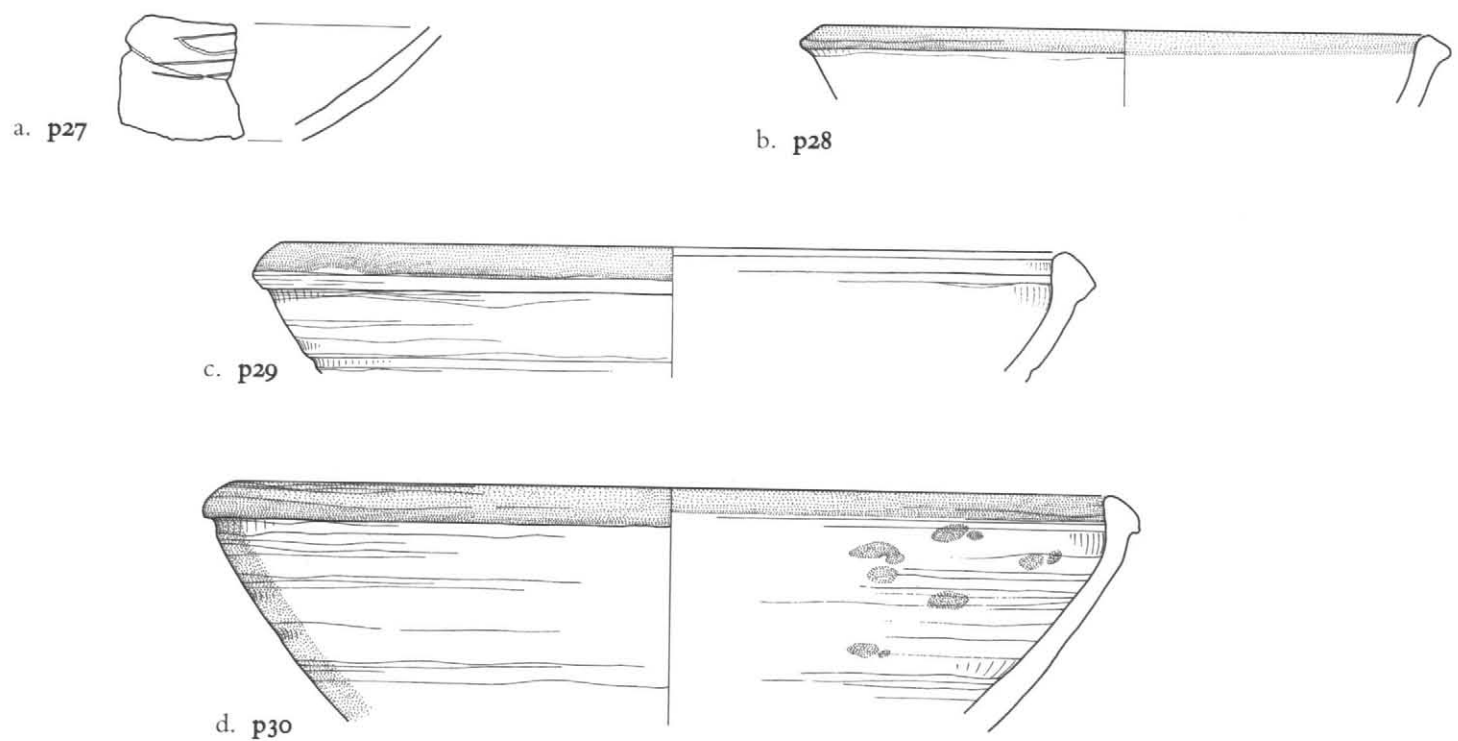


Fig. 60a–d. New Kingdom rounded bowls, Nile silt, wheel-made. 1:3



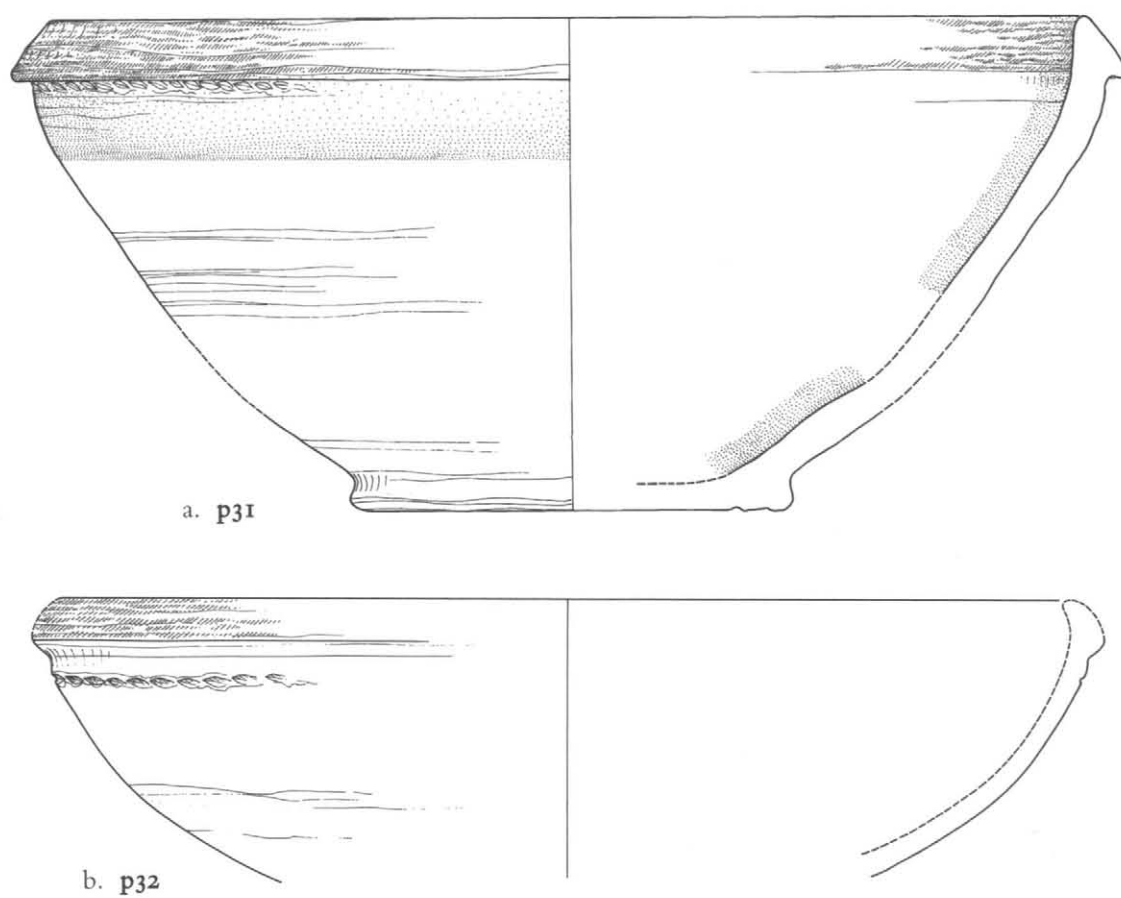


Fig. 61a-b. Additional New Kingdom rounded bowls, Nile silt, wheel-made. 1:3

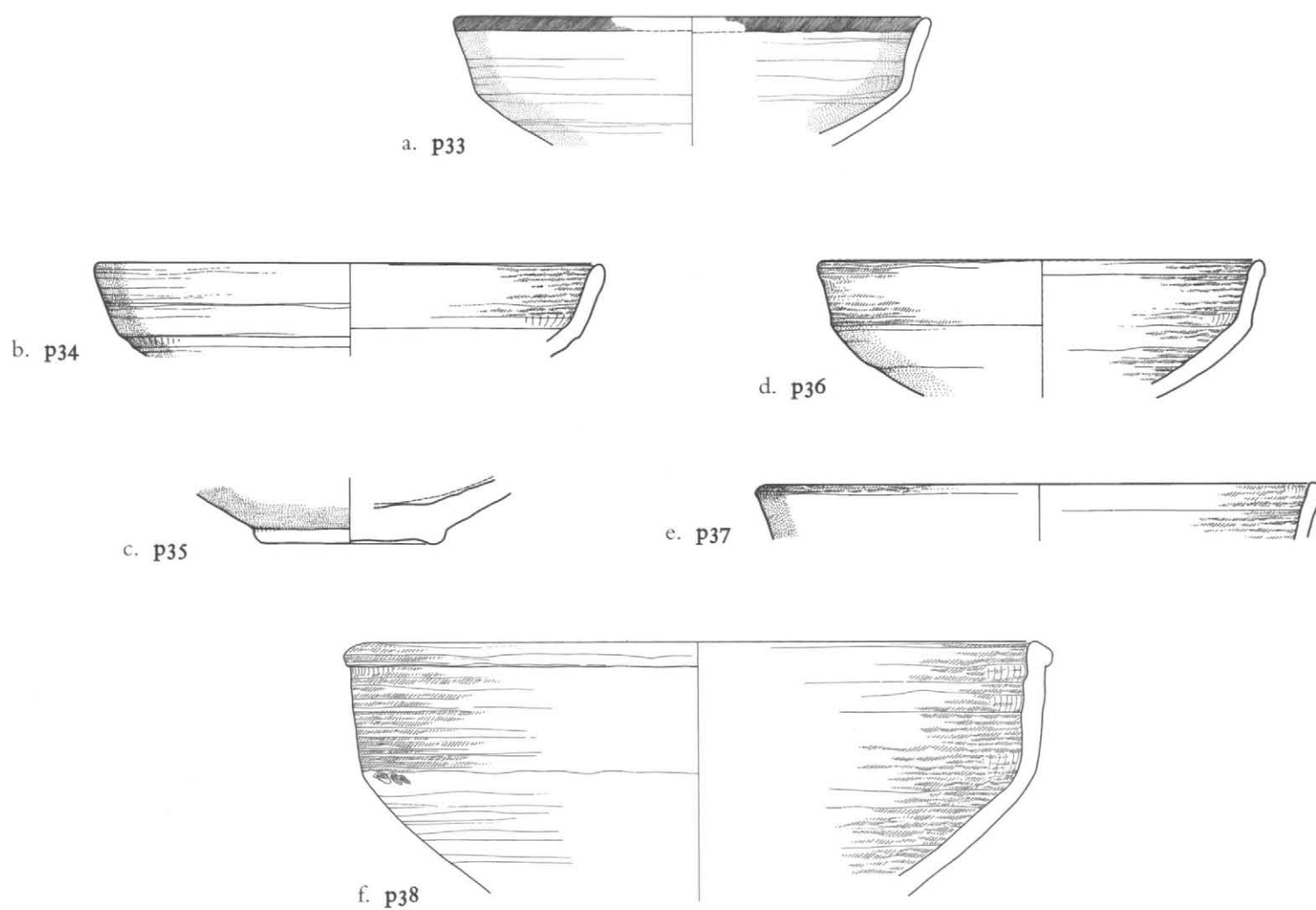


Fig. 62a-f. New Kingdom carinated bowls, Nile silt, wheel-made. 1:3

### Chapter 3

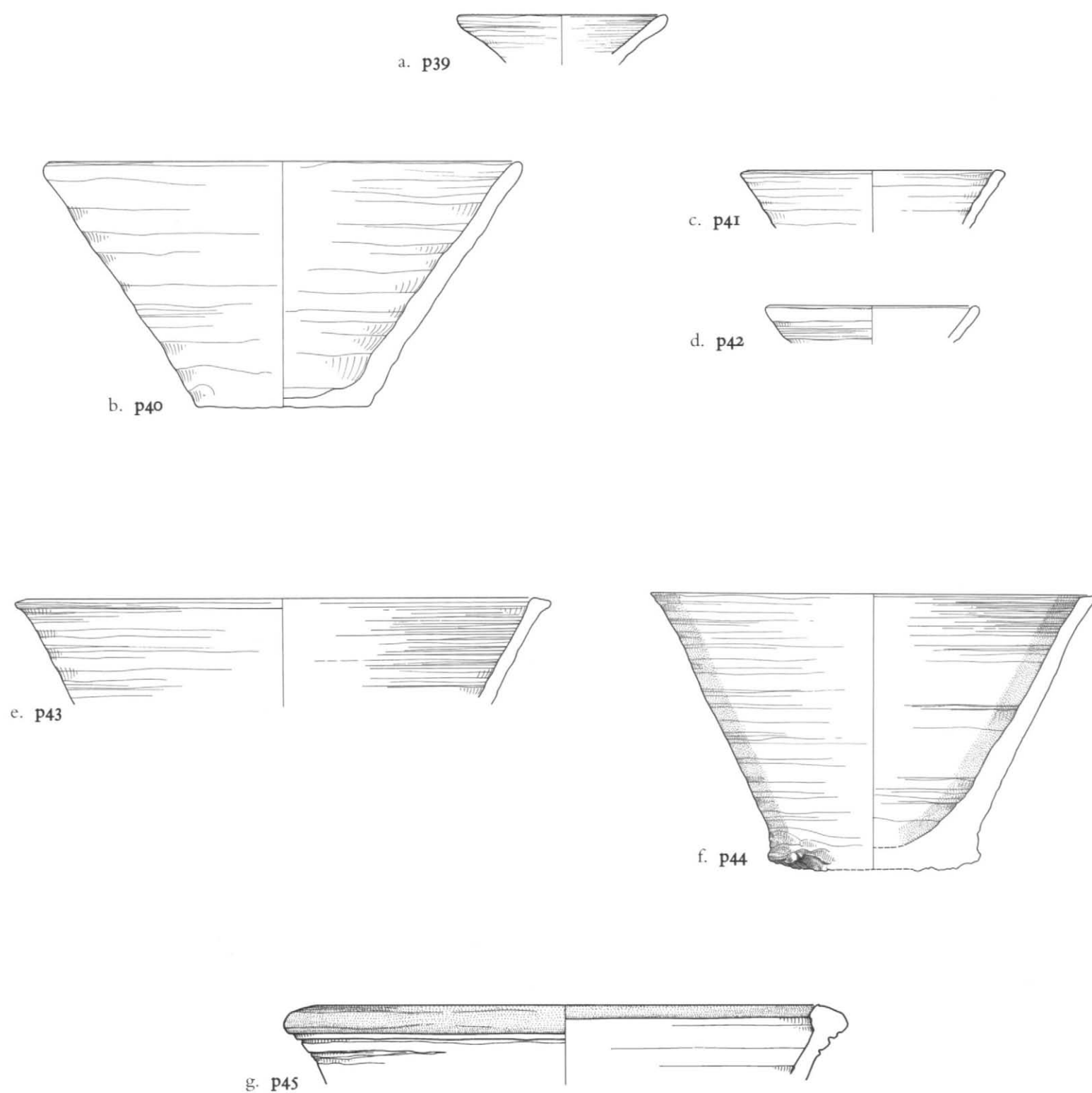


Fig. 63a–g. New Kingdom beakers or conical bowls, Nile silt, wheel-made. 1:3

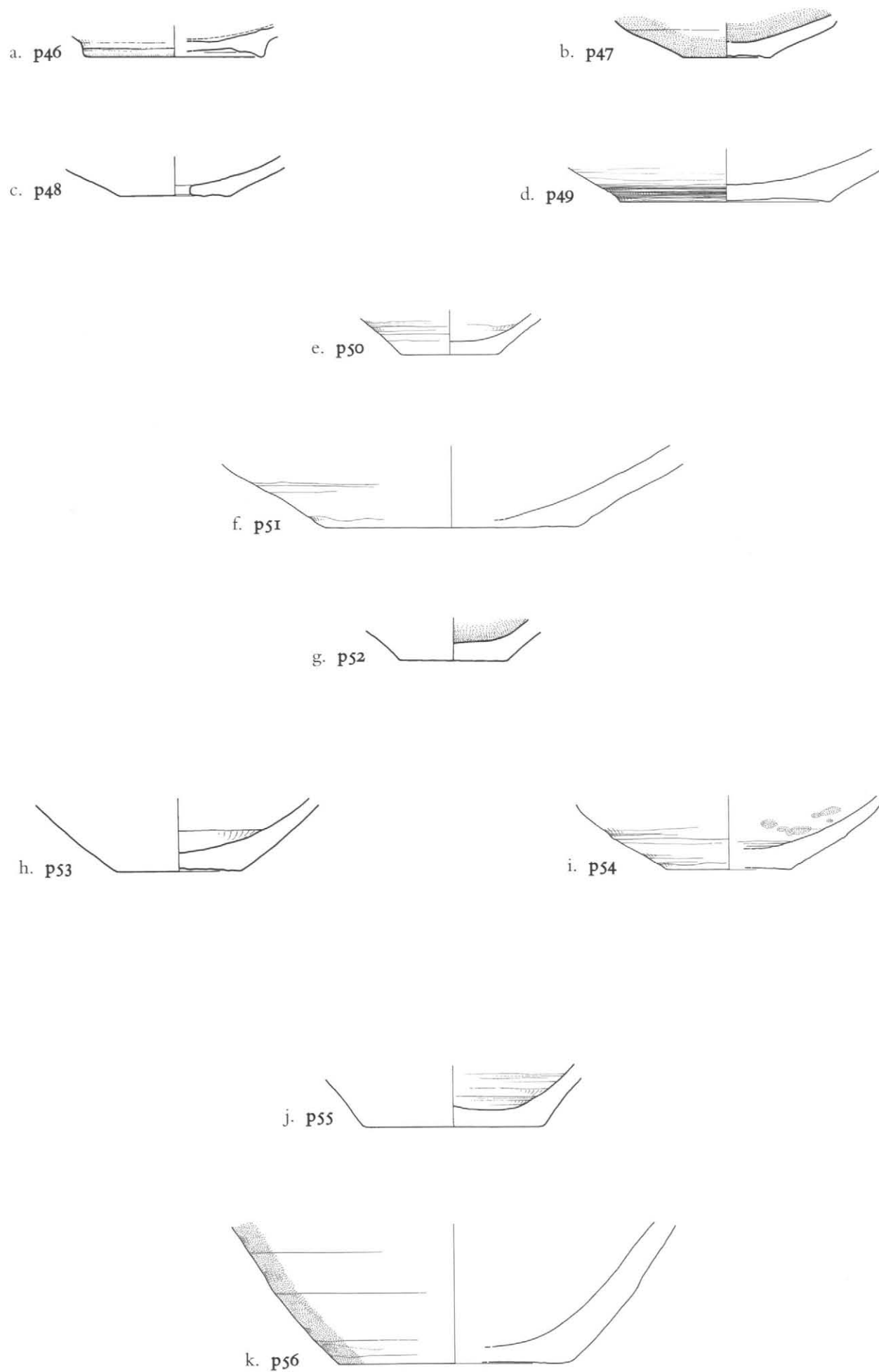


Fig. 64a-k. New Kingdom bases for open forms, Nile silt, wheel-made. 1:3

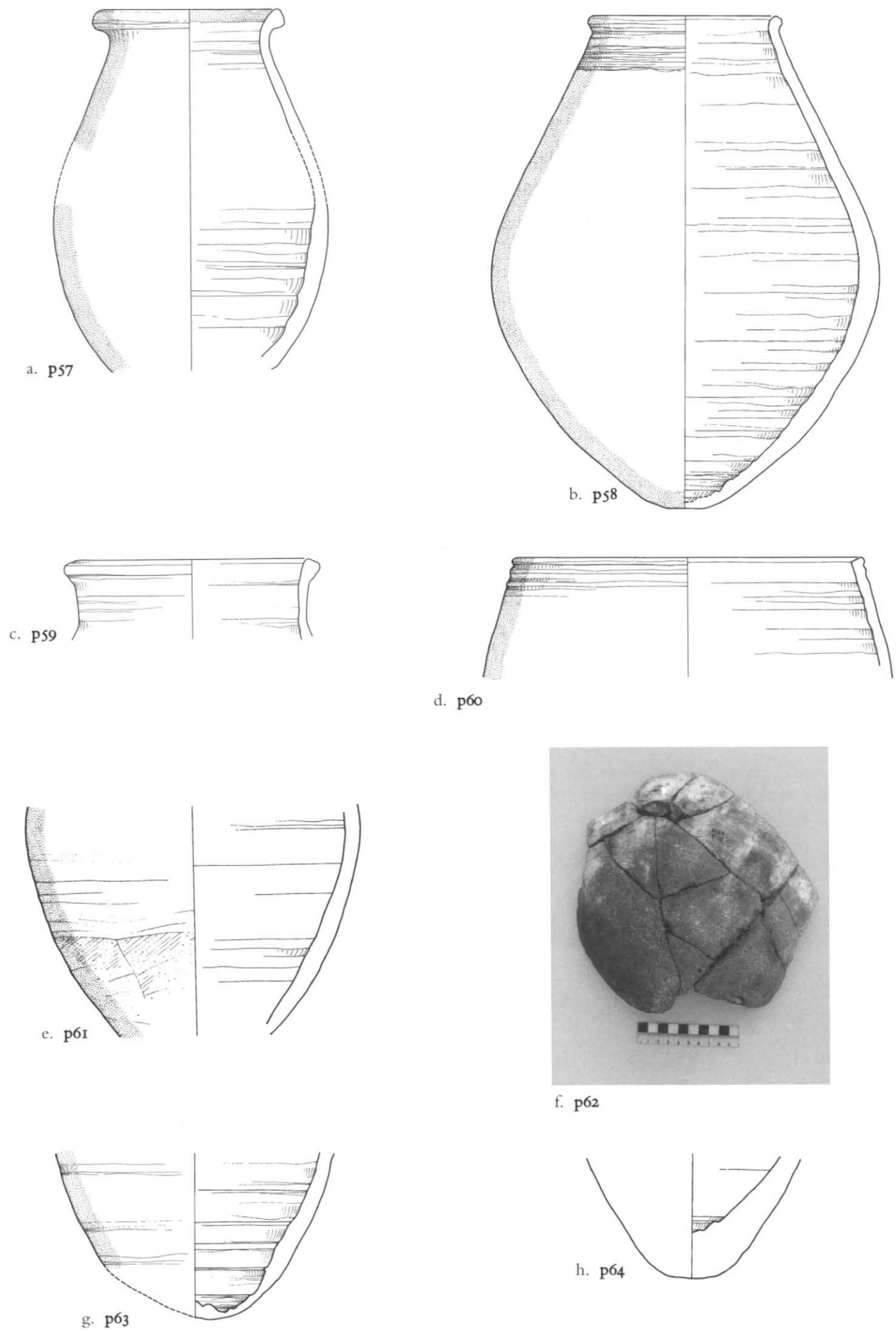


Fig. 65a-h. New Kingdom jars, Nile silt, wheel-made. Profiles, 1:3

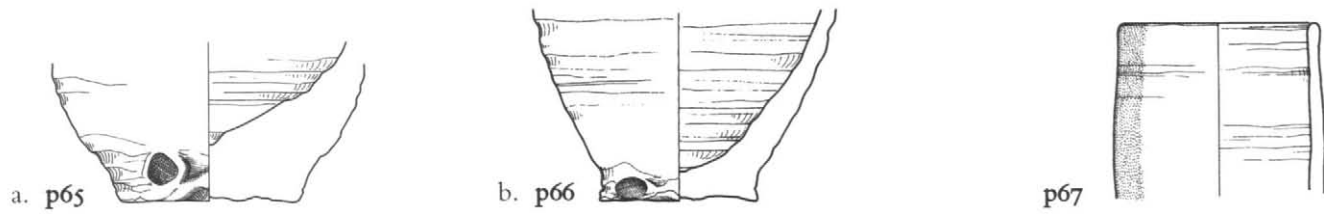


Fig. 66a-b. New Kingdom beer-jar bases, Nile silt, wheel-made. 1:3

Fig. 67. New Kingdom beaker, Nile silt, wheel-made.  
1:3

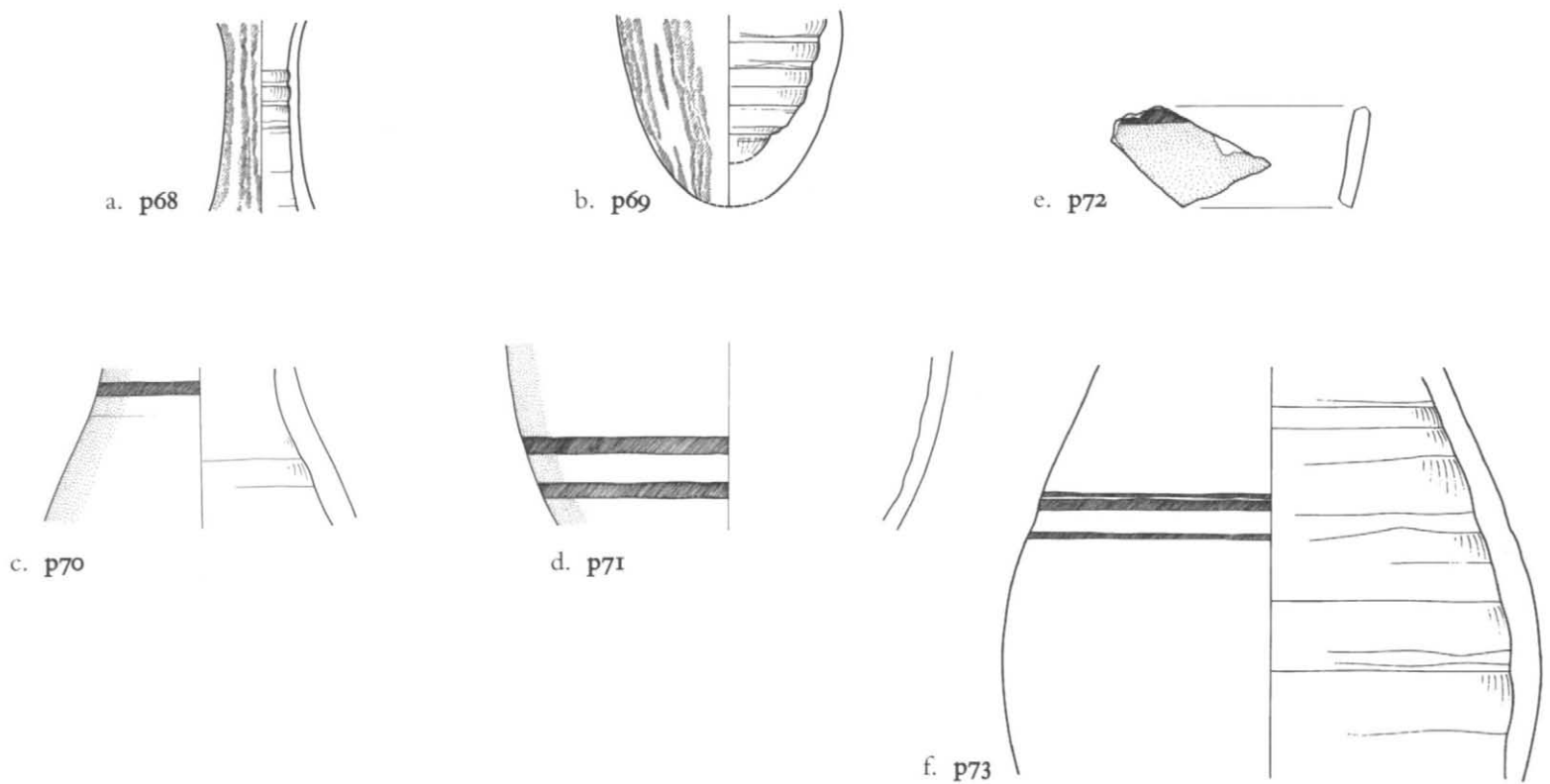


Fig. 68a-f. New Kingdom bottles, Nile silt, wheel-made. 1:3

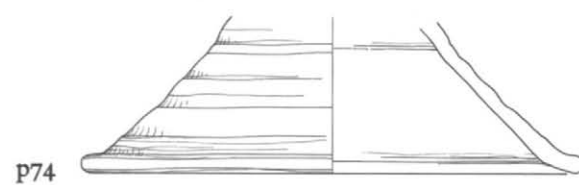


Fig. 69. New Kingdom stand, Nile silt, wheel-made. 1:3

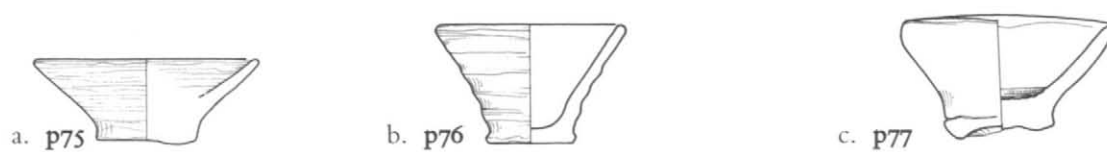


Fig. 70a-c. New Kingdom miniature open forms, Nile silt, wheel-made. 1:3

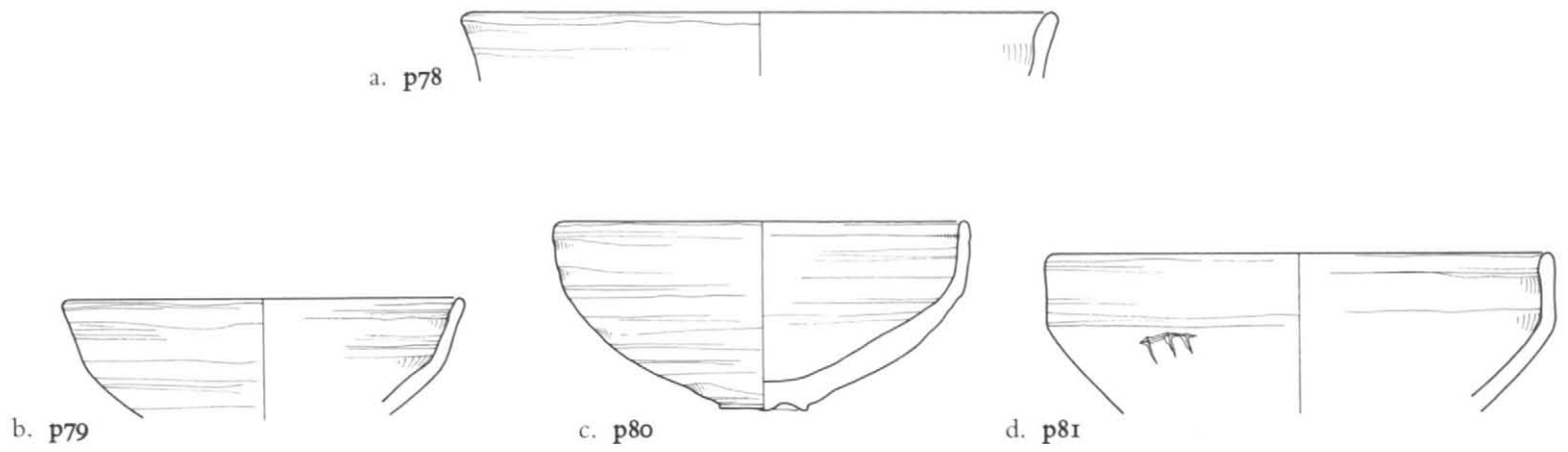


Fig. 71a-d. New Kingdom bowls, desert marl, wheel-made. 1:3

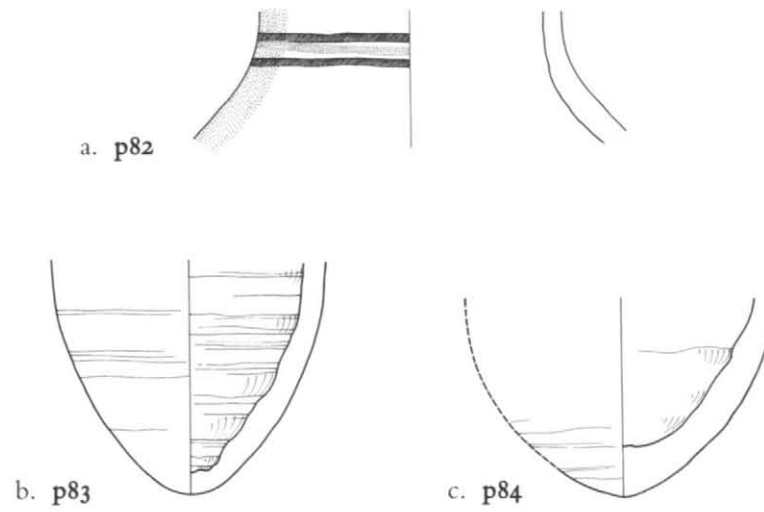


Fig. 72a-c. New Kingdom bottles, desert marl, wheel-made. 1:3



Fig. 73a-c. New Kingdom jugs, desert marl, wheel-made. 1:3



Fig. 74a-b. New Kingdom ritual vessels(?), desert marl, wheel-made. 1:3

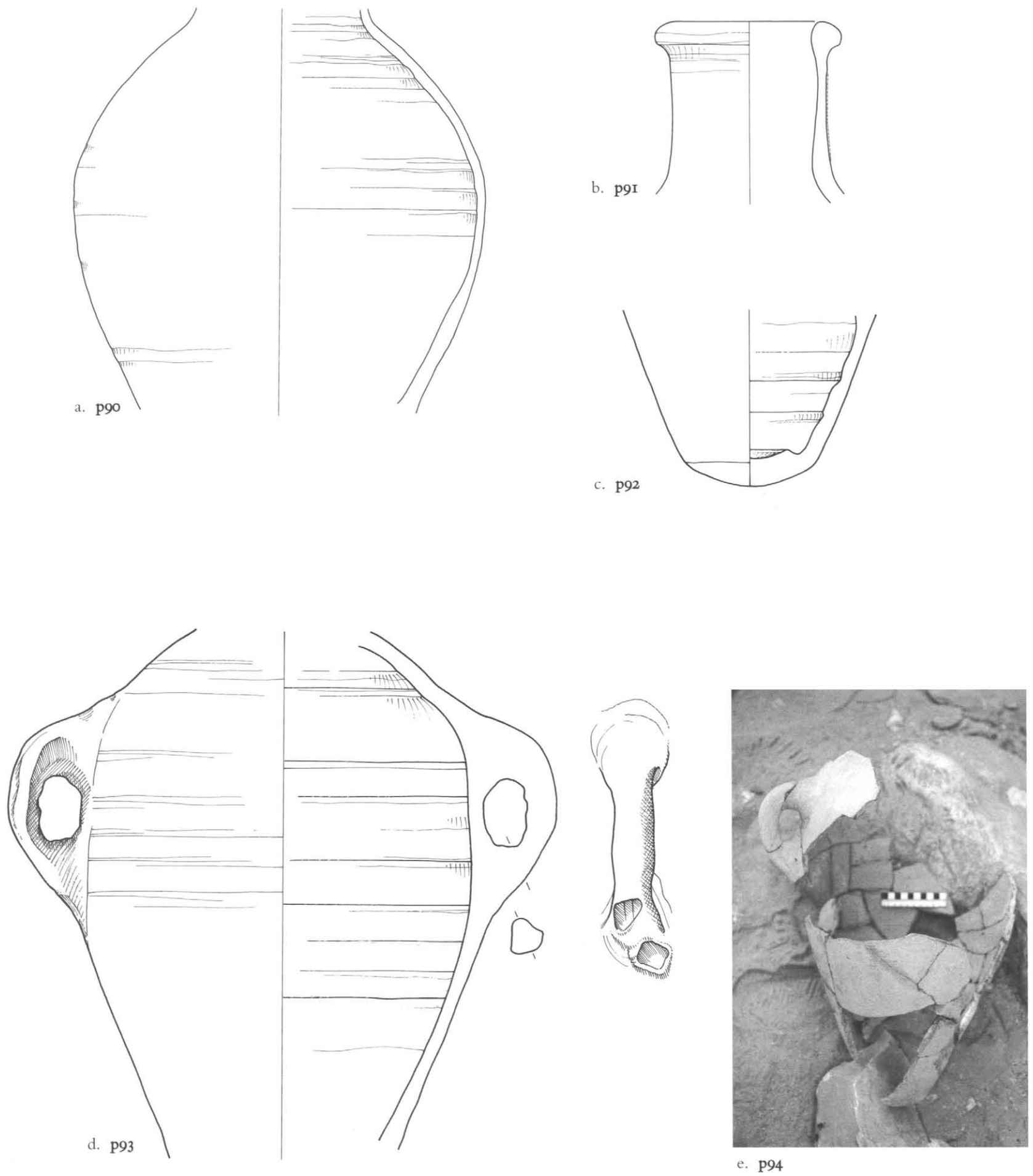


Fig. 75a-e. New Kingdom amphorae, desert marl, wheel-made with hand-finished bases. Profiles, 1:3



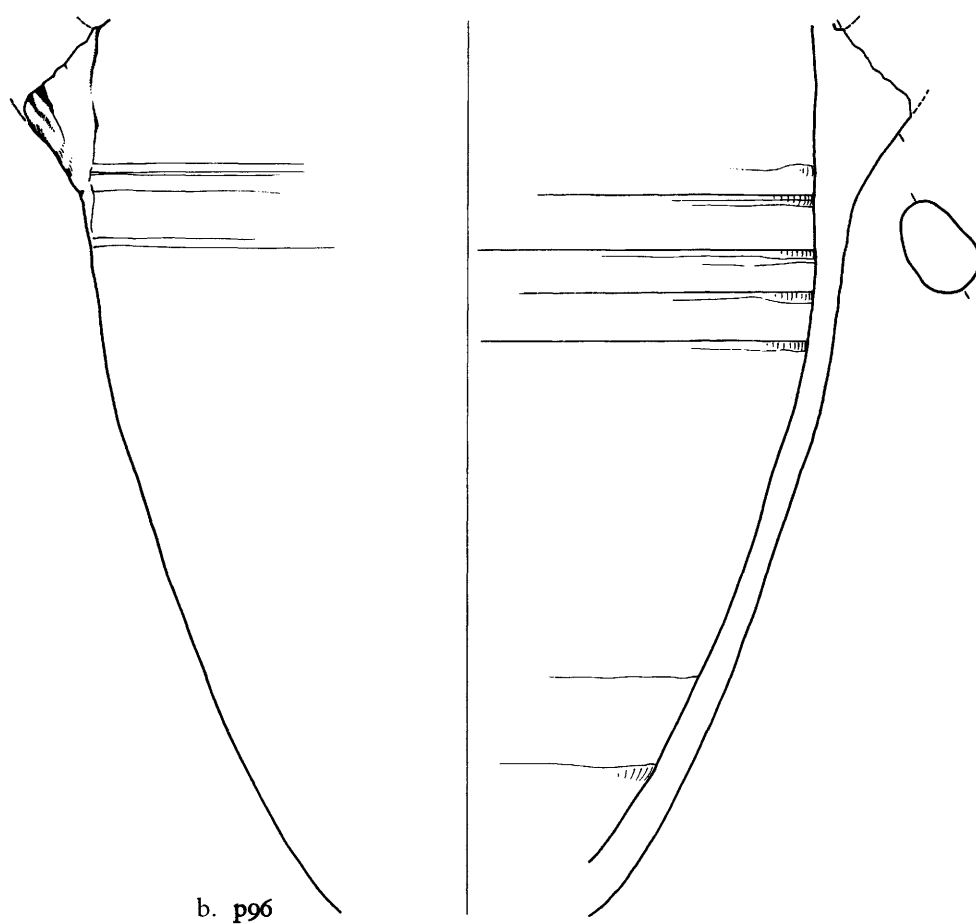
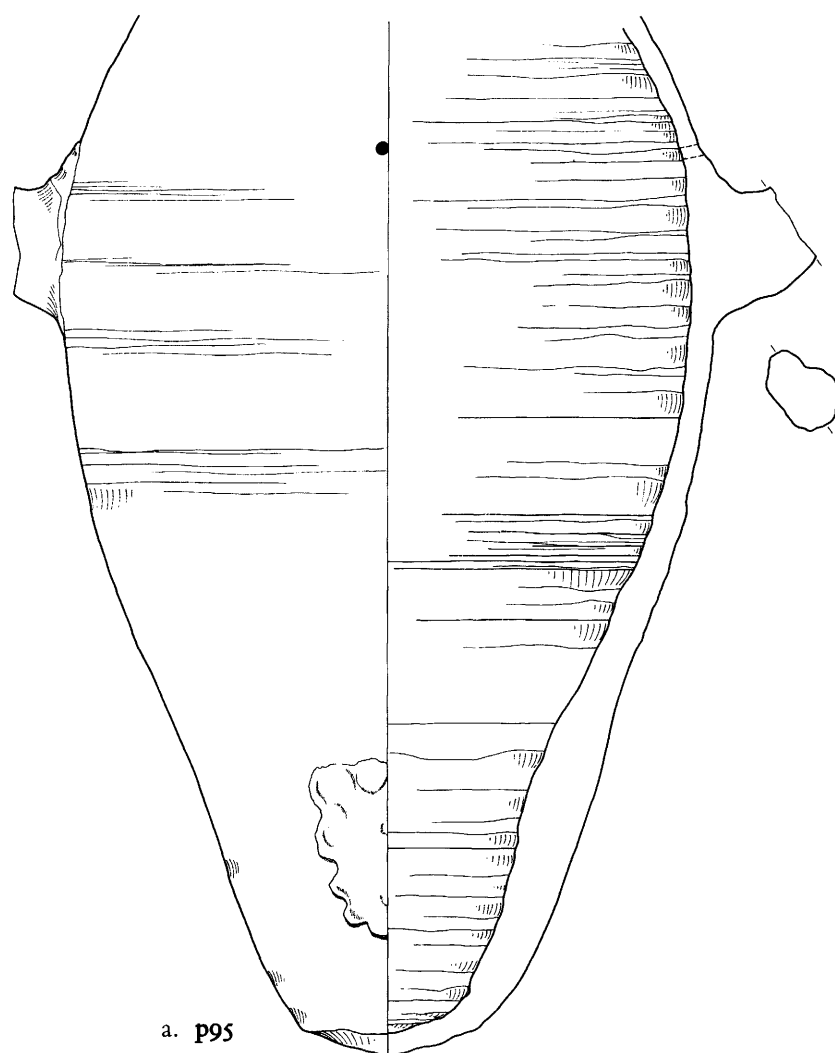


Fig. 76a–b. Additional New Kingdom amphorae, desert marl, wheel-made with hand-finished bases. 1:3

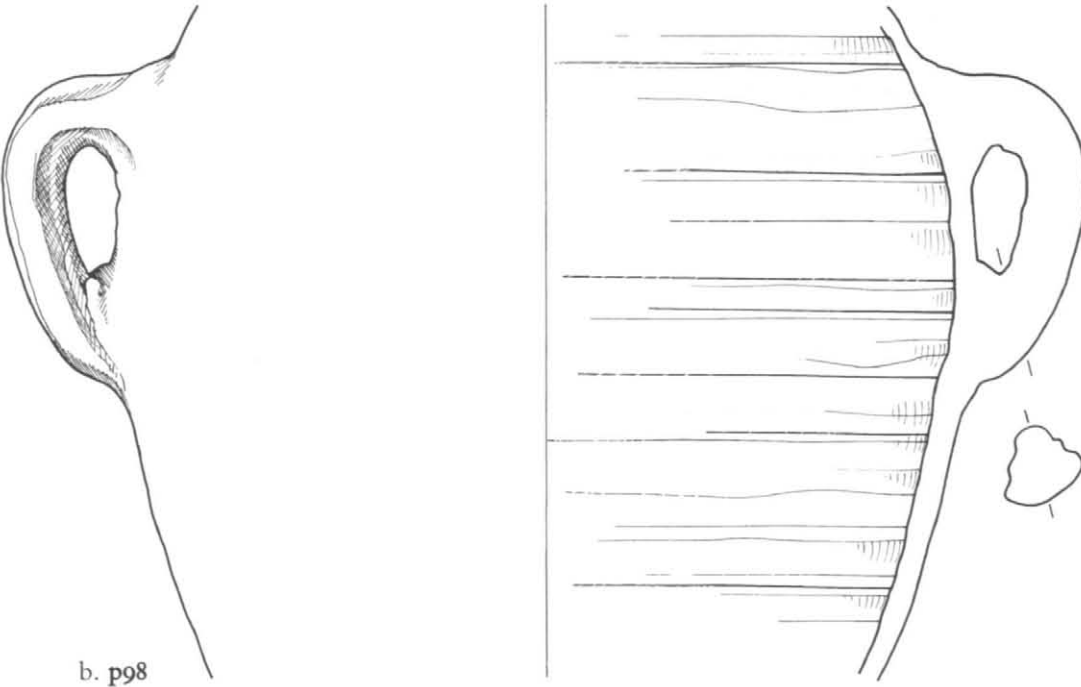
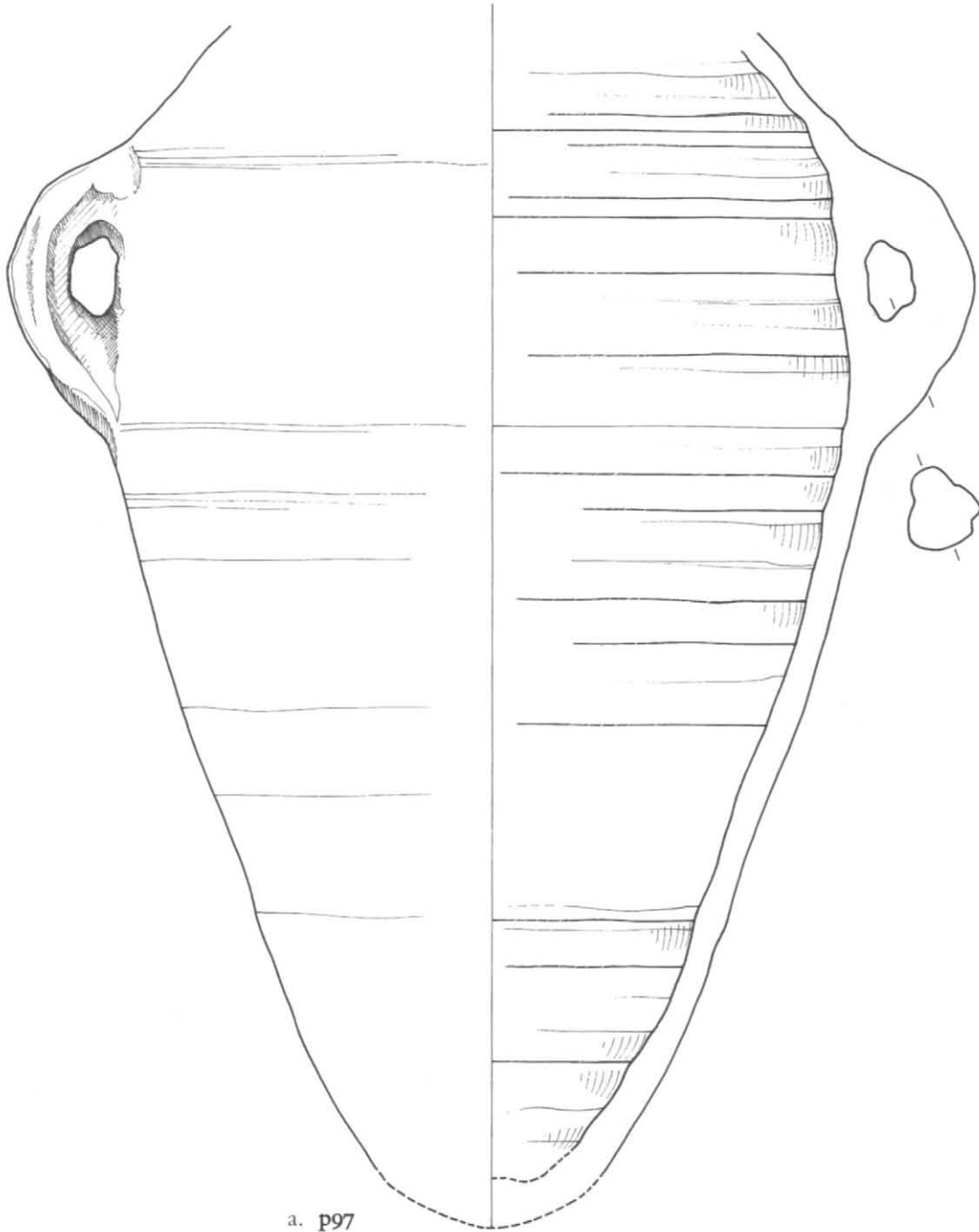


Fig. 77a–b. Additional New Kingdom amphorae, desert marl, wheel-made with hand-finished bases. 1:3

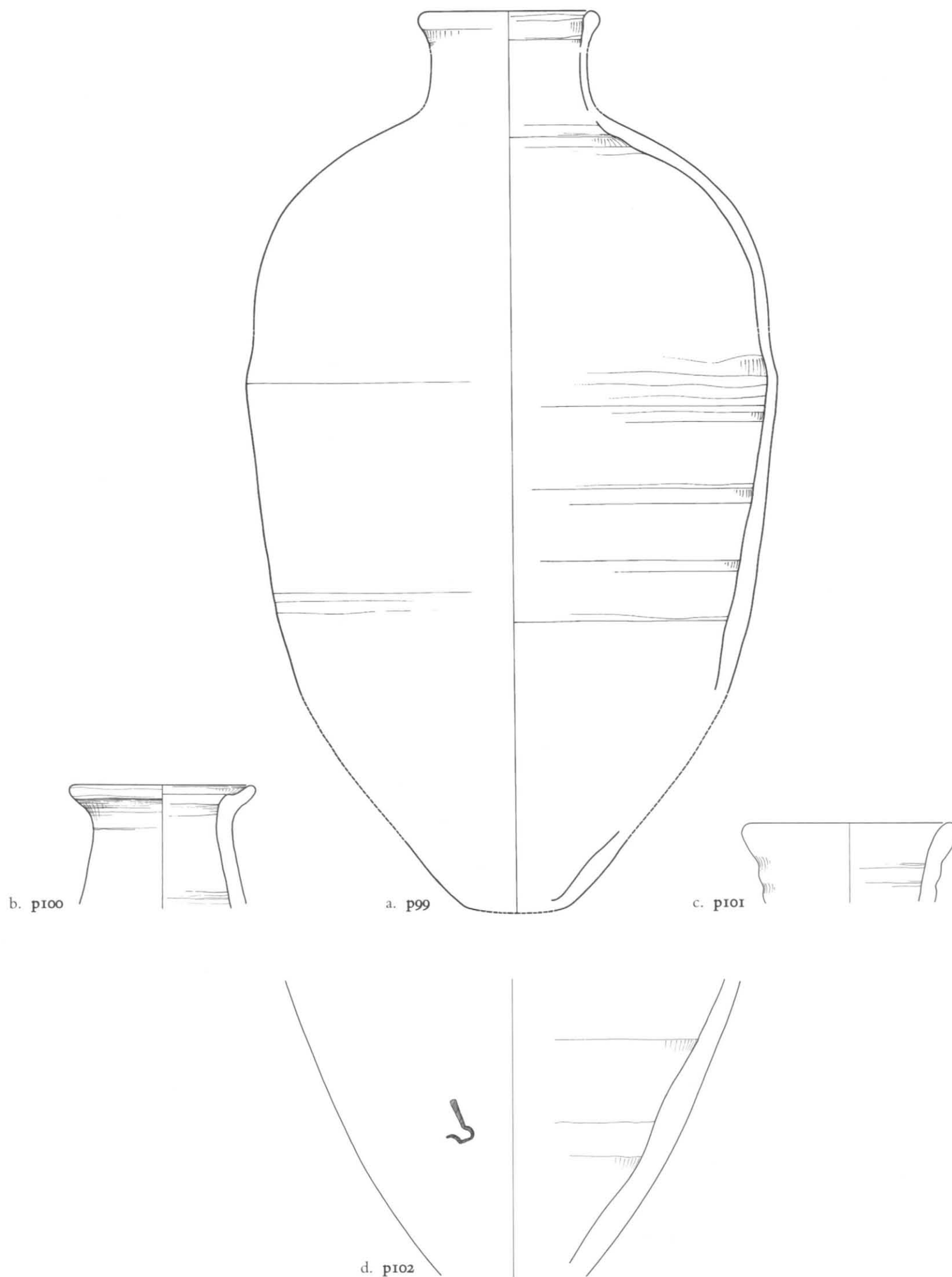


Fig. 78a–d. New Kingdom-period storage jars/amphorae of foreign fabric and manufacture. 1:3

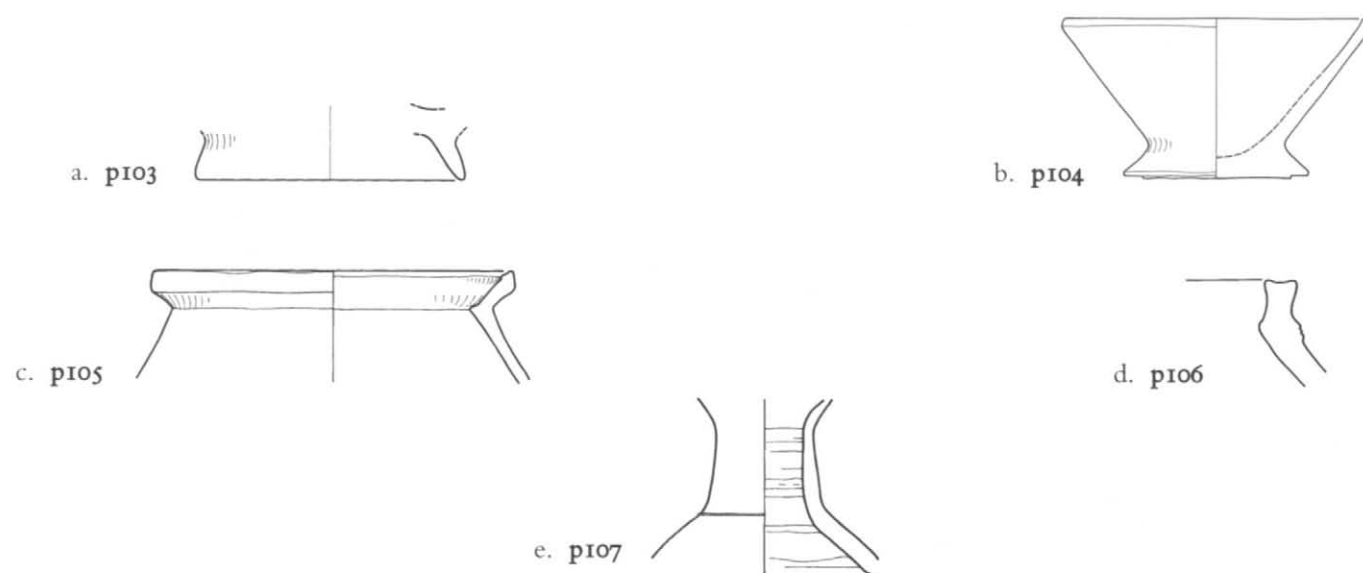


Fig. 79 a–f. Post-New Kingdom miscellaneous shapes and wares, wheel-made. Profiles, 1:3

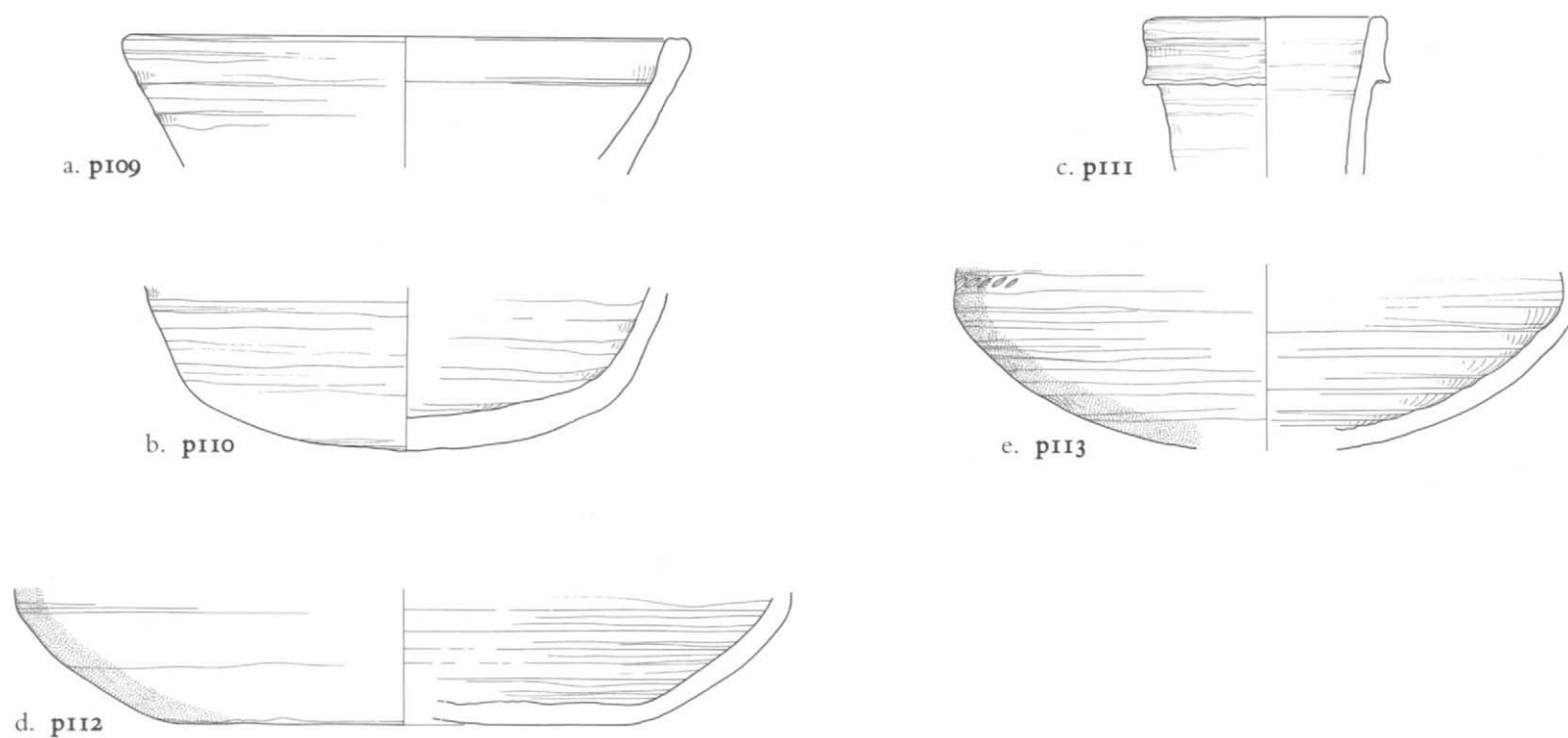
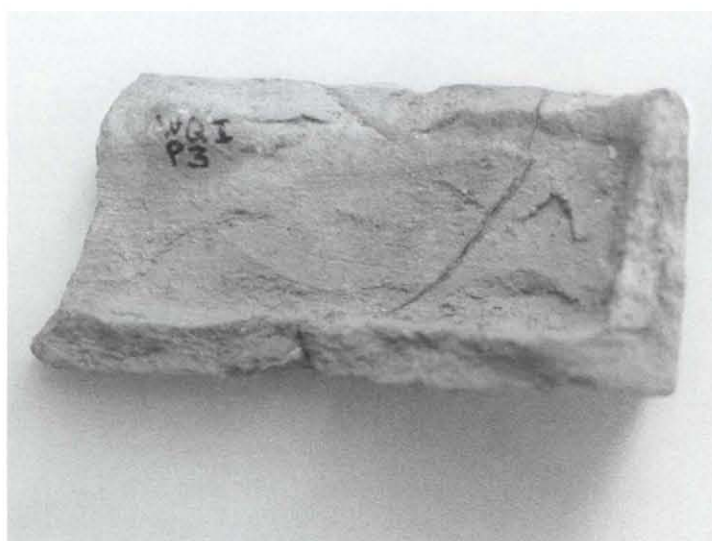
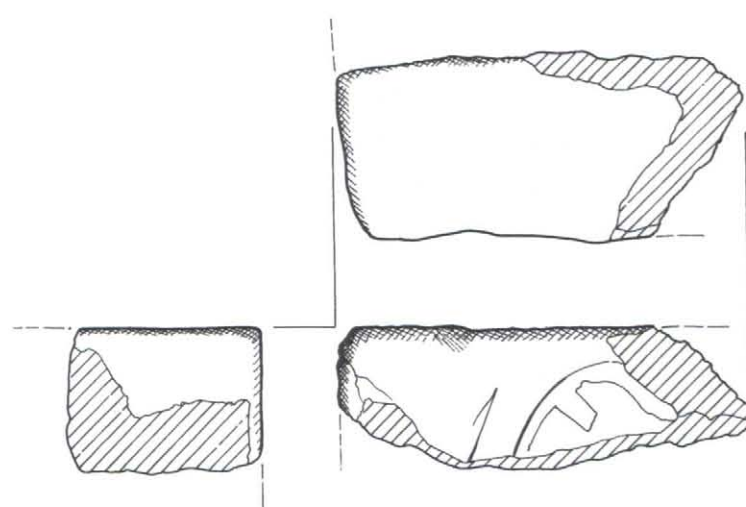


Fig. 80a–e. Miscellaneous shapes and wares, wheel-made, date uncertain. 1:3



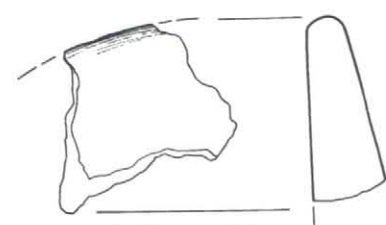
a. Fragment of pottery box



b.. Unidentified pottery object



c. Drawings of pottery box



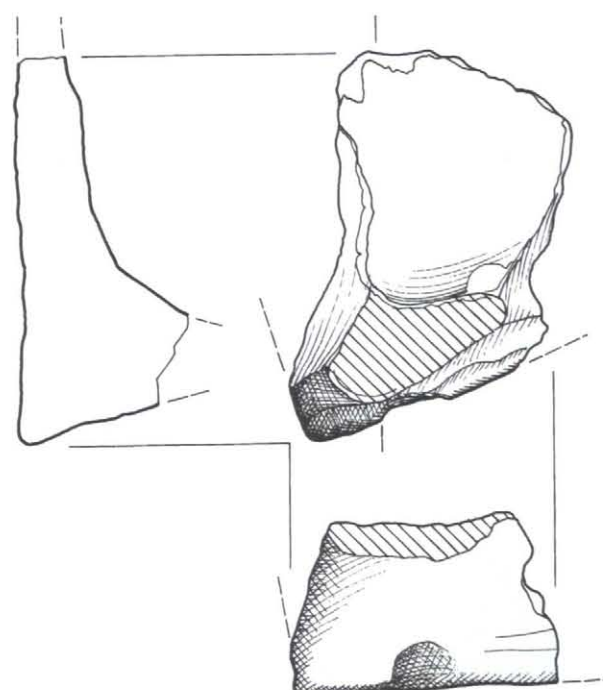
d. Serpentinite storage jar's rim fragment



e. Fragment in d (above), with smaller serpentinite rim fragment (below)

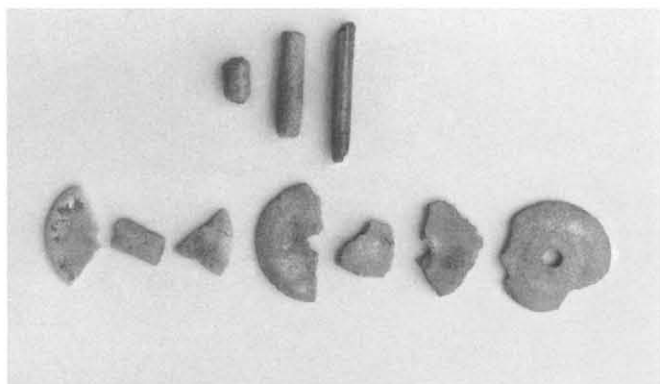


f. Bone fragments

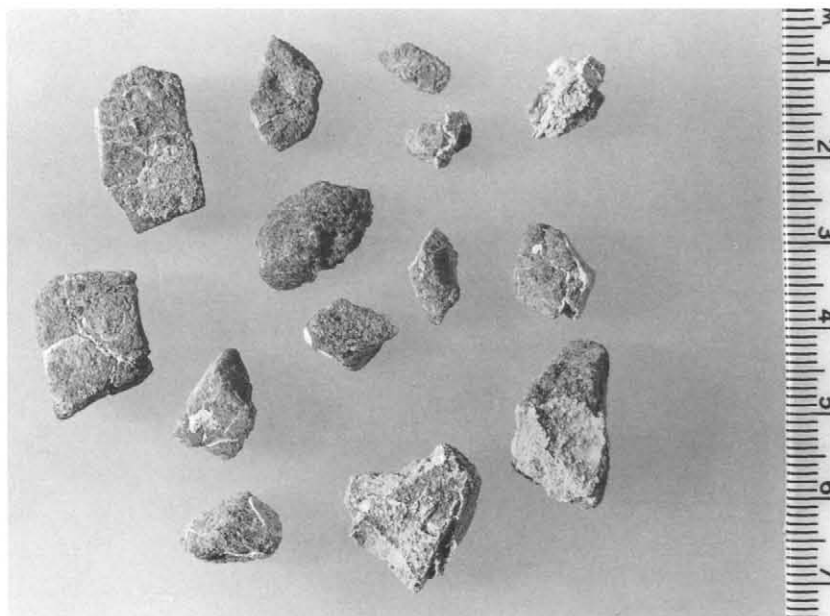


g. An additional unidentified pottery object

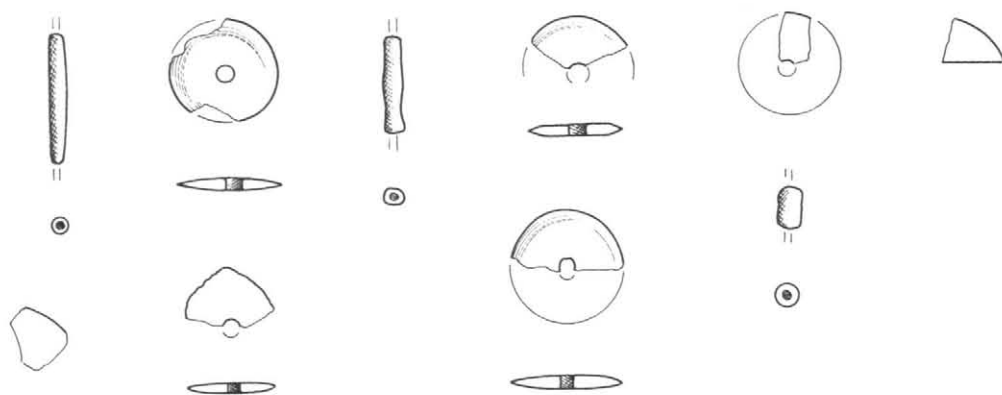
Fig. 81a-g. Items from Area I (wady head). Drawings, 1:1



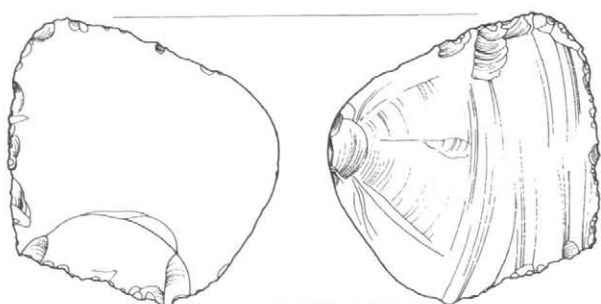
a. Tube and lentoid beads from Areas I-IV. 1:1



b. Glass from Areas II and IV, 1:1. Lower right, Lilyquist and Brill 1993: 34 no. 6; sherd northwest from it, Brill 1999: 1e



c. Drawings of items in a. 1:1



d. Prehistoric hand axe from Area II. 1:3



e. Bone fragments from Area II



f. Limestone fragment from Area II



g. Skin and bone fragment from Area IV

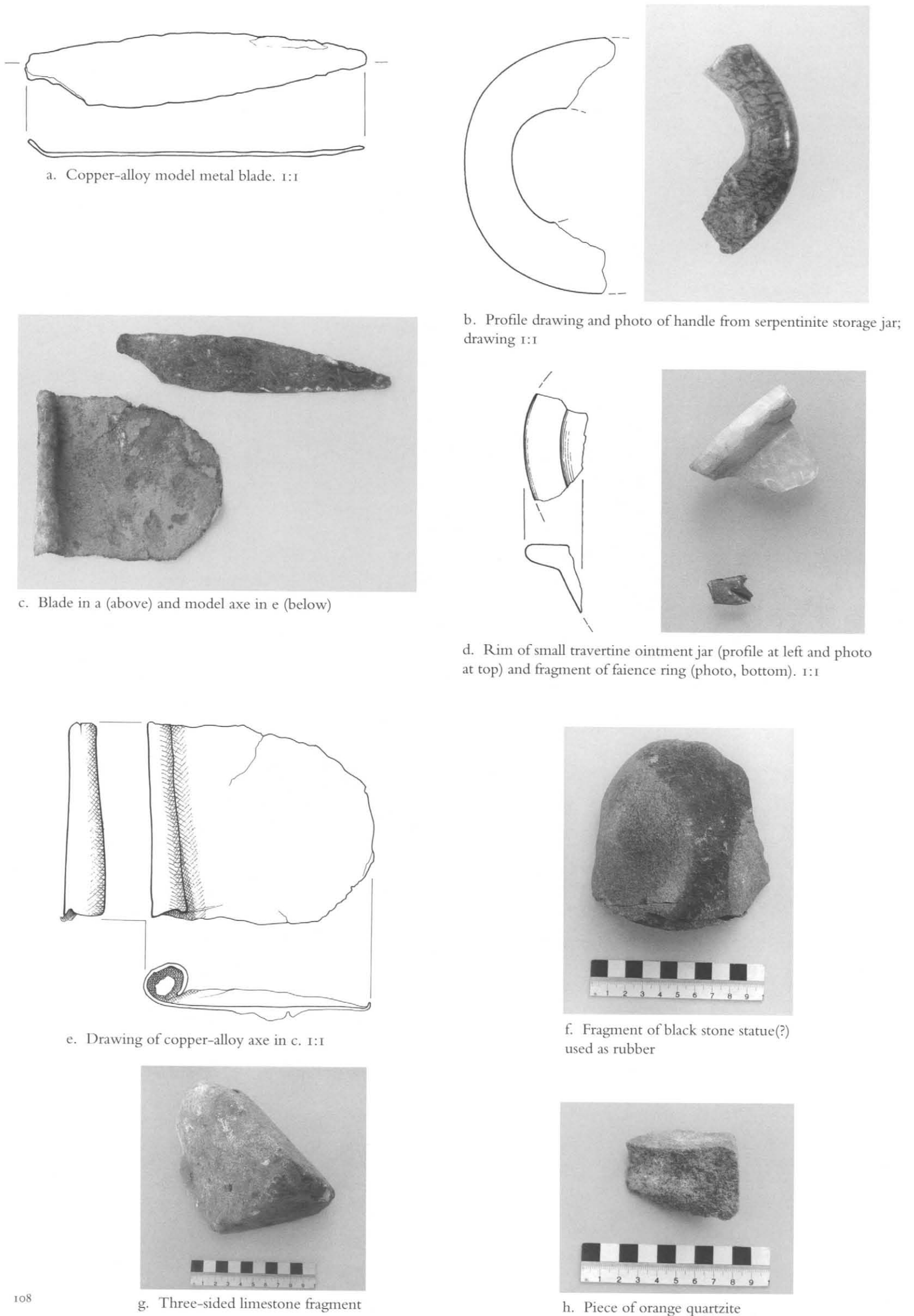


Fig. 83a–h. Items from Pit, south of wady head





a. Wooden fragment with rounded corner



b. Fragments of wood



c. Coptic sandal and textile fragments

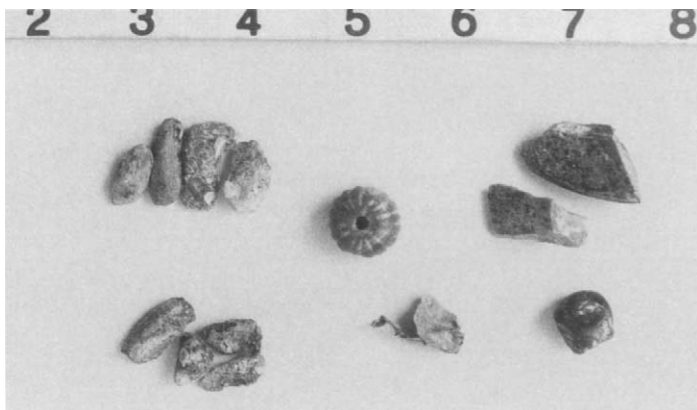


d. Wad of textile

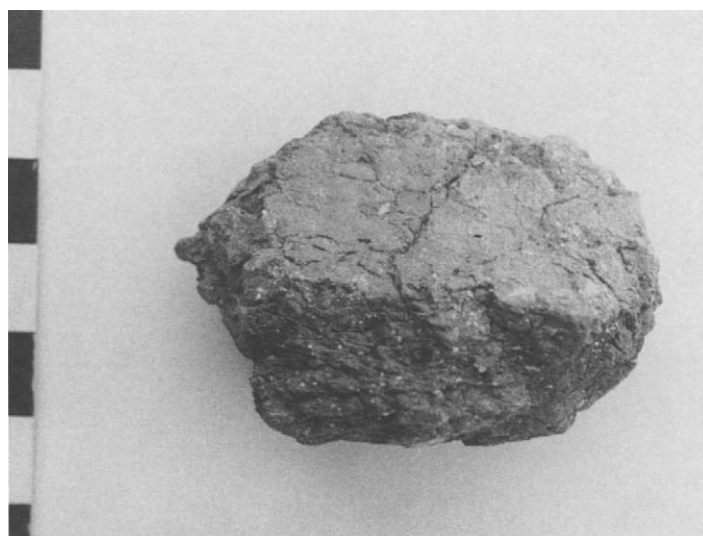


e. Resin and vertebra

Fig. 84a–e. Items from Pit, south of wady head



a. Left to right, top to bottom: Green lumps, lapis lazuli melon bead, two fragments amber glass; copper-alloy pieces, gold leaf, resin.



b. Part of reddish mud sealing



c. Left to right, top to bottom: Fragments of wood, piece of gessoed wood; bone, bitumen, mud seal



d. Fragments of wood (some gessoed); piece of bone on left

Fig. 85a–d. Items from Chamber belonging to Pit, south of wady head

## CHAPTER 4. INTRODUCTION TO CATALOGUE OBJECTS ASSOCIATED WITH TOMB 1

### HISTORY OF THE NON-EXCAVATED OBJECTS

The catalogue of objects associated with Wady D1 is presented in Chapters 5–7, with one consecutive series of bold numbers, **1–324**.

Most of the catalogued items are traceable to Mohammed Mohassib, the Luxor dealer who was identified as their purchaser shortly after the robbery (Doc. 10, pp. 33f.). Knowing that the scattered objects from the robbed tomb would be divided piecemeal unless carefully pursued, and having found a few beads while examining the tomb under permit, Howard Carter acquired the majority of objects of the Catalogue in local shops with the financial backing of Lord Carnarvon, for whom Carter would soon begin excavations in the Valley of the Kings (James 1992: 154–8, 184f., 188f.; James 1991; Reeves and Taylor 1992; Strudwick 2001).

Besides Mohammed Mohassib, other dealers are known to have had connections to the find or objects in the Catalogue:

- Jusef Hassan of Luxor (Fig. 20): a silver stopper from **13–5**; three faience bangles, no doubt **45–7**;  
Callender's piriform jar **59**; the top of cosmetic jar **96**; a silver duck head, **164**; and various elements and beads;
- Mohareb Todros of Luxor: in the MMA, 21.5 cm of granular beads, 1921; 198 inches of beads, 1922; one lapis and thirty carnelian barrel beads, and four, fifteen-bead gold spacers, all from feline armlets, 1922. In Berlin, nine rosettes, in 1925 (**118**). Seen by Keimer before 1949, gold acacia-seed beads: probably to be identified with **321–2**;
- Mahmoud Mohassib of Luxor, son of Mohammed;
- Mahmoud Mansour of Luxor: starting in 1927–28, "false" rosettes (according to Keimer, see p. 289. below), probably **288**;
- Nicholas Tano of Cairo: stone vase **48**, in 1920;
- Maurice Nahman of Cairo: stone vase **80**, 1920; sixty-nine rosettes (including some thought then to be forgeries, probably **283–7**); nineteen inlaid gold pendants from collars, "forged or doctored," 1921 (probably drop pendants **296–7**). Note also Lansing's recording of rosettes in Cairo, December 1916 (Doc. 19, p. 36) that are now considered modern;
- "Blanchard, Tano & ?" of Cairo: 20.0 cm, 38.0 cm, and 19.1 cm strings of granular beads purchased by Lily Place, see Documents 26, 32–3 (pp. 38, 43); **154–5**, **158–9**.

Some items were acquired from Qurna residents: the bottom of ointment jar **87** in 1917; a rosette in 1925; and four *nefers* and two palmettes in 1925.

The source of some items is not known, however, for example the three vessels purchased by Hoffman Philip, an American member of the diplomatic service visiting Egypt in the late teens (Doc. 22, p. 37: **58**, **63**, **84**), and beads and elements acquired by Captain Edward George Spencer-Churchill (**162**). Between 1927 and 1949, Ludwig Keimer saw numerous melon beads, rosettes, inlaid drops, elements of palmette and *nefer* shape, and a gold stall, presumably in Luxor (Keimer 1949).

The MMA purchased its holdings on the open market over a period of eighty years, with the exception of the canopic jars and some stone and silver vessels that Ambrose Lansing bought for the MMA while in Egypt, exporting them with excavated items and other purchases through the Cairo Museum. The early purchases as well as those of 1958–88 are mainly traceable to Mohammed Mohassib and Mohareb Todros. The source of **117–8** is probably the same. In 1956, the MMA deaccessioned four canopic jars to Dr. Herbert Kalmanoff (**2–3**, **6**, **8**) and piriform jar **67** to the Lowe Art Museum, Coral Gables.

Some items earlier associated with the tomb have not been located and will not appear in the various parts of the Catalogue. These are:

- One small amethyst acacia-seed bead (Keimer 1949: 137);
- seven stone vessels that the MMA purchased but did not receive in shipment:

## Chapter 4

P 25, travertine piriform jar, H, 21.0, badly broken, with two names of Tuthmosis III (Winlock 1948: 12, 54);  
P 26, serpentinite piriform jar, H, 20.2, with cartouche of Tuthmosis III (Winlock 1948: 12, 54);  
P 27, travertine krater with strap handles, H, 17.5, broken and restored (Winlock 1948: 12, 54, 63);  
P 28, travertine jug, H, 19.0 (Winlock 1948: 12, 54, 63);  
P 63, 64, two large travertine vessels, one inscribed;  
P 65, a large serpentinite vessel, inscribed Tuthmosis III;  
one pair of gold bracelets, each hinged at one side and fastened at the opposite side with a disk-shaped clasp, the name and title of a wife inscribed on the circumference (Winlock 1948: 33);  
half a dozen finger and toe stalls (Winlock 1948: 11);  
one sistrum reported by a local resident, gold, about 20.0 H, the handle papyriform with Hathor heads, the upper part of naos form with crossbars (Winlock 1948: 10, 49).

Some items reported to have been in the tomb, however, may never have existed:

six large gold beads, inscribed (Winlock 1948: 10);  
one gold bowl with frieze of frogs around rim, reported to Ernest Mackay (Doc. 11, p. 34);  
one lapis vase with gold handles, reported to Mohammed Chaban (Doc. 3, pp. 30f.).

## STUDY OF THE NON-EXCAVATED OBJECTS, 1918–2001

The MMA acquired its funerary items, the majority of everyday jewels, and virtually all vessels of stone, metal, and glass between 1918 and 1922. They were accessioned in 1926; however, a great deal of time was needed to sort out, mend, and reconstruct the thousands of disparate beads and jewelry elements that had been acquired. Winlock supervised these efforts, having worked with Arthur Mace on Senebtisy's objects (Mace and Winlock 1916) and alone on Sithathoryunet's belongings (Winlock 1934). Yet his responsibilities as Director of the Egyptian Expedition (1928–32), Curator of Egyptian Art (1929–39, during which time the Expedition in Egypt closed down and the Museum galleries in New York were newly arranged), and as Director of the Museum (1932–39) surely interfered with the tedious attention needed to process the numerous objects said to be from Wady Qurud. The canopic jars were displayed from 1931, silver funerary and cosmetic vessels from 1932, headdresses and broad collars from 1933, and funerary jewelry and various jars from 1939. Photos of the objects were published first (Lythgoe 1923: 272f.; Lythgoe 1927: 36; Winlock 1933, 1935; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1936: fig. 1), then photos with descriptions (Winlock 1937, 1939; Lansing 1940; N. Scott 1944). When the new galleries of Egyptian art were opened in 1939, including all Wady Qurud material deemed worthy of exhibition, Winlock retired due to poor health. Between 1943 and 1944 he wrote *The Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses* in Maine. It was printed in 1948.

After Winlock's death, the funds that Edward S. Harkness had contributed to the purchase of early "Wady Qurud" objects were signaled in 1951 (Metropolitan Museum of Art 1951), and new "Wady Qurud" pieces came to light. Between 1956 and 1970 the latter were recommended for purchase by Nora Scott, who also saw to their arrangement (Hayes 1958: 46; Redmond and Rorimer 1959: 34; Hayes 1959a; Hayes 1963: 66; N. Scott 1964: 231–4; Fischer 1966; Fischer 1970). These additions and adjustments were partially made in consultation with Cyril Aldred, a staff member at the MMA in 1955–56, and were illustrated in subsequent publications (Aldred 1971; A. Wilkinson 1971). During this period, the newly purchased elements were integrated and restrung with old. In two instances, necklaces were created by Scott from beads left aside by Winlock (MMA 26.8.212, .213; see 140, 200, 202–3).

The present author began working with the Winlock-Scott material in 1978, during the years of the reinstallation of the Egyptian collection funded by Lila Acheson Wallace that was concluded in 1983. In 1978, some objects from earlier purchases were judged modern, and a complete review of all objects was then initiated. Major restringing was undertaken, a few new purchases were integrated into previous arrangements (Lilyquist 1982: 24; 1983: 25; 1988a), and some objects were temporarily set aside as having a doubtful connection to the tomb. In two instances, several items from the early purchases were accessioned for the sake of completeness (30, 31, 213, 225, 296–7, 323–4). Every attempt was made to identify the components of each assemblage created in 1978–83, but this was not always possible, notably in cases involving beads. In the winter of 1988, the tomb was excavated; one of the aims was a search for fragments of objects (Leclant 1990, 1991; Lilyquist 1991). Several reports appeared about the ongoing study (Lilyquist 1995b, 1996b); by 2001, all apparent issues concerning authenticity had been thoroughly investigated and the study was concluded.

## DESCRIPTION OF THIS STUDY

### SCOPE

All items previously associated with the tomb have been reviewed, including two small groups of material from earlier purchases. Additional items were noted in 1982–88 when purchases that seemed relevant to the Wady Qurud find were made; these items were not purchased but are also listed below. Unfortunately, it is impossible to know the original provenance of the unique items among the three groups.

#### **Remainder of 1919–22 acquisitions** (Fig. 86)

##### *Inlays for drop-shaped elements*

four copper-colored glass, trapezoidal (one analyzed, Lilyquist and Brill 1993: 34 no. 8);  
one carnelian, triangular.

##### *Items for rosette elements*

four carnelian petal inlays, three small and a fourth larger;  
one opaque, cobalt-colored triangular inlay, for a trapezoid (Lilyquist and Brill 1993: 34 no. 9);  
fragments of gold strip, including one cusp corner; and a second cusp corner (modern) with suspension ring;  
one gold ring, one gold button (modern), three fragments gold strip (date unknown).

##### *Other jewel items*

gold wire for *wḏ3t*-eye amulet **189**, now attached to it;  
bits of silver, from **195**-type beads;  
felspar acacia bead (P 55b; Fig. 232, p. 305);  
resin acacia bead with line incised around circumference (Fig. 232, p. 305);  
two gold rings, one inside the other; the inner ancient, the outer uncertain;  
one ring-spacer fragment, gray metal at broken surface (ancient?).

##### *Miscellaneous*

one gold brad (square-sectioned shank, domed button);  
one “nail” of arsenical bronze (Wypyski), described in Museum records as “copper pin from Princesses mirror” but shape of head and thinness of shank make this unlikely;  
two wads of gold foil;  
one bit of wood;  
corner of metal strip with resin on it (ancient?);  
one piece of cut brass rod (modern);  
resin crumbs.

#### **Remainder of 1958–70 purchases** (Fig. 87)

##### *Inlays*

two ridged, for **141–3**, material unspecified;  
one triangular, calcite (Wypyski);  
five rectangular and one square, smoothed magnesium silicate (Wypyski);  
two rectangular, one with curved edge; one smaller, rectangular; all polished lapis lazuli with convex surface;  
one circular carnelian, convex surface polished; one carnelian lunette, polished flat surface;  
two jasper rosette petals, smoothed;  
one blue glass triangle, polished, for trapezoid element;  
eleven turquoise glass cusps, for horseshoe elements;  
chips of carnelian and turquoise glass;  
chips of jasper (modern; not illustrated);  
chips of translucent, cobalt-colored glass (modern; not illustrated).

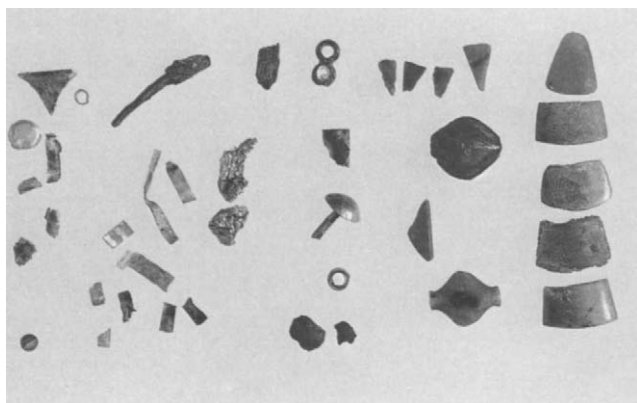


Fig. 86. Remainder of MMA 1919–22 acquisitions, 1:1

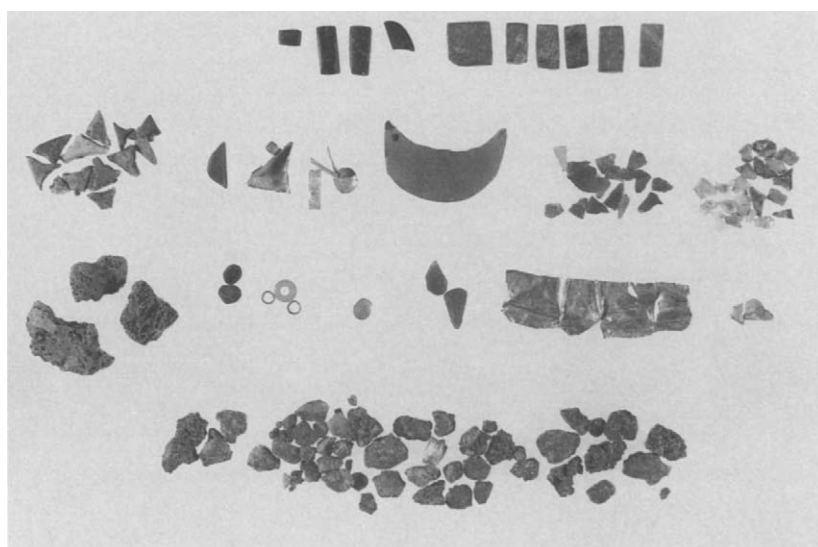
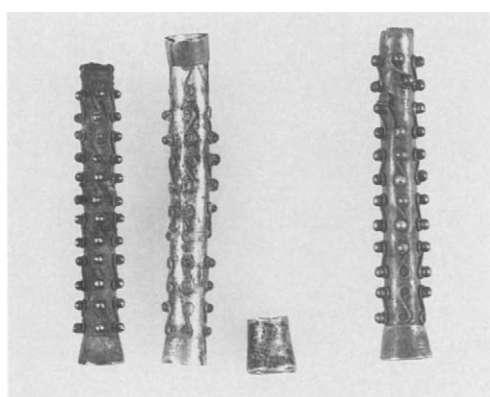


Fig. 87. Remainder of MMA 1958–70 acquisitions, 1:1



a. Taweret amulets



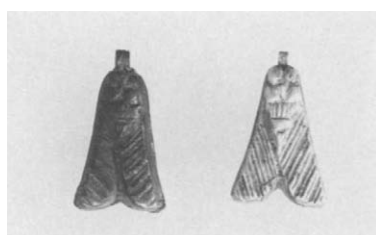
b. Two granulated tubes and a cap, compared with Cat. 185 on the right



c. Inlaid pendant and glass spacer



e. Gold Hathor-plaque, scale approximate



d. Two flies, scale approximate

Fig. 88a–e. Objects seen with MMA 1982–88 art market purchases, 1:1

## Catalogue Introduction

### *Other jewel items*

two pieces of glass acacia, turquoise color, now strung into **152**;  
two gold ring-beads;  
one carnelian ring-bead;  
gold pieces from rosette elements: cusp, button with two spokes attached, piece of wall.

### *Miscellaneous*

three pieces bone (cf. Thomas 1966: 238);  
two pieces gold foil: one, 2.2 L, with cut edges and fold, as for the edge of a jar lid; two small roughly shaped garnets;  
bits of brown resin.

### **Art market objects seen with 1982–88 purchases**

#### *Jewels*

gold lotus pendant inlaid with carnelian and lapis-blue glass inlay; and  
turquoise glass wallet spacer (Fig. 88c);  
two tube pendants of electrum (visual identification) plus the cap for a third (Fig. 88b [left], compared with Cat. **185** on right);  
a series of gold Taweret amulets (Figs. 88a, 231 [center]; Nagy 1991: 4, figs. 6–7; see **306**);  
two pale gold fly amulets (Fig. 88d; see **304**);  
one gold plaque engraved with Hathor-cow (Fig. 88e; see **236–8**).

## **GENERAL ORGANIZATION**

The Catalogue of Chapters 5–7 divides the objects purchased on the art market and said to have come from Wady D1 into three groups: those thought by the author to have come from the tomb (Chap. 5); those with a less sure link to the tomb (Chap. 6); and those whose connection to the tomb is tenuous to nonexistent (Chap. 7).

Within each chapter, items are grouped by type (e.g., funerary items, vessels, jewelry, function not known). Gold sheet ornaments for the mummy are with “funerary” items, for example, while inlaid broad collar elements are with “jewelry.” This is not to say that the inlaid collars were not on the deceased at burial; the mummies of Kha’s wife Meret and of Tutankhamun both displayed funerary as well as “everyday” jewelry. Resin was noted on **143** and on a few rosettes of **114**, and cloth impressions seen on **143**; refer also to Document 27 (pp. 38–41). Jewelry might also have been in boxes, to which the bits of wood and gold foil Chaban found could have belonged.

The Contents provides catalogue numbers for the three major groups. An index and two concordances are provided to facilitate navigation.

## **AUTHORSHIP**

The study of MMA items previously said to come from Wady D1 was a team effort, as stated in the Acknowledgments. The source of analytical work or opinions by MMA staff members are included in the Catalogue where appropriate, viz. (Stone, Wypyski). For a listing of these personnel, see Acknowledgements and Abbreviations.

## **FORMAT AND CONVENTIONS**

Citations in the Catalogue are treated as elsewhere, i.e., placed in the text of each entry rather than in footnotes.

The Provenance heading in the Catalogue entries gives information that connects the item to the tomb. For the phrase “standard early provenance,” see Abbreviations (p. xiv).

The format of each entry is not always consistent, due to the highly varied nature of the material, composite character of any assemblage, and the type of information that could be extracted. Problematic entries—such as the gazelle diadem, wig covering and additional rosettes, broad collars, and sandals—are longer than those where condition or type required less intense investigation.

Measurements are in centimeters unless stated otherwise.



## CRITERIA FOR PLACEMENT IN THE CATALOGUE SECTIONS

The likelihood for an art market object coming from Wady D1 is based first on the finds of Mohammed Chaban, Howard Carter, and the author at the site; second, on archaeological, inscriptional, and technical studies; and third, on modern history. For instance, when an object had no match in the excavated material, then inscriptions, quality, or technological features became determining features (such as the type of gold working, or use of special glasses; see below). Winlock did not know the Chaban objects, nor, of course, the items found at the site in 1988.

When objects lacked certifying technical features, and, in addition, were from purchases of 1958–70, the probability of their origin in Wady D1 was thought to decrease considerably. In this respect it should be noted that for objects believed Tuthmoside today, a certain amount of support for their origin in the Wady Qurud came from the judgment of Howard Carter as the main purchaser of the items from vendors and residents. (On Carter's wide abilities, including local knowledge of antiquities looting, trade, and dealers, see James 1992: 68, 72–81, 97, 127, 133f., 136.) Consideration was also given to the temporal/physical situation in Egypt at this period. An important find was made near Luxor during August 1916, and if royal Tuthmoside objects (many of them inscribed) that appeared in the shops did not come from the Wady Qurud find, from whence? At the same time, to draw the line between the objects in Chapter 5 from those in Chapter 6 was not easy, and was done partly to signal that there is no surety of provenance for some Tuthmoside-period objects that came to light following the 1916 robbery. The characterization of certain objects as “likely” (viz., **65–73**, **79–86** uninscribed vessels and lids; **134** Bes/Taweret elements; **136** *Tilapia*-spacers; **132** palmette pendants) rests on the judgment of the author, who found no possibility of absolute consistency.

Earlier curators also reviewed the MMA objects of Chapters 5–7 for certainty of provenance. On February 17, 1907, Emma Andrews had already written in her diary:

Theo. [Theodore M. Davis] was in Luxor this A.M. and Carter told him of various small and precious things which had been shown him by a native which had been stolen from Tyi's tomb [KV 55, the tomb where Davis was excavating]. The man had told Carter that Mr. Davis could have them all for L400.—provided no attempt at arrest was made! . . . Their practice is to mass together a lot of valuable things on such an occasion, with what has been stolen from a late find, and try to get a big price for all. (E. Andrews 1918[2]: 29)

The provenance of the following items was questioned in, or omitted from, Winlock 1948; they are included in the Catalogue of this publication for the sake of completeness.

*typologically earlier date*

uraeus **223** (absent from Winlock 1948);

storage jars **168–9**: questioned because of small size [*sic*], source a villager, date “clearly Predynastic” (Winlock 1948: 50 note 4);

felspar-inlaid fish **225** (absent from Winlock 1948; accessioned in 1983);

*shen*-amulet **303**: crude glass inlays in outer channel when purchased in Cairo disquieting, however, decided the remainder could have been in tomb (Winlock 1948: 27).

*Tuthmoside date*

two cosmetic jars of travertine and an ointment jar of serpentinite, namely **166**, **174–5**: questioned due to lack of gold trim, inscriptions, or rough manufacture (Winlock 1948: 52f.);

green marble kohl pot fragments **90**: questioned because of lack of inscriptions and gold trim (Winlock 1948: 51);

green marble bowl fragments **101–2**: questioned because of lack of inscriptions and fragmentary nature (Winlock 1948: 62);

*wꜥ3t*-eye bead **189** (absent from Winlock 1948);

tube pendant **185**: initially questioned because of silvery color, then accepted (Winlock 1948: 26).

*typologically later date*

shrine-shaped plaque **228** (absent from Winlock 1948).

*date unknown, manufacture poor*

five amethyst objects, **218–22**: Winlock considered the date as well as the association of these unfinished “jars” with the tomb uncertain (1948: 53).

## Catalogue Introduction

*reason for exclusion unknown*

two inlays **323–4** (absent from Winlock 1948).

Winlock was also aware of the fact that certain cosmetic jars might not have their original lids (1948: 51), and Scott realized that a few items in the 1958–70 acquisitions did not belong: eleven Gorgon heads assigned to the Ptolemaic period and strung with eighteen beads now understood as modern (MMA 1970.169.81–.109), and fifty-two gilt glass Roman beads (MMA 1970.169.110–.161).

Furthermore, while Winlock saw the excellence of lotiform terminals **130** (1948: 20), he also saw the crudeness of many items, signaling out buckle **315** (1948: 37), feline armlets **137–8** (1948: 31), canopic jars **1–12** (1948: 47), and—in the end—the gold work in general (1948: 40). He concluded his publication with this statement:

Perhaps much Eighteenth Dynasty goldsmiths' work was done just as it is in the bazaars of Cairo today, where gold and silver ware are looked on purely as bullion, sold by weight, with as little as possible being paid for workmanship. In the modern goldsmiths' market it is hard to get anything except the crudest work, but the metal is always extremely pure. Without much doubt that is how the cups and dishes, the diadems and necklaces, and all the jewels from the tomb of the Princesses were rated in ancient Thebes. If so, these ladies had a not inconsiderable treasure which they could dispose of in order to escape any difficulties which might beset them on their endless journey. At least, in some such way it is easiest for us to explain the lavish materials and the rather poor workmanship of so much of this find. (1948: 64)

It will be seen below that many Catalogue entries note poor workmanship (see diadem **108**), and that even the excavated rosette found by Chaban has gold flashing and raggedly cut inlays (Figs. 17c, 89a; see further below).

With the exception of atypical rosettes **283–6** (p. 289) and drop elements **249** and **251**, however, Winlock did not consider forgeries a possible category for the purchased objects. Scott considered the possibility for *nefer*-elements **293** that Winlock had not strung, although she used them in a rearrangement of 1959. Apparently C. Williams did not consider forgery either, as judged by notes on a number of items she saw when preparing her New-York Historical Society catalogue of 1924 (see Hathor-plaques **236–8** and sheet gold ornaments **230–1**). Only in more recent times have doubts been expressed: by Donald P. Hansen in the mid-1960s, concerning the appearance of gold *wd3t*-eyes **239–44**; by Bruce Williams while working on the Egyptian reinstallation in 1976, concerning the workmanship on parts of gazelle diadem **108**, and inscriptions and shapes among the gold vessels; and by Nicholas Reeves in 2000 for Maat-plaque amulets **308** (Reeves 2000: 150). When told around 1985 that the gold vessels had been determined modern, the MMA's former Registrar, Irma Bezold Wilkinson, said she had felt uneasy about them from their first appearance.

In the present study, a number of the objects previously associated with Wady D1 are considered modern, and the criteria for so judging them is presented in Chapter 7.

The variance between past and present assessments can be explained by several factors: a lack of comparative material available to Winlock and his contemporaries, including the archaeologist Carter (notably for gold vessels **251–6**, **260–2**, **266–71**); the lack of analytic tools; the curatorial desire to build a collection and to give unique objects the benefit of the doubt; and, finally, the facts that (1) genuine items were mixed in with what are now considered forgeries, (2) a number of funerary types came in multiples of threes—thus encouraging a disposition toward building groups rather than critically analyzing individual objects, and (3) scholarship had not developed to the point where intense critical scrutiny between a number of specialists was thought essential (Wolf Rudolph [1996] sees this as a post-WWII phenomenon). It is also this author's opinion that the brilliance of gold as a material deflects criticism. For further discussion of the issue of forgery, see Chapter 7.

Although personal knowledge of the find would have been invaluable in the present study, the break in institutional memory had the advantage of supporting an approach in which the understanding of each object became more important than its display. In this respect, the isolation of items that did not come, or are *not* likely to have come, from Wady D1 is an advance.

### GENERAL COMPARATIVE SOURCES

To bring order and precision to the numerous and complex objects associated with the tomb of foreign wives in the Wady Qurud, broad comparative studies were undertaken and are cited extensively. The two most frequently used corpora were those from the tombs of Tutankhamun (Harry Burton TAA photographs in the MMA and GI, and Carter excavation notes in the GI) and the kings and officials at Tanis (Montet 1947, 1951). Middle Kingdom royal material was also useful, especially the jewelry from Dahshur (Morgan 1895, 1903; Farag and Iskander 1971) and Lahun (Brunton 1920).

## Chapter 4

Fortunately, there is a significant amount of published Theban material from royal burials that is roughly contemporary with the time of Tuthmosis III:

Schiaparelli's prince and princess Ahmose in the Valley of the Queens (Porter and Moss 1964: 755f., 769; Thomas 1966: 186);  
Ahhoteb (Daressy 1909: CG 61006; Porter and Moss 1964: 660);  
Ahmose Nefertary (Daressy 1909: CG 61003; Lilyquist 1993d: 111 and 1995a: 55f.);  
Meryetamun (Winlock 1932);  
Tuthmosis I, KV 38 (Daressy 1902: 300f., 303f.; Lilyquist 1995a: 57);  
Hatshepsut, KV 20 (T. Davis 1906; Lilyquist 1995a: 57);  
Tuthmosis III, KV 34 (Daressy 1902: 281–98; G. E. Smith 1912: 35; Lilyquist and Brill 1993: 25; Lilyquist 1995a: 57);  
Amenhotep II, KV 35 (Daressy 1902: 63–279; Lilyquist and Brill 1993: 28–30; Lilyquist 1995a: 58);  
Tuthmosis IV, KV 43 (Carter and Newberry 1904; Lilyquist and Brill 1993: 30f.; Lilyquist 1995a: 58);  
KV 55 (T. Davis 1910);  
and the “Princesses tomb” (Porter and Moss 1964: 769f.; Dodson and Janssen 1989).

Individual items from New Kingdom royal burials (mostly from the art market) were also helpful:

Intef (Winlock 1924: 274f., pl. 14; Raven 1988; H. Schneider 1995: 40f.);  
Sebekemsaf (C. Andrews 1990: 89; Edwards 1985);  
Seqenenra Tao II (Daressy 1909: CG 61001);  
Ahhoteb group (Bissing 1904: CG 18478–80, 18482; CG 28501 [catalogue not published]; Lilyquist 1993b: 50, 55f. and Lilyquist 1995a: 55);  
Kamose (Cairo 14/12/27/12; Porter and Moss 1964: 600; Winlock 1924: pl. 21).

A good deal of private Theban material was also available for reference:

in the Dra abu el-Naga vicinity, this included the anonymous female burials found by Passalacqua (Passalacqua 1826: 158f.; Möller 1910: 25–32, pls. 5–7; Porter and Moss 1964: 612) and Petrie (Petrie 1909: 6–10; Porter and Moss 1964: 606; Thomas 1966: 174, AN E; Bourriau 1991: 132; Eremin et al. 2000);  
in the Valley of the Kings, Maiherpri, KV 36 (Daressy 1902: 1–61) and Yuya and Tuya, KV 46 (T. Davis 1907; Quibell 1908);  
in Sheikh Abdel-Qurna, Ramose and Hatnufer (Lansing and Hayes 1937; Hayes 1959b: 464, “Ĥat-nûfer”);  
in the lower Assasif, various late Middle Kingdom–Tuthmoside tombs (Carnarvon and Carter 1912; Porter and Moss 1964: 611, 615–9), especially the MMA's Neferkhawet, Boki, and Ruyu (Hayes 1935 and 1959b: 465; Porter and Moss 1964: 621f.);  
in the Valley of the Queens, the vizier Imhotep and stable-master Nebiry (Porter and Moss 1964: 749, 755f.; Thomas 1966: 186; Dolzani 1982: N. 19001, 19003–6);  
and in Deir el-Medina, burials of Kha and Meret (Schiaparelli 1927; Curto and Mancini 1968; Curto et al. 1980) and tombs of Bruyère's East Cemetery (Bruyère 1937).

Publications of contemporary Nubian material were also used: Randall-Maciver and Woolley 1911, Säve-Söderberg and Troy 1991, Vercoutter 1970, 1975, 1976, and B. Williams 1992.

The MMA provided invaluable resources for unpublished comparative studies: its Lisht and Theban excavated objects for technical studies; its facsimile paintings and photographic negatives from the Graphic Section of its Expedition for representations; and the notes of C. Williams for an unequaled model of thoroughness and keen observation in the analysis and contemplation of ancient Egyptian gold work.

The Museum also had a staff with various specialties that enthusiastically devoted its attention to the problems inherent in the study—a staff that was fortunate to have analytical equipment at hand due to the commitment of the Museum.

### TECHNICAL AND FORMAL INDICATORS OF PROVENANCE AND DATE FOR THE GOLD WORK

Technical studies became an important tool for studying gold and vitreous items associated with Wady D1. Fragments excavated at the site included glass inlay, glass beads, and gold work that was then studied with excavated material from other sites. The combined information was used to authenticate items, often of royal character, that came to light in Luxor with a Wady Qurud provenance between 1916 and 1922 as well as later. Archaeological and art historical information is often viewed as more limited than philological evidence in establishing authenticity (without reason, to the author); technical studies can add an important dimension to all three areas of research.

It should be noted parenthetically that a few jewels excavated at the tomb do not have parallels among art market objects: tube beads of Egyptian blue and faience from both Chaban's work (L 1.0–1.2) and the MMA excavations (L 1.3, faience), and a bugle bead of Egyptian blue from Chaban's investigation (Figs. 17h; 82a, c). Perhaps the former belonged to beadwork for the mummies (cf. Wente and Harris 1980: microfiche A10, sheet 1 of 5); note, too, that the mummy of Meryetamun had a beaded diadem (Winlock 1932: fig. 2).

It may be asked whether there was any technical evidence from the objects concerning their original placement in the tomb. Resin was noted on the hinged ornaments and several rosettes, but whether this means that they were on the deceased or in boxes is not known. Kha's wife Meret and Tutankhamun had both "funerary" and "everyday" jewelry on their bodies.

Egyptian gold working techniques and construction features are widely described in the literature (Vernier 1907; Möller 1910; Möller 1924: 14–35; C. Williams 1924; Aldred 1971: 46–129 and 1979; A. Wilkinson 1971: 1–10; Ogden 1982 and 2000; C. Andrews 1990: 67–99; Müller and Thiem 1998). Some observations are given next that have particular relevance to the gold and vitreous objects associated with Wady D1. They should be contrasted with observations made from objects thought modern, pp. 271–8.

#### Overall quality

The jewels now associated with the tomb of Tuthmosis III's foreign wives are not of uniform quality. The gold work is sometimes fine (falcon and lotiform terminals **129–31**, Bes and Taweret elements **134**, wallet and *Tilapia*-spacers **135–6**, inlaid hinged ornaments **141–3**), but in other instances it is second- or third-rate. Some items have poor joining, chasing, or construction. For instance, the head plate of **114** reveals tentative chasing and has a large piece of cut metal (i.e., a "coupon" used for bonding) in a recess on the top surface (Fig. 159 [left], upper right in photo). It also has flooded, over-fired hard solder (upper left). The bottom side of the head plate reveals that there was considerable difficulty at these points in joining the solid bottom to a top pierced by cut-outs surrounded by thin perpendicular walls (Fig. 159 [right]).

The presence of glass inlay in jewels of different quality shows, however, that different levels of workmanship were used for the royalty in Wady D1. The glass in the excavated rosette of Chaban (Fig. 89a) is similar in color, condition, and shape to the copper-colored glass in the purchased rosettes. That type of glass occurs with a crizzled, cobalt-colored type in the high quality, Egyptian-inscribed hinged ornaments (Fig. 89e) that in turn is found in an earring with sloppily made tubes and an attachment patched by a coupon (Fig. 89b). Excavations document that quality can differ in a tomb: Tutankhamun's jewels show both poor chasing (on Carter 261i; Müller and Thiem 1998: 183; JdE 61949) and sure lines (appliqué SR 292; Fig. 90a). Different quality chasing is also seen in the Ahhotep group (Müller and Thiem 1998: figs. 254, 255).

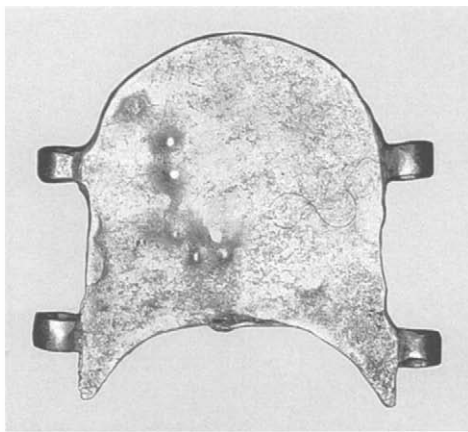
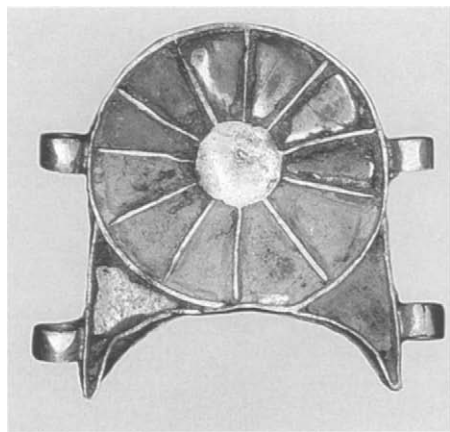
#### Design

Modern goldsmiths describe ancient Egyptian gold work not only as technically proficient but intelligently designed. The amount of gold is suited to the object, and the object will have few parts—partly because a method for joining larger segments had not been developed. While Middle Kingdom jewels are often cited for their purity of design, even the opulent Tutankhamun jewels illustrate these basic principles. For vessels of precious metals, design can be studied most extensively in the containers from Tanis.

#### Composition of base alloys (see Appendix 2, pp. 342–5)

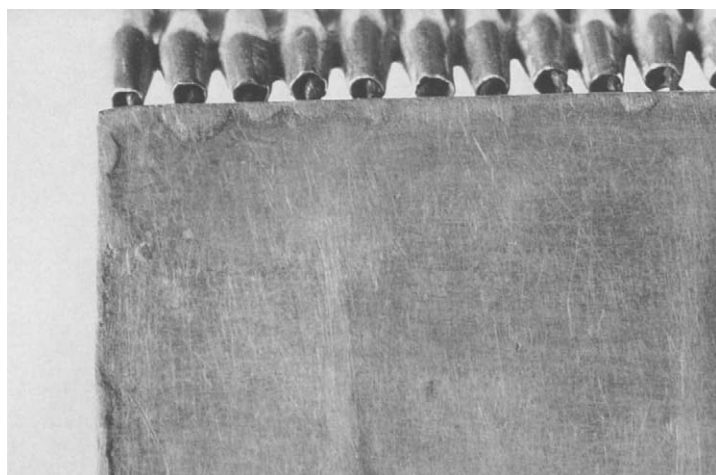
Ogden has recently stated that most native Egyptian gold prior to the Late period was probably gold-as-mined, its major impurity always silver and its copper less than 2% (Ogden 2000: 162–4). To some scholars, "gold" has to be at least 75% pure, and below that—in the presence of considerable silver—must be termed "electrum." But an object can still look gold at 60% purity, especially with a higher copper level, and color, rather than composition, must have been the determining factor to the ancient Egyptians. In Ogden's experience, 70–85% purity is most typical of

## Chapter 4

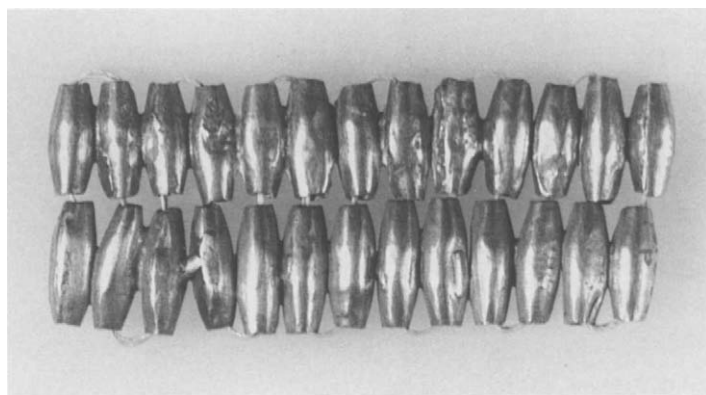


a. Front (left) and back (right) of Chaban rosette; back shows excess solder

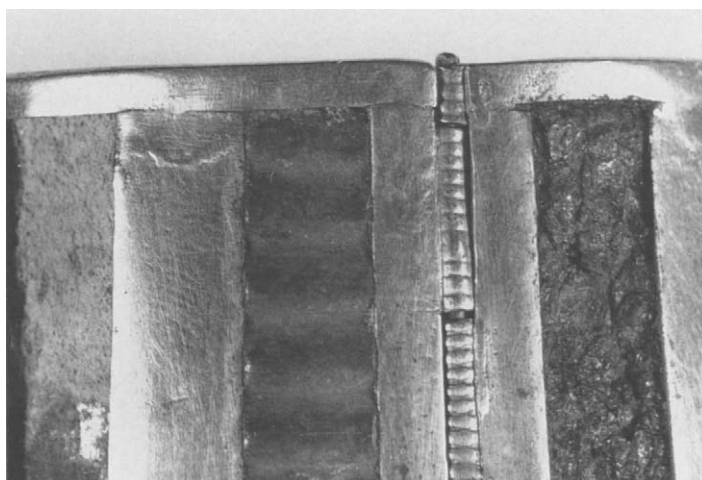
b. Earring MMA 26.8.94b, Cat. 110, showing poorly worked tubes and reinforcement on back side of disk



c. Lion box spacer from MMA 26.8.124d, Cat. 138; note excess solder along edge

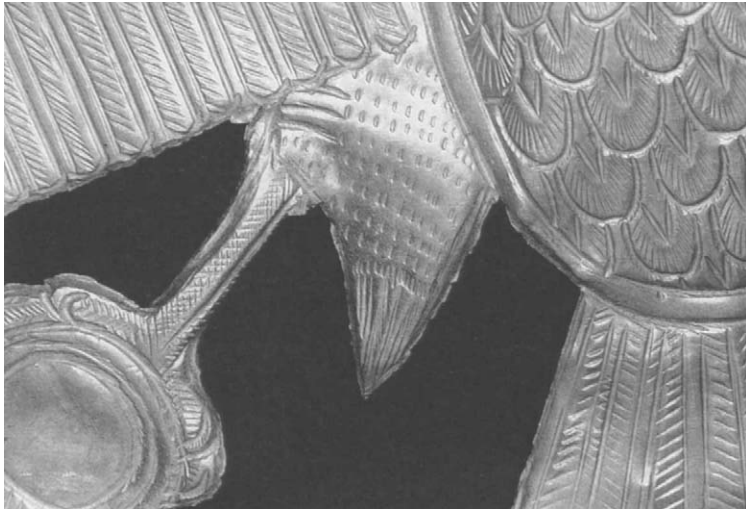


d. Bead spacer shown at left, Cat. 138, with considerable excess solder



e. Inlaid hinged ornament MMA 26.8.129, Cat. 141, with excess solder on left vertical strip, and coupon to right of hinge

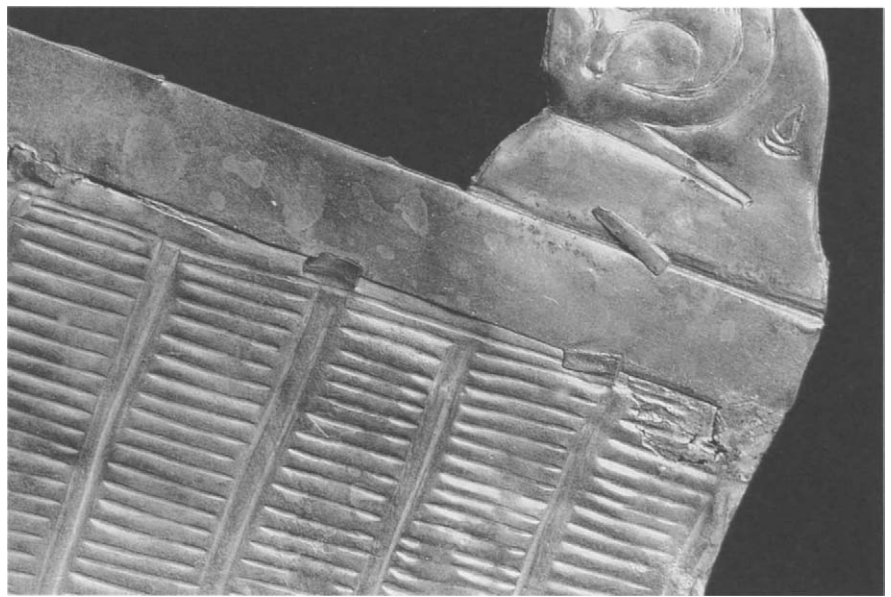
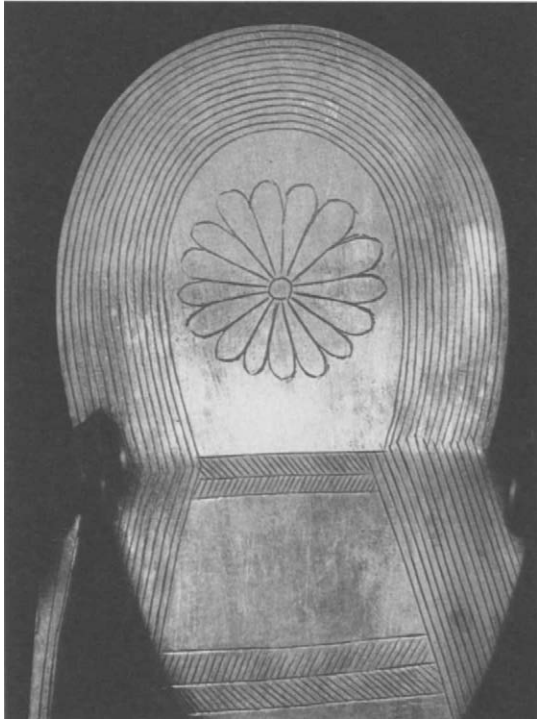
Fig. 89a–e. Details of Wady Qurud gold work



a. Vulture appliqué of Tutankhamun showing very high quality tracing



b. Back side of Tutankhamun vulture appliqué showing surface that melted as loop was attached, no doubt with a copper salt



c. Left, Psusennes sandal with smooth chased parallel lines and stepped rosette petals. Right, Tutankhamun falcon collar with poor workmanship on right side and two reinforcement strips

Fig. 90a–c. Details of Tutankhamun and Tanis gold work



## Chapter 4

Middle and New Kingdom gold work, with purity above that rare before the Late period; then, 95% purity is noted, possibly because of the introduction of refining.

Systematic compositional analysis was not undertaken in this study; rather, analyses were performed when other sources of information were inconclusive (see Appendix 2; micro-samples were taken except in two cases). It should be noted that the recent jewelry analyses of Petrie's Qurna woman were on the surface of the objects (Eremin et al. 2000: 38), and therefore can be roughly compared with only two of those in Appendix 2 because of different methodology. Note also recent analyses published by Richard Newman and Michele Derrick (Markowitz et al., 2002: 124f., 127). The gold purity of objects considered ancient here was almost always below 75%, the copper generally between 2 and 4%, with silver making up the difference.

For the composition of metal objects considered modern, see p. 274 as well as Appendix 2.

### Preparation and shaping of gold

Ancient hammer work was rhythmic and orderly; most of its traces were removed in the course of work by the use of tools with increasingly large radii, up to the final hammering step of planishing. The aim was to produce a strong object, economical in its use of materials and free from marks of workmanship. Luster was achieved by burnishing.

### Techniques of joining, including solder

Egyptian goldsmiths were masters of gold construction and were accomplished at utilizing several materials in the manufacturing process.

For very small joins, evidence suggests that malachite was ground and mixed with a natural glue and then placed between the parts to be joined. After the mixture dried and the object was heated, the copper of the malachite diffused into the gold-silver alloy and lowered the melting temperature of the alloy's surface. Continued heating melted the surface and created a bond at the points of contact (Aldred 1971: 97–100; Ogden 1982: 64f.). Figure 90b shows an example of fusion where it is assumed that a copper salt was present (Tutankhamun vulture appliqué, Carter 256rrrr, Carter 1927: pl. 76d); the gold substrate to which a gold loop was attached had just changed to a melted state. Examples with granules are well illustrated by Baines (1998: fig. 17.3a–c).

In some cases, the joining material is more evident, as on a bangle from the Ahhotep group (Vernier 1907–09: CG 52074), the Wady Qurud rosette retrieved by Chaban (Fig. 89a), on horseshoe rosettes of **114**, a box spacer from lion armlet **138** (Fig. 89c), and barrel spacers from the same reconstructed armlet (Fig. 89d). Solder and messy joining is also found in excavated jewels. One of Tutankhamun's falcon collars shows such a repair at the top row of beads (Fig. 90c [right]; Carter 256gg, SR 313). This collar also shows a reinforcement at the base of the falcon's neck. Among the catalogued objects below, such reinforcements are quite messy on earring **110** (Fig. 89b) and the head plate of **114**, but neater on medium-quality vulture **28**, sandal sole **34**, post of gazelle diadem **108** and right ear of proper left gazelle, and tube pendants **180** and **183**. East Mediterranean metalwork also shows such reinforcements (see Lilyquist 1993b: fig. 23d). All of these joins are thought to have been made with a powdered copper salt.

Not reported in the literature, however, is the use of square- or sliver-shaped coupons in the initial construction of an object for instances where a copper salt would not have been sufficient to secure a bond (cf. Ogden 1992: 51f.; Oddy 1996: 191). Such coupons can be seen clearly on the high quality hinged ornaments **141** (Fig. 89e). According to Stone, this is hard solder, sometimes termed brazing alloy in the UK and in industrial technology within the US.

In the diffusion process, the silver-to-gold ratio will inevitably be the same in the join as in the adjacent metal, and copper will have been added to lower the melting point at the join (Stone; see Appendix 2, **108**, **133**, **138**, **141**, where two-to-three times as much copper occurs). In the fillet of a hard soldered join, the silver-to-gold ratio usually has no necessary compositional relationship to the substrate material. Most often in modern gold work, the solder will have a karat less gold than the gold of the substrate.

It is sometimes difficult to visually determine whether the solder on purchased gold work is ancient or modern (see also Maryon 1941: 122–4; see pp. 274–7 for solder on modern objects). To the author's knowledge, there is no published systematic study of joining, and the archaeologist is sometimes left in limbo, especially when lacking analyses (cf. Schorsch 1995: 133).

### Air holes

Air holes are found in the hollow elements discussed here (*nefer* and palmette **132**, Bes and Taweret **134**); they were not necessary in the fused *Tilapia*- and wallet spacers **135–6** that were provided with string holes.

In the comparative study of excavated gold work, various types of air holes were observed. Two necklaces from Carnarvon-Carter Assasif tomb 37 had holes that appeared cut, as well as holes punched from within and flattened on the outer surface around the edge in an irregular manner (Carnarvon and Carter 1912: pl. 73.53, MMA 26.7.1374; pl. 73.79, MMA 26.7.1384). Most often the hole was punched from the outside in.



## Means of suspending elements and pendants

A variety of techniques were used in ancient Egypt to suspend individual jewels. Some pendant elements have a raised front joined to a flat back plate, and holes through the sides for suspension. Others have a separate suspension loop, where the back plate may extend slightly upward to provide a base against which the separate ring is joined above the front plate. A separate suspension ring may also “grasp” the pendant from either side (electrum shell **181**); or there may be a tube braised to the back (**224**). For excavated examples with these features, see two *nefer*-elements and a Taweret in MMA 26.7.1384 from Carnarvon-Carter Assasif tomb 37.

Among the loose elements of Wady Qurud-associated jewelry, a number have small rings attached to the exterior of the walls: one at the top allows use as a pendant (palmettes **132**); one at top and bottom allows use in rows (*nefers* **132** and drops **129–30**, **133**); one to three at either side allow lateral intermeshing (rosettes **114–28**) and suspension from the top if there is a loop there (rosette trapezoids); and rings on all four sides allow both lateral and vertical intermeshing (Beses and Tawerets, **134**).

*Wd3t*-amulets from Dahshur (Morgan 1903: pl. 5.46) and shaped plaques from Tutankhamun’s tomb (Carter 256j, Carter 1927: pl. 83.b) have rings on the sides. Slightly varied plaques of differing dimensions that form straps for Tutanhamun’s corselet also have side rings (Carter 54k [Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 391]; 269i–j, Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 380), as do loose elements from Tanis (Montet 1947: pl. 56a). Loops at top and bottom are more common, as on Dahshur amulets (Morgan 1903: pl. 5) and variously shaped plaques for Tutankhamun (for example, Carter 256i [Carter 1927: pl. 81a] and Carter 256mmm [Carter 1927: pl. 81b; Müller and Thiem 1998: figs. 376–7 [photos reversed]]). Loose elements from Tanis (Montet 1951: pl. 36) and Herakleopolis (Leclant 1990: pl. 53 fig. 51) also have top and bottom rings. Threading is another method that was used to intermesh elements in Tutankhamun’s objects (Carter 54k, Carter 1923: pl. 37).

Only two instances were found of elements with loops on all four sides. The first is in the corselet of Tutanhamun, where loops on the sides are interspersed with gold ring beads, and loops in the center of the top and bottom intermesh with loops of plaques above and below (Carter 267j and l; TAA neg. 1039). A second instance is on spacers from Tanis that laterally connect bracelet elements; these also have loops on all four sides (Montet 1951: pl. 123).

## Chased lines

Egyptian craftsmen pushed a copper or bronze tracer with crescentic tip along the surface of gold sheet to displace, but not remove, metal and create a chased line; see the superlatively worked, hinged ornaments **141–3** (Figs. 172–3, 225 [left]), where the lines are sure and varied in character, and the signs well spaced and naturalistic. A vulture appliqué of Tutankhamun (SR 292) also shows well-chased lines (Fig. 90a), while a sandal of Psusennes shows smooth lines outlining the sole and creating cross-bands, but “stepping” marks as the tool navigated a sharper curve (Fig. 90c [left], JdE 85842). Different qualities of line can be found among excavated objects, and not always due to scale: on a fan of Tutankhamun (Edwards 1976a: 112) the inscription is more sketchy than on a coffinette (loc. cit., 165) and a pectoral (Müller and Thiem 1998: 182 top).

During this research, a second type of line was noted on excavated gold work. Very fine and fluid, it pushed gold and displaced it but did not remove it. An example appears to exist on Ahmose’s ewer from Tanis (Freed 1987: no. 21; Lilyquist 1988b: fig. 60).

The tracer’s shape and method of application differs from the modern graver’s. The graver is typically of iron or steel, has a triangular point, and removes gold. An example of engraved line is seen in a gold vessel (Fig. 225 [right]), and is discussed on p. 227.

## Annotated elements

Occasional marks appear on the back plates of jewelry elements discussed in the Catalogue: ticks are scored and dots punched into the backs of rosettes, while ticks are chiseled at the edges (p. 167); punches or ticks mark almost all the drop elements (p. 171). The marks in the back plates must have functioned as a system of notation for placement, as evidenced by one of Tutankhamun’s inlaid flexible collars (Carter and Egyptian Museum numbers not recorded). There, a series of one to six parallel ticks—seemingly consecutive in adjacent elements—was pressed from above on one wing and from below on the other wing. Punches are found in the back plates of Persea-fruit elements inlaid with glass and stone in the British Museum (Stead 1986: fig. 52 no. EA 3076; C. Andrews communication, 18 Aug. 1987) and in Leiden (Boeser 1910: pl. 19).

As for the ticks scored at the edge of elements, these appear on a pendant from Schiaparelli’s work in the Valley of the Queens (Donadoni Roveri 1988b: fig. 199, Turin 5108bis), a flexible collar of Tutankhamun (Carter 256nnn: Carter 1927: pl. 81b), and two elements associated with KV 55 (Daressy in T. Davis 1910: 21 no. 10; E. Andrews 1918[2]: 29; Bell 1990: 101).

## Inlay

Inlaid jewelry (referred to here as *cloisonné*) occurs in many objects associated with Wady D1: in the head plate and rosette elements of the wig cover and in additional rosettes **114–28**; and in rosettes for the gazelle diadem **108**, attachments on earrings **109–13**, hinged inlaid ornaments **141–3**, and various broad collar elements (terminals, counterpoise, inlaid drops, and inlaid *nefers* of **129–33**, **162**).

Middle Kingdom precursors for many of these inlaid elements were excavated at Dahshur and Lahun. Cloisoned jewels closer in date to Wady D1 include pendants from Mirgissa (Vercoutter 1970: 241, Mobilier, pl. 26.27) and Thebes (Turin 5108*bis*, Donadoni Roveri 1988b: fig. 199, from Imhotep [Porter and Moss 1964: 755 no. 46]; Bissing 1900: pls. 8a.2, 9.1d). An inlaid lotus ornament was also found in Maiherpri's tomb (Daressy 1902: 29, no. 24067a, pl. 9).

The rosettes of the wig covering and diadem, the earrings, lotus terminals, and counterpoise all have interior walls separating the different inlays. In contrast, the drop elements have surface strips that cover adjoining edges of the inlays.

## Use of glass, including a transparent crizzled type

For a survey of pre-Tuthmosis III glass, see Lilyquist and Brill (1993) and Lilyquist (1993a, 1993c). Worth mentioning in particular is the early 18th dynasty cloisoned pendant excavated by Schiaparelli at Thebes—referred to above—that has glass inlay. Maiherpri's tomb had glass beads (Daressy 1902: 30 no. 24068*bis*, c–e).

Winlock did not recognize the copper-colored glass in the wig covering and rosettes **114–28**, falcon terminals **129**, drop elements **129–30**, or inlaid ornaments **141–3** (1948: 18, 21, 31f.), nor did he highlight the glass from the tomb that he did recognize. Taken with the three vitreous vessels believed to come from the tomb (**93**, **103–4**), however, Wady D1 yielded the largest group of glassy material known before the reign of Amenhotep II. The inlay and bead types are illustrated in Fig. 91a–n.

One of the two types of glass inlay is widely noted; transparent and crizzled, it sometimes retains a bluish cast, otherwise it may be yellowed by resin. The glass of one rosette was analyzed and found to have been colored with cobalt (Lilyquist and Brill 1993: 32f. no. F). All of the transparent crizzled glass inlay in the elements below is taken to be that type, due to its similar appearance and invariable occurrence with copper-colored glass and carnelian inlays. As only one piece was analyzed, however, this glass is termed “transparent crizzled glass” here. According to Brill (communication 1980), it is not unusual for one glass type to be better preserved than another from the same environment (here copper- versus cobalt-colored). A variance of 16–20% in sodium—which could happen in the day-to-day work of a glassmaker—could mean that glass would deteriorate differently. A second variable would be annealing, the heating and cooling of a substance to create strength and prevent brittleness.

## Mixed materials in the same color range

Carnelian and jasper were sometimes used interchangeably in the rosettes, gazelle diadem inlays, and drop elements. Tuya's gilded inner coffin has inlay of dark red alternating with light red in most rows of the broad collar, while the body of the vulture is randomly inlaid with dark and light (T. Davis 1907: pl. 9). This differentiation does not occur on the other coffins of Tuya or on any objects of Yuya.

## Colored bedding material

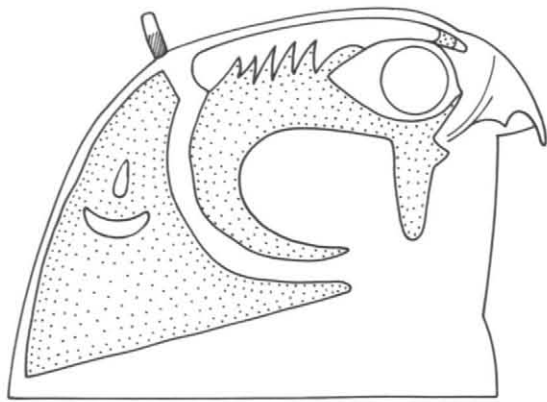
Instances of colored cement were noted in the Catalogue objects. In excavated examples it was seen in a rosette thought to be from KV 42 (Eaton-Krauss 1999: 125 note 90; see further on Sennefer and Senetnay, Giddy 2001: 29, Western Thebes 5), an unpublished ear stud from Malqata (MMA 44.4.6), Tutankhamun's objects (Lucas in Carter 1927: 167), and broad collar elements from KV 55 (Daressy in T. Davis 1910: 21).

## Red gold surfaces

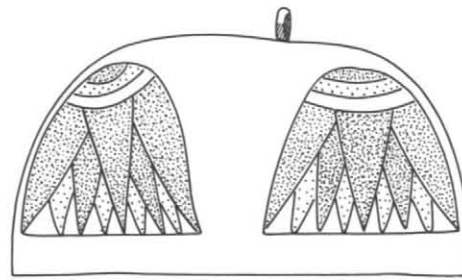
Two types of red surfaces were noted in the study of gold objects thought to be ancient (Chaps. 5–6):

- lepidocrosite, an iron oxide accretion that forms on the surface (a tide line on one rosette in **114** indicates that it had been deposited by liquid, and ground water would be reasonable, given the location of the tomb);
- silver-gold sulfide, a corrosion product of a silver-gold alloy resulting from the airborne attack of sulphur; see Frantz and Schorsch 1990.

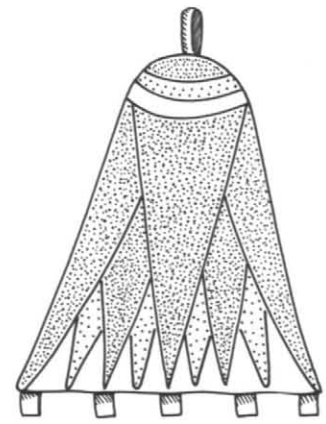
# Catalogue Introduction



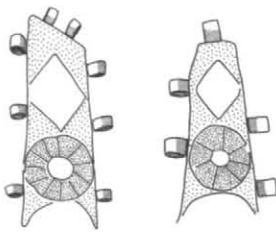
a. Terminal for Cat. 129



b. Terminal for Cat. 130



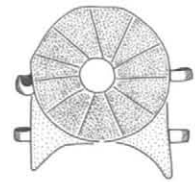
c. Counterpoise, Cat. 131



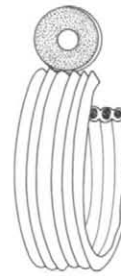
d. Element for Cat. 132 (MMA 1982.137.3)



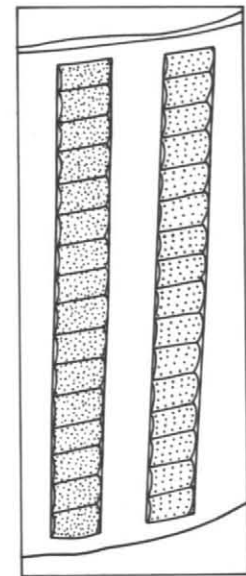
e. Element for Cat. 130 (MMA 1982.137.2)



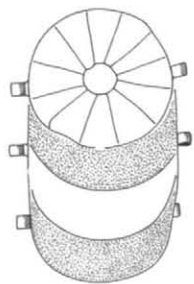
g. Rosette for Cat. 108



h. Earring, Cat. 109 (MMA 26.8.93b)



i. Detail of MMA 26.8.130 (Cat. 141)



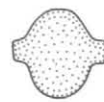
f. Types of elements used in Cat. 114



j. Bead found by Chaban, see Fig. 17k



k. Bead in Cat. 153



l. Bead in Cat. 151 (MMA 1983.137.4)



m. Above, bead in Cat. 130; below, bead in Cat. 137 (MMA 26.8.121a)



n. Bead in Cat. 153



Legend:  Turquoise opaque glass  Blue translucent glass

Fig. 91a–n. Glass beads and glass-inlaid ornaments and elements associated with Wady Qurud. 1:1

# CHAPTER 5. CATALOGUE PART A, OBJECTS ASSIGNED TO TOMB 1 (1–165)

## FUNERARY ITEMS

### CANOPIC JARS

**Three sets of canopic jars (1–4, 5–8, 9–12);** see pp. 190–4, 330f., 334

#### *Provenance*

The names on two of the sets (Manhata, 5–8, and Maruta, 9–12) are believed to occur on pottery sherds excavated at the site in 1988 (p. 332, Fig. 266).

The jars were seen by Carter in the autumn of 1916 (p. 47); names and titles on all three sets were sent to Gardiner and recorded by him (Doc. 15, p. 35; Winlock 1948: 11).

#### *Previous assessment*

Winlock found the workmanship quite inferior (1948: 46–8).

#### *Current understanding*

Contemporary comparative examples exist from royal and private burials (Lilyquist 1993d; Capel and Markoe 1996: no. 82; Dolzani 1982: nos. 19001, 19003–6, 19142; Daressy 1902: llf. no. 24006a–d; Hayes 1935: 25f.). Different sizes are sometimes represented within the same set, and instances are known where the jars were empty. Jars in the tomb of Amenhotep II contained cartonnage masks; Daressy suggested these were for mummified packages (1902: 105f. nos. 24274–81), as had been found in Yuya's burial (Quibell 1908: CG 51014). Tuya's packets had gilded masks (loc. cit., CG 51018).

All sets here are made of white limestone and were clearly made at the same time although there are slight differences: the stoppers are solid with flat bottoms, the jars rarely sit plumb, the eyes are highlighted with black paint, and the inscriptions are incised and filled with blue paint. Two of Manuwai's jars are tall and two are squat; one of her jars and all four of Manhata's have three columns of inscriptions rather than four. The most finely worked set is Manuwai's. The stoppers of each set show a distinct physiognomy: Manuwai had a well-formed heart-shaped face; Manhata, a broad face with heavier features; and Maruta, a small face and ears (Fig. 267).

Dorman noted that seven of the jars have Sethe's type VIII-canopic inscription, but that 1, 4, 6, 9, and 12 have type IX (imperative vs *sdm.n.f*-form; Sethe 1934: 2★–6★). Both forms are known in the Tuthmoside period, and the jars for each wife contain at least one example of each. In the author's opinion, all jars could have been inscribed by the same person. Each set includes invocations to Isis/Kebesenuf, Nephtys/Hapy, Neith/Imsety, and Selket/Duamutef.

All but jars 4 and 11 have bits of plaster with Egyptian blue or gold leaf inside; these are the remnants of wrapped and decorated viscera. In addition, all twelve jars show use, as seen by bitumen traces in the bottom or on the outside. Jars 1 and 3–4 have bitumen drips around the rim and 5–8 are the cleanest. Fine yellow silt on the surface of the limestone indicates a provenance in the desert cliffs; it is the material Carter termed *hiebr*, as in G. Johnson 1999: 22.

#### **1** CANOPIC JAR FOR MANUWAI

Figs. 95c (second from right), 263a (left)  
MMA 18.8.9a, b (P 171).

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1917.

DIMENSIONS H of jar 29.6, with lid 40.9.

MANUFACTURE Extended cosmetic brows, cosmetic lines,  
eye rims, and pupils painted in black.

#### **2** CANOPIC JAR FOR MANUWAI

Figs. 94b, 95c (second from left), 263a (second from left)  
Dr. Herbert Kalmanoff (formerly MMA 18.8.10a, b; P 171).

SOURCE MMA Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1917;  
deaccessioned 1956.

DIMENSIONS H of jar 29.1, with lid 40.5.

CONDITION Half of face missing.

## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

### 3 CANOPIC JAR FOR MANUWAI

Figs. 94a, 95a–b, 95c (right), 263a (second from right)  
Dr. Herbert Kalmanoff (formerly MMA 18.8.11a, b; P 171).

SOURCE MMA Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1917;  
deaccessioned 1956.

DIMENSIONS H of jar 23.8, with lid 35.0.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Lilyquist 1991: fig. 20.

### 4 CANOPIC JAR FOR MANUWAI

Figs. 95c (left), 263a (right), 267 (center)  
MMA 18.8.12a, b (P 171).

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1917.

DIMENSIONS H of jar 25.5, with lid 36.2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Lilyquist 1998a: 680, fig. 1 (center).

### 5 CANOPIC JAR FOR MANHATA

Figs. 96a (left), 264a (left)  
MMA 18.8.1a, b (P 169).

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1917.

DIMENSIONS H of jar 31.8, with lid 41.8.

### 6 CANOPIC JAR FOR MANHATA

Figs. 96a (right), 96b, 97a, 264a (second from left)  
Dr. Herbert Kalmanoff (formerly MMA 18.8.2a, b; P 169).

SOURCE MMA Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1917;  
deaccessioned 1956.

DIMENSIONS H of jar 29.0, with lid 38.2.

### 7 CANOPIC JAR FOR MANHATA

Figs. 96a (second from left), 264a (second from right),  
267 (left)  
MMA 18.8.3a, b (P 169).

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1917.

DIMENSIONS H of jar 31.4, with lid 39.6.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Lilyquist 1998a: 680, fig. 1 (left).

### 8 CANOPIC JAR FOR MANHATA

Figs. 96a (second from right), 96c, 97b, 264a (right)  
Dr. Herbert Kalmanoff (formerly MMA 18.8.4a, b; P 169).

SOURCE MMA Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1917;  
deaccessioned 1956.

CONDITION Two-thirds of face missing.

DIMENSIONS H of jar 31.3, with lid 40.3.

### 9 CANOPIC JAR FOR MARUTA

Figs. 98a (left), 265a (left)  
MMA 18.8.5a, b (P 170).

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1917.

DIMENSIONS H of jar 31.0, with lid 40.0.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 28 (far left).

### 10 CANOPIC JAR FOR MARUTA

Figs. 98a (second from left), 265a (second from left)  
MMA 18.8.6a, b (P 170).

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1917.

DIMENSIONS H of jar 31.4, with lid 39.5.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 28 (second from left).

### 11 CANOPIC JAR FOR MARUTA

Figs. 98a (right), 98b, 265a (second from right), 267 (right)  
MMA 18.8.7a, b (P 170).

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1917.

DIMENSIONS H of jar 30.6, with lid 39.6.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 28 (second from right);  
Lilyquist 1998a: 680, fig. 1 (right).

### 12 CANOPIC JAR FOR MARUTA

Figs. 98a (second from right), 265a (right)  
MMA 18.8.8a, b (P 170).

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1917.

DIMENSIONS H of jar 32.4, with lid 41.5.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 28 (right).

## RITUAL VESSELS

**Three ritual vessels (13–5);** see cover; pp. 195, 330f.

### *Provenance*

The names Manhata and Maruta on two of the vessels are believed to have occurred on pottery sherds at the site (Chap. 8). The fragment of sheet silver found by Chaban could be related to the vessels (p. 31; L 1.9, Th 0.28, with one seemingly cut edge).

Carter saw two of the three stoppers at Jusef Hassan's shop in Luxor on October 11, 1916 (p. 48), and the vessels themselves early in 1918 (Winlock 1948: 11).

### *Previous assessment*

Winlock termed these vessels “canisters” and understood them as tableware (1948: 11, 60f.), an interpretation followed by N. Scott (1944: fig. 17; 1973: fig. 25) and Hayes (1959b: 139, fig. 77).

According to MMA records, the vessels were cleaned and mended by Leon André, Paris, in 1920, and cleaned by the Museum in 1931 as well as subsequently.

### *Current understanding*

All three vases have a horizontal line scribed above the shoulder, separate bases, and inscriptions in columns bordered by simple vertical lines. The compositional analyses given below were obtained in 1974 by Mishara and Meyers from

## Chapter 5

“thermal neutron activation . . . on small samples obtained by rubbing etched quartz tubing against cleaned surface” (Mishara and Meyers 1974: 36, 39f. nos. 5–7). According to Stone, the hammer work is rhythmic and orderly, and X rays show even wall thicknesses. The lines scribed below the opening and the columns of hieroglyphs vary in placement, fluidity, and strength. Their ghosts are seen on the interiors. Although now polished, examination reveals evidence of previous corrosion. Stone observed filing around the bases and restored areas; two of the bases seemed to be original with modern reinforcement of lead-tin solder.

Schorsh states that such vessels were manufactured by raising them upside down, cutting a hole out of the “bottom” to form the mouth of the jar, and braising a disk opposite this hole to form the true base of the vessel. As for the stoppers, there is a “point of orientation” at the peak of each “bonnet”; the latter was no doubt raised, as was the stopper with surrounding flange to which it is attached.

Faience vessels of this type were found in the tombs of Amenhotep II and Tuthmosis IV (Daressy 1902: 232f. nos. 3934–3934*bis*, 3944; Carter and Newberry 1904: 58–67), some inscribed with the king’s names. A tall version of silver was found in the late Middle Kingdom tomb of Neferuptah, together with two silver *hs*-vases without spouts; all three had the standard *htp di nsw* formula (Farag and Iskander 1971: 13–5). Most likely the vessels below were for water libations, as in fig. 1 of Spieser 1997. The type of inscription—indicating a gift from the king—is known on 18th dynasty stone vessels (Legrain 1903: 140 no. 14; Legrain 1904: 140 no. 1397). The correct full passive verbal form *dīw*, “given,” was used (Logan/Dorman).

### 13 LIBATION FLASK OF MANUWAI

Figs. 99 (top), 100 (left), 101 (left), 263b  
MMA 18.8.21a, b (P 173).

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1918.

MATERIAL Silver: Cu 3.4, Ag 95.4, Au 1.2 (Mishara and Meyers).

DIMENSIONS H with lid 19.5.

MANUFACTURE A short, thick “step” on the interior where concave bottom meets wall, perhaps a modern reinforcement. Line on shoulder lightly chased.

INSCRIPTION Spacing and detailing of signs good.

CONDITION Stopper and flange of lid restored by André.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 60f., pl. 36 (lower left); Lilyquist 1991: fig. 22; Reeves 2000: 150; Lilyquist 2002: 462 no. 190.

### 14 LIBATION FLASK OF MANHATA

Figs. 99 (center), 100 (center), 101 (right), 102, 264b  
MMA 18.8.22a, b (P 174).

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1918.

MATERIAL Silver: Cu 4.6, Ag 94.3, Au 1.1 (Mishara and Meyers).

DIMENSIONS H with lid 18.0.

MANUFACTURE Bottom has lip which extends upward

approximately 1.5; this sheet same thickness as walls, the join neat and unrestored (Cleveland/Grossbard).

INSCRIPTION Begins below the shoulder.

CONDITION Hole in jar mended by André; upper part of lid restored.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 60f., pl. 36 (bottom right); Lilyquist 1988b: fig. 64.

### 15 LIBATION FLASK OF MARUTA

Figs. 99 (bottom), 100 (right), 101 (center), 265b  
MMA 18.8.20a, b (P 172).

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1918.

MATERIAL Silver: Cu 3.4, Ag 95.3, Au 1.3 (Mishara and Meyers).

DIMENSIONS H with lid 19.5.

MANUFACTURE Bottom has a plate braised neatly in place but reinforced in modern times with solder. Heavily chased line on shoulder.

INSCRIPTION Spacing and detailing of the signs is superior to that on 13–14.

BIBLIOGRAPHY N. Scott 1944: fig. 17 (center); Illustrated London News 1945: 24 (lower left); Winlock 1948: 60f., pl. 36 (bottom center); Hayes 1959b: 139, fig. 77; Kayser 1969: fig. 4; N. Scott 1973: 50; Casson 1981: 54; Lilyquist 1988b: fig. 63.

## MUMMY FITTINGS

Catalogue nos. 16–37 that follow are believed to have been specifically made for burial, therefore are separated from items of adornment that were surely worn in life (nos. 108–63, Jewelry). Numbers 38–43 were no doubt used in everyday life and death, but are included in this section to emphasize their model character.

**Two heart scarabs and a heart amulet (16–8);** see pp. 196f., 330f.

### Provenance

The names of Manhata and Maruta on two of the scarabs are believed to occur on pottery found at the site (Chap. 8). Standard early provenance.

### Previous assessment

Winlock believed that 16 and 18 had been reinscribed, and stated that the wire necklets were not attached to the scarabs when purchased (1948: 41, pl. 22).

*Current understanding*

The name on heart scarab **18** is certainly secondary, and, according to Dorman, all three amulets use the masculine gender in the text. However, the names on **16** and **17** appear original. The inscriptions of scarabs **17–8** are obscured by their bezels, but this occurs even on excavated scarabs. While the inscription on Hatnufer's similarly mounted scarab, for instance, is perfectly revealed, parts of inscriptions on other excavated heart scarabs are obscured (Neferkhawet, first line [Haslauer 2001b: no. 89]; Boki, beginning of lines 4 and 5; Ruyu, corners and sides, according to W. Hayes' MMA field records). Dorman stated that irregular texts occur there (cf. **17**), and that the three below all have Chapter 30B from the Book of the Dead.

All amulets are of green stone, equipped with bezels and necklets. Scarab **18** is similar in overall appearance to Hatnufer's heart scarab (Lansing and Hayes 1937: fig. 34). Similar types and features occur elsewhere in contemporary Theban burials:

heart amulet (Ruyu, in Hayes 1935: fig. 8 [right]);  
yoke-shaped mounts (Neferkhawet and Boki in Hayes 1935: fig. 8 [left and center]; Hatnufer, in Lansing and Hayes 1937: fig. 34, MMA 36.3.2; unnamed, in Lansing 1917: fig. 21);  
wire necklets (Boki, in Hayes 1935: fig. 8 [center]; Tutankhamun, Carter 256q);  
duck head terminals (Ahhotep group, in Vernier 1925: CG 52670).

For Nubian examples, see Säve-Söderberg and Troy 1991: 144–6.

**16 HEART SCARAB OF MANUWAI**

Figs. 103 (left), 105, 263c  
MMA 26.8.91 (P 112).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIALS Gold; probably the sedimentary rock graywacke (Wheeler).

DIMENSIONS H of scarab's bezel 6.35, W of necklet 19.5, Th of necklet wire 0.2.

MANUFACTURE Scarab flat, smoothed but not highly polished. Humeral callosity (tick) on elytra (wings). Top line of inscription with name original, although not necessarily by same hand as text; compare aleph and seated woman signs. However, bottom line has equally small and little-detailed signs. Fits tightly into gold housing.

Setting is a flat strip of gold foil; seam not detected; yoke of thinner gold, neatly cut and scored. Wire necklet twisted tightly, ending in duck heads; red surface.

INSCRIPTION Book of the Dead Chapter 30B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 22 (left).

**17 HEART AMULET OF MANHATA**

Figs. 103 (right), 106, 264c  
MMA 26.8.144 (P 57).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIALS Gold; greenschist (a metamorphic rock with concentrations of clinozoisite, quartz, and albite; Wheeler/Frantz).

DIMENSIONS H of heart's bezel 5.5, W of necklet 19.0, Th of necklet wire 0.2.

MANUFACTURE Rather than a scarab, the pendant is a simplified heart-shaped amulet, slightly domed and smoothed and without markings on the surface. Inscription on reverse appears to author to be by one hand; Dorman thought name was applied later than text.

The bezel is a substantial L-shaped ring in which the scarab rests; thick side rings are fastened to the outer surface, and a flange is attached along the inner edge of the top surface. The yoke is scored, and does not appear to

join the ring; two ends of it protrude from the bezel on the base. All gold parts fit tightly around the heart, the lower part obscuring the edges of the inscription. PGE inclusions noted by Cleveland and Grossbard.

Necklet wire ends in duck heads; eyes, bill's serrated edges, and nostrils indicated.

INSCRIPTION Part of Chapter 30B only, with sections in retrograde (Dorman).

CONDITION Chip from surface at beginning of text.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 22 (right).

**18 HEART SCARAB OF MARUTA**

Figs. 103 (center), 107, 265c  
MMA 26.8.145 (P 111).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIALS Gold; greenschist, as **17**.

DIMENSIONS H of scarab's bezel 7.4, W of necklet 22.5, Th of necklet wire 0.2.

MANUFACTURE Scarab domed and finely worked, its elytra and pronotum (area in front of it) are polished; drill holes on sides between legs not removed with polishing. Inscription of uniform character except for top line, which is on a lower plane and more tentatively inscribed; scarab clearly made for an earlier owner.

Gold bezel appears to be one piece, bent under on the bottom and extended upward on top to form a flange that is pushed down around scarab. The lower edge slightly obscures the inscription. Bezel has top as well as side suspension rings. Top ring more neatly formed than those on side; its purpose not clear, unless suspension was originally from that ring, later changed to side rings. Note heart amulet of Ruyu, also with three rings (Hayes 1935: fig. 8 [right]). T-shaped yoke a strip of gold foil (pushed down around scarab and asymmetrically placed), apparently fastened to inner surface of ring.

Wire necklet terminates in duck heads.

INSCRIPTION As **16**.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 41, pl. 22 (center); Hayes 1959b: 137, fig. 74; Brier 1980: fig. 16.



## Chapter 5

### Five wire necklets (19–23); see p. 196

#### *Provenance*

Standard early provenance.

#### *Previous assessment*

Winlock states that before the necklets were washed in the Museum, they looked as though they had been in contact with the bodies themselves, so badly were they stained (1948: 42).

#### *Current understanding*

Wire strung with beads appear in the late Old Kingdom (Firth and Gunn 1926: 12, pl. 15b no. 2, and Vernier 1925: CG 52748; Hansen 1967: 15, pl. 14 fig. 24). According to an X ray of Tuthmosis III's mummy, the king had a wire bangle on his lower arm (Wente and Harris 1980: microfiche 1, D8–9), while a wire with three small rings was on one anklet of Tutankhamun's mummy, shaped so that the thinner part of the wire allowed expansion (Carter 256mm, Carter 1927: pls. 35a, 82b). A *seweret*-bead also appears on a wire necklet in the late Old Kingdom (Firth and Gunn 1926: pl. 15b no. 1, and Vernier 1925: CG 52746). *Sewerets* were generally popular in the Middle Kingdom (C. Andrews 1994: 99) but a carnelian example was found in the mummy of Maiherpri (Daressy 1902: 30 no. 24068bis, no. a).

#### **19 SEWERET-NECKLET**

Fig. 104 (top right)

MMA 26.8.112 (P 102).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIALS Gold wire, carnelian.

DIMENSIONS Diam 7.8.

MANUFACTURE Wire tapered at ends, some splitting along length. Twisting seems original.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 23a (upper left).

#### **20 LARGEST SEWERET-NECKLET**

Fig. 104 (top center)

MMA 26.8.113 (P 103).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIALS Gold wire, carnelian.

DIMENSIONS Diam 10.0.

MANUFACTURE Ends of wire taper; twisting seems original. Some splitting of wire.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 23a (top center); Hayes 1959b: 137f., fig. 74; Brier 1980: fig. 16.

#### **21 SEWERET-NECKLET**

Fig. 104 (top left)

MMA 26.8.114 (P 149).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIALS Gold wire, carnelian.

DIMENSIONS Diam 8.3.

MANUFACTURE Ends tapered; twisting seems original.

Some splitting of wire.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 23a (upper right).

#### **22 NECKLET WITH SEVEN BEADS**

Fig. 104 (bottom right)

MMA 26.8.115 (P 150).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIALS Gold wire, faience beads.

DIMENSIONS Diam 9.0.

MANUFACTURE Wire ends not tapered, and wrapped around each other for only a short distance. Beads rudimentary but ridges parallel to axis of hole indicate they are melon type, with one showing a seam.

CONDITION Some orange deposit on beads.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 23a (lower right).

#### **23 NECKLET WITH MELON BEADS**

Fig. 104 (bottom left)

MMA 26.8.116 (P 151).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIALS Gold wire, ten faience beads.

DIMENSIONS Diam 8.2.

MANUFACTURE Wire tapered at ends, wrapping one around the other; beads fairly well formed but somewhat decayed.

CONDITION Orange accretions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 23a (lower left); Hayes 1959b: 137f., fig. 74; Brier 1980: fig. 16.

### Two sets of sheet gold ornaments (24–9); see pp. 198f.

#### *Provenance*

Standard early provenance. The ornaments are of royal type. A third set is considered modern (230–2).

#### *Previous assessment*

Winlock wrote that none of the falcon collars and vulture “pectorals” bore signs of having touched a body (1948: 43f.), and that two bandage amulets “had been very badly dented and crumpled before we saw them and required ironing out” (presumably 26, 29). Museum accession cards state that none were cleaned except for 26.

C. Williams classified the items as vulture headdresses (MMA notes); she was probably thinking of the item on the mummy in KV 55 that, however, had a means of attachment.

## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

### *Current understanding*

Parures of gold sheet occur first in early Middle Kingdom burials, and, on Tutankhamun's mummy, falcon collars, vulture collars, and bandage amulets were the complement of heart scarabs, necklets, sandals, and stalls (Carter 1927: pls. 30, 35a). It is thus clear that the sets below were also used on mummies, despite the fact that they may not have had bitumen staining or cloth impressions when acquired. This usage applies even to the vulture breastplates, which, with straight rather than curved wings, have the shape more of coffin decoration than of a collar, and furthermore have no holes or rings for attachment. In these two features the vultures are apparently unique (Winlock's comparison with Tutankhamun's vulture collars to the contrary 1948: 43f.); they must—according to size, thickness, and flexibility—have simply been wrapped within the mummy bandages. Tutankhamun's tomb did yield parallels for a vulture facing the viewer's left (Carter 256e [Carter 1927: pl. 79b, top] and 256mm [loc. cit., pl. 80b]).

The earliest extant examples of the sheet broad collar with falcon head terminals are from the royal tombs at Byblos. These items no doubt followed Egyptian style, albeit at half size (Montet 1929: nos. 619–22). Tutankhamun had four inlaid collars comparable in shape (Carter 256i [1, 2] and aa [1, 2]; see Carter 1927: pl. 81a), one of which had suspension rings on the back of the head (Carter 256i [1], 1927: pl. 81a [left]). Tutankhamun's mummy also yielded a good parallel for the bandage amulets below, Carter 256c (Carter 1927: pl. 83a [lower left]).

The three sets acquired by the MMA—each comprised of falcon collar, vulture breastplate, and bandage amulet—differ in physical properties and iconography. The nine items of this type were studied extensively, as there were no detailed records of previous treatment and as the possibility of forgery existed for all items previously associated with the tomb.

Technical, iconographic, and stylistic studies reinforced the discreteness of three sets, and a renewed effort with compositional analyses during 2000 confirmed the divisions clearly (Appendix 2, **24–9**, **230–2**). Reddish surfaces were noted on many of the items; in one case (vulture **25**) the surface was analyzed as silver–gold sulfide (this is not a sign of age). In the end, one of the three sets was considered modern (**230–2**), differing markedly from the other two sets.

The most telling technical information came from the comparative study of excavated gold work by means of low-power magnification. This analysis indicated that authenticity was proportional to the variety of techniques and tools used. For example, the X ray of the highest quality falcon collar (**24**) showed considerable beating and annealing, and the microscope made clear that a variety of tools had been used in a traditional manner, that edges were neatly folded, that the chased detail was naturalistic, and that there were convincing signs of wear. Vulture **25** had ancient reinforcements, as did the other accepted vulture, **28**. All these features were documented on excavated pieces, particularly those of Tutankhamun.

The medium-quality set showed less fluent draftsmanship than the first set, as well as shorter lines and lines less skillfully adjusted to contours.

#### **24** HIGHEST-QUALITY FALCON COLLAR

Fig. 110

MMA 26.8.101 (P 105).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Gold sheet (see Appendix 2).

DIMENSIONS Maximum W (roughly at midpoint of cylinder beads) 34.0, Th 0.105–.14 mm.

MANUFACTURE X rays show hammering; delamination on back surface. Almost all edges folded under; ghost lines on back, of varying depth. At top of each falcon head, a strip braised to front surface that loops backward to form a means of suspension. Design comprised of five rows of cylinder beads separated by parallel lines and terminated by drop pendants; detail finely executed in repoussé and chasing; stepping marks near beak.

CONDITION Not cleaned, according to accession cards; crumpled. Red gold patches especially on upper surface, with fingerprint and cloth impressions. Back side of loops torn away but loops complete; smaller tears around neckline and outer collar edges.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 24 (bottom); Hayes 1959b: 137, fig. 74; Galerie des Beaux-Arts 1981: no. 7; Brier 1980: fig. 16; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1983: no. 30.

#### **25** HIGHEST-QUALITY VULTURE BREASTPLATE

Fig. 108

MMA 26.8.104 (P 108).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Gold sheet (see Appendix 2).

DIMENSIONS Maximum W 41.5, Th 0.13–.38 mm.

MANUFACTURE X rays show hammering, with body thicker than wings. Edge along top of object folded back. Top side of extra long wings depicted; legs and feathers adjacent to them highly detailed; feathering on back of head indicated. Several tools used to create design; upper row of round-tipped, covert feathers of thicker and deeper lines than the lines dividing feathers in bottom row. Ghost lines on back vary in depth. Legs have separate reinforcing strips on back.

CONDITION Museum records state never cleaned. Considerable red gold on front and back analyzed by wet chemistry (Frantz and Schorsch 1990: 148, 150). Impressions of cloth on back of both wings, and fingerprints. Right leg torn but not separated; neck break repaired with gold solder, probably modern. Organic residue on back.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 25 (bottom); Hayes 1959b: 137, fig. 74; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1973: 94f.; Brier 1980: fig. 16.

## Chapter 5

### **26 HIGHEST-QUALITY BANDAGE AMULET**

Fig. 112 (left)

MMA 26.8.107 (P 152).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold sheet (see Appendix 2).

DIMENSIONS W 11.6, Th 0.075 mm.

MANUFACTURE X rays show extensive hammering. All edges neatly folded.

CONDITION Flattened after crumpling (Winlock 1948: 43).

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 23b (left); Brier 1980: fig. 16.

### **27 MEDIUM-QUALITY FALCON COLLAR**

Fig. 111

MMA 26.8.102 (P 106).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Gold sheet (see Appendix 2).

DIMENSIONS Maximum W (at top of cylinder beads) 32.0, Th 0.14–0.17 mm.

MANUFACTURE Basic scheme as **24**, but with more open shape. Gold thickness quite even, moderate amount of hammering; more pliable than **24**. Only the edge along top of heads folded back. Detail much more summary than **24**; tear drop with crescent on back of falcon's head appears on right head but not on left. Ghost lines on back rather even.

CONDITION Crumpled; one of suspension rings at back of head torn off. Not cleaned, according to Museum records, but modern mechanical cleaning evident on front. Gold more red on back than front; impressions of cloth on front.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 24 (center).

### **28 MEDIUM-QUALITY VULTURE BREASTPLATE**

Fig. 109

MMA 26.8.105 (P 56).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Gold sheet (see Appendix 2).

DIMENSIONS Maximum W 37.3, Th 0.10–0.13 mm.

DESIGN Vulture again faces viewer's left. Proportionally smaller than **25**, the spread of wings horizontal rather than flared upward, the underside rather than top side of wings depicted; *shen*-signs touch wings.

MANUFACTURE Less hammer work than on **24**. Only edge of tail feathers slightly turned under.

CONDITION Never cleaned, according to Museum records, but directional burnishing on back judged modern. Tear in left wing; ancient repair with square gold pieces (coupons) on back along top. Red gold on front and back; pattern of cloth clear on front.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 25 (top).

### **29 MEDIUM-QUALITY BANDAGE AMULET**

Fig. 112 (right)

MMA 26.8.108 (P 110).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Gold sheet (see Appendix 2).

DIMENSIONS W 10.3, Th 0.13 mm.

MANUFACTURE Edges slightly rough; some delamination; directional burnishing.

CONDITION Not cleaned, according to Museum records; ancient resin on one side. Flattened because of denting and crumpling (Winlock 1948: 43).

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 23b (center).

## **Two wire fasteners (30–1); see p. 199**

### *Provenance*

Standard early provenance.

### *Previous assessment*

N. Scott believed that the wires were handles for ritual vessels (1964: 231f.). A thicker wire (**213**) is more reminiscent of such items, although perhaps too small even for that.

### *Current understanding*

Heart scarabs **16–8** (above) are all suspended on duck-headed wires. The following wires most likely supplied suspension also, possibly for the falcon collars. The most complete of them (**30**) could be in its ancient configuration, if the collar ends were very close together (cf. Carter 1927: pl. 79b [left]). The incomplete example (**31**) could also be in its ancient shape, its current configuration the result of having been shortened when a collar was put on a mummy.

### **30 COMPLETE WIRE**

Fig. 113 (left)

MMA 26.8.214 (P 127); accessioned 1983.

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Funds, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS Original L ca. 28.0, L as bent 10.7. Th of wire 0.2.

MANUFACTURE Round wire, some with splitting, flattened toward ends, and then terminated by perpendicular tabs representing the bills of ducks.

### **31 FRAGMENTARY WIRE**

Fig. 113 (right)

MMA 26.8.216 (P 180); accessioned 1983.

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS Original incomplete L ca. 38.0, L as bent 11.0. Th of wire ca. 0.1.

MANUFACTURE Thinner stock than **30**; delaminated. At one end, wire turns back and terminates in slightly bulbous duck head with flat beak.

CONDITION One end anciently cut off.

**Three pairs of gold sheet sandals (32–4); see p. 201**

*Provenance*

Mackay heard of gold sandals by August 14, 1916, “thin plates of gold which were sometimes used in Ramesside times to cover the soles of the feet of the dead after they had been flayed” (Doc. 10, p. 33).

On the evidence that gold sandals are proper to royal burials, see below. By 1916, a small silver sandal had been found in Tawosret’s tomb (1908), and the mummy of Tuya—discovered in 1905—had a pair made of gold leaf and silver (not exhibited). The comparable sandals of Tutankhamun and Psusennes were found in 1925–26 and 1939 respectively.

*Previous assessment*

Winlock states that when the Museum acquired the sandals, “they were dented and a few of the golden straps had been torn loose. But the soft metal of which they were made was easily pushed back into shape; a little lead solder fastened the broken straps; and the mended parts were touched up with gilt lacquer” (1948: 45, see below).

*Current understanding*

The earliest evidence of precious-metal sandals was in the late Middle Kingdom royal tombs at Byblos, namely, full-size silver sandal soles (Montet 1928–29: nos. 650–1). A gold toe strap of papyrus style was with the mummy of Maiherpri, and a silver and gold pair of sandals—of papyrus style—was on the mummy of Tuya (Lilyquist 1997a). Tutankhamun also had papyrus-style sandals of gold (Carter 256ll; Carter 1927: pl. 35a), and a small silver sandal of papyrus type was meant for a child of Tawosret (T. Davis 1908: 2f., 44; Aldred 1963). Sheshonq I’s precious sandals have thin straps, probably imitating leather (Montet 1951: 41f. no. 238), as do those for a wife of Piye (Dunham 1950: 81, 19–3–1035, in bronze). Only Psusennes had sandals with broad insteps like the three pairs below (Montet 1951: 158 nos. 622–3).

Flimsy soles were attached to wrapped mummies in the Late period, even to private mummies (Bresciani et al. 1977: 79, 92, pl. 31). Pettigrew states that gold (leaf) was applied directly to the feet of mummies (1834: 63) but no evidence has been found that it was (see C. Andrews 1984: 23, fig. 22; D’Auria 1988). Nevertheless, this concept must be what Mackay had heard of, imagining an earlier date for it.

All three pairs of gold sheet sandals below have substantial insteps as well as soles decorated with rosettes, border lines, and bands of lozenges. As such, they derive from leather prototypes, even though their posts recall Middle Kingdom wooden models. Sandals with broad insteps occur throughout the 18th dynasty in representations (N. G. Davies 1943: pl. 54; Brack and Brack 1977: pl. 3; Robins 1999: figs. 1–3) and as actual examples, displaying some of the features below (T. Davis 1907: pl. 44; Schiaparelli 1927: fig. 53): extra stitching on the forepart of the sole, posts braised to the top surface of the sole, toe strap with and without button beneath, hatched cross-bands (for example, Lansing and Hayes 1937: fig. 49). One feature below is paralleled only in the gold sandals of Psusennes: the rosette on the sole (Fig. 90c). Although the latter pair is better designed and made than the Wady Qurud examples, it has similar dimensions and thickness. Perhaps, like the ewer of Ahmose, the Tanis sandals are 18th dynasty heirlooms.

There are also differences among the three pairs below: **33** has posts within the outline of the sole where the posts of **32** and **34** lie outside the basic outline of the sole. On **34**, the posts rest in cylindrical sleeves, but on **32** and **33** the posts fit over pegs attached to the soles. As for the insteps, these attach on all three pairs to the soles in front by means of thongs that pierce the sole, and in back by strips that wrap in and around vertical posts. At the same time, the details of the insteps—most of which derive from leather prototypes—differ from one pair to the next.

Perhaps not surprisingly, there are also differences within each pair. Especially striking is the pairing of the excellent soles of **32** with large, crudely made insteps. Considerable time was spent documenting the three pairs of sandals (below), in order to verify that particular insteps belonged with particular soles, especially as there seemed to be extensive signs of undocumented modern intervention and because one set of gold sheet amulets was eventually determined modern (**230–2**).

In fact, although the soles of all pairs are flatter than the insteps, and although there are differences in quality, it does appear that all insteps are with the soles they should be. Winlock indicates that the soles were reshaped in the Museum (1948: 45f.), and it seems that rather intense pressing was used, after partial separation from the insteps (the pressing interfered with modern X-ray analyses). By comparison, the soles of the gold sandals of Tutankhamun were found bent around the mummy’s toes (Carter 1927: pl. 35a), and, even when flattened, were more creased than the pairs discussed here (TAA neg. 599). Two pairs below have prominent burnishing marks along the length of the soles (**32–3**) but the third pair does not (**34**). There is more red gold on the under surfaces of the insteps, no doubt because it did not need to be cleaned off for display.

## Chapter 5

The thicknesses were measured by Kneeland as follows:

MMA 26.8 no.	heel	outer ball of foot	instep
.146b (tie)	0.36"	0.46"	0.23"
.147a (heart)			0.17–0.18"
.147b	0.30"	0.21"	
.148a (repoussé)	0.24"	0.36"	0.15"

### 32 SANDALS WITH TIE FEATURE

Fig. 117

MMA 26.8.146a (left), b (right) (P 183).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1922.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS "A" and "b" L 25.8, W 9.6; weight of "b"

154.1 gr.

DESIGN

*soles* Protrusions at juncture of heel and front of sandal have a decorative band connecting them; it is a series of incised lozenges framed by two parallel lines. On "a," seven lines encircle the perimeter of the heel, and the rosette within has thirty petals; on "b," eight lines encircle the heel, and a rosette of twenty-five petals completely fills the space. In front of the lozenge-decorated band, thirteen lines parallel the edge of the sole on "a," but twelve lines on "b." Posts slide over pegs sitting upright on soles.

*posts* Closed tubes scored with parallel lines, slits at top.

*insteps* Highly arched. Decoration is two parallel chased lines down center, a series of perpendicular lines between them to represent the binding of two leather halves.

Cross at top represents the tie of the binding.

MANUFACTURE

*soles* Very regular in thickness, evenness, smoothness, and precision and flatness of lines, although there is delamination on the top of sole "a" and underside of sole "b." Holes through soles neat, the one on "a" turned back. Button covers both toe straps after they enter soles.

*posts* Each a tube with seam on inside, scored with parallel lines before rolled; closed neatly at top end with a disk.

*insteps* Significantly less quality than soles: thinner metal, less annealed, rough edges. Toe strap is a tube with seam up back; its point of attachment to instep is damaged but it may be that it and the instep were one. The tube is cut and rolled. Straps at outer corners of insteps threaded into vertical slits of posts.

CONDITION According to MMA records, both toe straps soldered with lead and painted gold in 1937.

*soles* Considerable cloth impressions on bottom of sole "a." Border lines on that surface are in negative, presumably the result of modern flattening; long and crosswise burnishing strokes there are also presumably modern. "B" has crosswise burnishing on top of sole near bands.

*posts* Both posts of "a" reinforced to sole; red accretion covers join at outside post and coupon is nearby, therefore apparently ancient. Joins of "b" posts to soles both have reinforcement, although ancient bitumen seems to be over outside post, and inside one has bitumen on post near strap; again, ancient?

*insteps* On "a" and "b," cloth impressions on upper surface of insteps. Inside strap of "a" seems in place, probably outside too, although loose. It appears that both straps

of "b" are in original location. Straps of both "a" and "b" mended by modern solder, with small ancient tear by inside post of "a."

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 26 (upper left); Hayes 1959b: 137, fig. 74; Brier 1980: fig. 16; Casson 1981: 57; Lilyquist 1987: no. 317.

### 33 SANDALS WITH REPOUSSÉ DETAILS

Fig. 118

MMA 26.8.148a (left), b (right) (P 185).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1922.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS "A" L 26.4, W 10.0, Weight 116.35 gr; "b" L 26.5, W 10.0.

DESIGN

*soles* Similar to 32 in design, with these differences: six parallel edging lines are continuous around perimeter, with no protrusions for posts; transverse decorative band has fewer lozenges but more border lines; rosettes float in available space; center of each rosette is a double ring. The transverse band has three lozenges on "a" and four on "b," and twenty-seven petals on "a" but twenty-four on "b."

*posts* As 32.

*insteps* Repoussé series of inverted Vs down center, no doubt imitating leather binding. Half-circle at upper end larger on "b" than "a." A large tab is attached to lower end of toe strap.

MANUFACTURE

*soles* Border lines chased before the posts were applied, sometimes hesitatingly; repoussé occurs along with flat lines. Lines on the underside are all even, as on 32. The hole for toe strap has sheet rolled back on "a" but not on "b." Hole in "a" looks like it has a ring on top surface, probably produced in flattening.

*posts* Tubes fabricated as 32, positioned over pegs braised to top of sole.

*insteps* All edges of instep are hemmed. Tab at bottom of instep is an extension of a tube seamed up the back that, at its lower end, enters a hole in the sole before curling backward. Extended strips from insteps enter vertical slits in the posts from the outside, run forward, then loop around.

CONDITION According to MMA records, the instep of "a" soldered to right post.

*soles* Lengthwise burnishing on soles modern, as flattening of soles. Impressions of cloth on bottom of sole "a."

*posts* Both posts on soles of "a" reinforced—modernly? Inside one has an ancient coupon. Bottom of inside post of "b" surely soldered to sole.

*insteps* Some radial burnishing on top surfaces no doubt modern. Lots of red gold on underside, with impressions of cloth on both sides of "b." Half-circle at top of "b"

## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

has a horizontal reinforcing strip behind it, and an additional tear nearby; its toe strap tab has tear with coupon nearby, as well as modern soldering; toe strap appears original in hole of sole. Ties to posts all seem original although outside one of "a" modernly soldered because of tearing near post and strap in post. On "b," strap in post is damaged.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 26 (bottom); Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 351.

### 34 SANDALS WITH HEART-SHAPED TABS

Fig. 119

MMA 26.8.147a (left) and b (right) (P 184).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1922.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS "A" L 24.9, W 8.9, Weight 88.9 gr;

"b" L 25.1, W 9.1.

#### DESIGN

*soles* Outline cut to accommodate posts; four lines along perimeter of heel part, five along front part of sole. Wide transverse band separates heel from front section, composed of parallel and hatched lines. In the center of the heel is a rosette of sixteen petals.

*posts* As 32–3.

*insteps* Fine lines converge down center; these border lozenges punched by dots.

#### MANUFACTURE

*soles* All chasing of even depth. On underside, rosette more worked than border lines, which appear in negative and are of varied character. Sole holes torn; on "b," edge turned up and cut while on "a," the metal displaced by

the hole was folded downward. A convex cap secures the strap and covers its end. A thin coupon lies near outside post of "b."

*posts* Tube made as 32–3 but fits into a cylindrical sleeve attached to sole, its seam on inside.

*insteps* Toe strap made of tube with seam on inside, slit on each side near the top to form two tabs that grip front tip of instep. Bottom end of tube has a wire wrapped around it before entering the sole. Edges of instep hemmed except for heart-shaped tab and straps going into posts.

CONDITION Museum records reveal the following soldering on "a": the two posts to the sole, the top of each post, the toe strap to the instep, the sides of the tab to the instep. For "b," solder used to fasten the back posts to the sole, reinforce the top of the left post, join toe strap to instep. Dents were taken out of both sandals.

*soles* Damage and modern repairs at protrusions. Soles flattened, the presumed cause of negative lines.

Considerable red gold on bottom; cloth impressions on top side of both. Solder around wire at hole.

*insteps* Slight radial burnishing on insteps, modern.

Considerable red gold on underside, and on top of "b." Damage at point where toe straps join insteps and straps are threaded into posts. Small amount of solder near heart-shaped tab of "b." Wrapping of strips on "b" looks good although reinforced, that on "a" less so.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 26 (upper right); Galerie des Beaux-Arts 1981: no. 8; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1983: no. 30; Dorman 1984: 26, fig. 25 (left); Dorman 1987: 50, fig. 32 (left); Metropolitan Museum of Art 1993: 15.

## Three groups of toe and finger stalls (35–7); see p. 200

### Provenance

Fifty-four stalls were acquired with the standard early provenance (one, P 153, Fletcher Fund 1921; fifty-three, P 196, Fletcher Fund 1922). One stall was purchased in 1958 with a Wady Qurud provenance (Frederick P. Huntley Bequest, 1958). The stalls form assemblages with the gold sheet sandals and mummy fittings; contemporary excavated examples are from royal workshops.

### Previous assessment

Winlock described the stalls as being made of a sheet gold band soldered down the side, a hemispherical cap soldered to one end. He stated that they had suffered very little, and that only a few dented or flattened examples needed to be pushed into shape (1948: 44f.). Museum records describe them as "badly dented." MMA 26.8.149–168 are illustrated in Winlock (1948: pl. 27), Hayes (1959b: 138, fig. 74), and Brier (1980: fig. 16).

### Current understanding

No gold stalls are known before the New Kingdom, but between then and the Late period, they are associated with royalty. The stalls here would be the earliest extant examples, with the next occurrence being in the burial of Maiherpri, KV 36. Elliot Smith reported finding one gold stall on the small right finger of Amenhotep III's father-in-law, Yuya (L 4.2; Quibell 1908: 70; Lilyquist 1997a); he also stated that there was a full set when found, but there is no corroboration of this. Tutankhamun's toe stalls are similar to those below, but his finger stalls cover more of the top digit (Carter 256ll; Carter 1927: pl. 35a), while those at Tanis are generally longer still (Montet 1947: 69, 89; Montet 1951: 41, 52, 73, 155–8; Ziegler 2002: 75 fig. 9). Masaharti's are similar (Cairo 20/12/21/24; Maspero 1915: no. 4061), but Osorkon II's son Sheshonq had thin stalls that covered only the front three-quarters of the tips (Cairo JdE 86767). Queen Takouti of Dynasty 26 had thin, miniature examples (Cairo JdE 88966–7, twenty stalls; C. Andrews 1998: fig. 10). Those from the Sudanese royal burials are generally long and thin (Dunham 1950: 98; 1955: 72, 76, 110, 117, 127, 201, 221, 251; 1957: 37; 1963: 374), although some are quite well made (Dunham 1955: 117; 1963:

## Chapter 5

374). Sometimes the thumb or large toe stall alone may have folded edges. In Late period private burials, stalls became part of the funerary parure; they are thin with little detail, often small (Vernier 1927: CG 53742, 53760, 53790–3).

The finger and toe stalls below were divided into three groups according to thickness of gold, details of manufacture (folded edge; depiction of cuticles, nails, and joint creases; presence of separate cap at tip); overall shape of stall; and wear. There is silver tarnish on a number of examples. The first two groupings are generally finer than the second, but there is no complete consistency in any one assemblage.

### 35 NINETEEN ROUNDED DELINEATED STALLS

Fig. 114

MMA 26.8.149, .154, .155, .157–.161, .163, .166, .190–.192, .195–.197, .200–.202.

SOURCE As above.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H of tallest 5.4.

MANUFACTURE All with plain edges and delineated, chased anatomical features (two joints, nail outline, and cuticle).

X rays show that as many as seven have a cap at the tip.

Stall 26.8.154 has an additional circle within the nail, and 26.8.196 has a visible vertical seam.

CONDITION Considerable red gold; cloth impression on 26.8.197. In better condition than squarish delineated stalls 36.

### 36 NINETEEN SQUARISH DELINEATED STALLS

Fig. 115

MMA 26.8.150–.153, .156, .162, .164, .165, .167, .168, .185–.189, .193, .194, .198, .199.

SOURCE As above.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H of tallest 5.1.

MANUFACTURE Edges plain and sometimes ragged; nail and cuticle incised. Ten have two creases for joints.

Considerable silver-gold sulfide on majority.

CONDITION Some gold not smoothed originally; other stalls were probably shaped after crushing; two have interior tears. Cloth impression in red gold on 26.8.151, .156, .184, .189; possible ancient repair on 26.8.152.

### 37 SEVENTEEN STALLS WITH LITTLE DELINEATION

Fig. 116

MMA 26.8.169–.184, 58.153.7.

SOURCE As above.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H of tallest 4.5.

MANUFACTURE Of thinner gold than the other two groups, with little or no chased delineation. The edges of those photographed in the top row are plain, sometimes quite ragged, and those in the bottom row are folded. Five have nails and cuticle lines incised (26.8.176, .178, .180 with folded edges), three have only the nail line indicated (26.8.177, .182, .184 with plain edges), and two have the nail very lightly incised (26.8.181, plain edge; 26.8.175, folded). On the remainder, the nail area is modeled rather than chased. There are many pits in the surface because the gold was not shaped smoothly.

CONDITION Some silver-gold sulfide; some reshaping (MMA records note 58.153.7). Stall 26.8.176 torn severely.

## Six groups of lentoid beads (38–43); see p. 202

### Provenance

As stated in Document 3 (pp. 29f.), Chaban found lentoid beads of Egyptian blue and faience in the tomb (Diam 1.5, Th 0.19–0.24; Fig. 17a–b). Carter also found lentoid beads there (p. 41), an unspecified number of “turquoise and lapis lazuli paste” (Diam 1.5, Th 0.2). According to MMA accession cards, Carter gave eleven such beads to the MMA (cf. Winlock 1948: 24); ten were arranged with the MMA’s early purchases of such beads. In 1988, the author found faience and Egyptian blue lentoid fragments at the tomb; these measured 1.4–1.5 in diameter and 0.15–0.2 in thickness (Fig. 82a, c).

The diameters of the MMA examples below vary from 1.1 to 1.7. Some of the examples are coated with fine yellow silt (*hiebr*).

### Previous assessment

Winlock termed all of the MMA beads “faience” but his illustration includes both faience and Egyptian blue examples (Winlock 1948: 24f., pls. 3, 6, 15a). He believed the beads were for everyday use. Some are illustrated in Aldred (1971: pl. 62); A. Wilkinson considered them *shebiu*-collar imitations (1971: 108).

### Current understanding

All MMA beads are now strung by type of material and by color. Further, the beads are classified as funerary because of their marked contrast with the numerous gold jewels from or associated with the tomb, and because of their material similarity to the four bangles which may be models (44–7).

However, the exact symbolism of strings of vitreous lentoid beads is unclear. Commonly they are considered inexpensive versions of the *shebiu*, a gold collar of one or more strands given for honor or reward to male officials



## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

(Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 198f.), which formed part of the “gold of praise” (Wente 1980: 43f.). However, females and children are shown wearing strings of lentoid beads (Feucht 1977; Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 436). As well, kings wore them in life and death (Tutankhamun: Carter 255 and 256a, both with faience), and Bryan has argued for their solar symbolism (loc. cit.). Vitreous blue lentoids have been found at Hathor shrines (Pinch 1993: 265–9, fig. 16), sometimes stitched to cloth (Petrie and Currelly 1906: 152) or threaded together so that the flat sides are displayed (Pinch 1993: pl. 57).

Various evidence comes from funerary contexts. The impressions of two strands were found in linen for Schiaparelli’s princess Ahmose (Schiaparelli 1923: fig. 13; material unknown, bead Diam ca. 1.2), while several private mummies had single strings of vitreous lentoids at the neck: an MMA burial at Thebes (5A R2 F5; MMA 16.10.272), and an EES burial at Saqqara (Bourriau 1991: figs. 5, 6 [upper and lower left], pl. 7.3; C. Andrews 1981: no. 662). The later mummy of Kha had a single strand of precious-metal beads at the neck (Curto and Mancini 1968: 78; Curto et al. 1980: 149). Otherwise, vitreous strings have been found on top of a coffin (child Amenhotep, Hayes 1959b: fig. 100 [below]; MMA 36.3.154), and in baskets or boxes with a variety of funerary supplies, both in private burials (Hayes 1959b: fig. 100 [above], MMA 36.3.70) as well as royal (Tutankhamun, Carter 21y and 44bb–dd, some examples more like rings strung on a thick tube).

The origin of the bead at the beginning of the 18th dynasty is a question. The gold necklace of Petrie’s Qurna lady—a burial with strong Kerma elements<sup>1</sup>—is considered a *shebiu* (A. Wilkinson 1971: 8; Petrie 1909: pl. 29; Eremin et al. 2000: 37f.), so the concept may originate in the south, although her beads are rings rather than biconical or plano-conical disks. (The burial is dated earlier than the reign of Kamose, Bourriau 1991: 132.) The grave at Saqqara cited above—dated about the time of Amenhotep I in Bourriau 1991—does point to the south, as it contained a Nubian; thick faience lentoids were in a line at the neck somewhat resembling the “disk” beads Reisner found at Kerma (Reisner 1923: 99). Those disk beads were used there alone as girdles (K 310: 2, K 332: 7) or with ring beads to form a necklace (K 1041: 2, MFA 13.3974), and they also occurred in shell, speckled stone, and red stone (cf. Reisner 1923: 111f.). In the Theban burial with faience lentoids at the neck, cited above, several thick disk beads were strung with the lentoids. A two-strand assemblage of smaller beads—more plano-conical than lentoid—was also at the neck there (JdE 45676). Finally, it may be noted that Amenhotep II wears a *shebiu*-collar when depicted in Nubian dress (Davies 1930[1]: pl. 17).

**38** SHORT STRAND OF LIGHT EGYPTIAN BLUE LENTOID BEADS  
Fig. 120 (top)  
MMA 26.8.66 (P 89).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.  
MATERIAL Egyptian blue is light turquoise; medium thickness.  
DIMENSIONS L of strand 21.0, Th of beads 0.015.

**39** LONG STRAND OF LIGHT EGYPTIAN BLUE LENTOID BEADS  
Fig. 120 (second from top)  
MMA 26.8.67 (P 90).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.  
MATERIAL Egyptian blue is light turquoise; beads thinner than those of 38.  
DIMENSIONS L of strand 41.0, Th of beads 0.1.

**40** LONG STRAND OF THICK FAIENCE LENTOID BEADS  
Fig. 120 (third from top)  
MMA 26.8.68a (P 91).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.  
MATERIAL Shiny bright turquoise faience.  
DIMENSIONS L of strand 31.0, Th of beads 0.25.

**41** SHORT STRAND OF THICK FAIENCE LENTOID BEADS  
Fig. 120 (fourth from top)  
MMA 26.8.68b (P 91).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.  
MATERIAL Egyptian blue(?). Light turquoise color; matt surface.  
DIMENSIONS L of strand 18.0, Th of beads 0.20.

**42** LONG STRAND OF DARK EGYPTIAN BLUE LENTOID BEADS  
Fig. 120 (fifth from top)  
MMA 26.8.69a (P 92).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.  
MATERIAL Dark Egyptian blue.  
DIMENSIONS L of strand 47.5, Th of beads 0.1.

**43** SHORT STRAND OF DARK EGYPTIAN BLUE LENTOID BEADS  
Fig. 120 (sixth from top)  
MMA 26.8.69b (P 92).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.  
MATERIAL Dark Egyptian blue.  
DIMENSIONS L of strand 10.5, Th of beads 0.3.

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the Kerma pottery, beaded string bags, and the child’s ivory bangles, spiral earrings, and blue bead anklets (cf. Reisner 1923: 107, 254f., 281–4, 307), there is furniture of a type found at Kerma,

now noted also by Lacovara (2002). For other possible Kerma connections at Thebes in the late 17th–early 18th dynasty, see Lilyquist 1997c: 342.

## MODELS(?)

**Four unidentified objects (44–7);** see p. 202

*Provenance*

Carter saw three large faience rings, “quite plain,” about 10.0 in diameter, with Jusef Hassan on October 11, 1916 in a group of things said to come from Wady Qurud (p. 48). At about the same time he termed those rings “plain lapis lazuli paste armlets” (p. 47). He saw the Egyptian blue example slightly later.

*Previous assessment*

Winlock thought the objects items of adornment (1948: 34).

*Current understanding*

As with the strings of vitreous lentoid beads, the origin of the large vitreous rings is not clear. Such items were termed bracelets or anklets when found by Daressy and Newberry in the tombs of Tuthmosis III (Daressy 1902: 293 no. 24962), Amenhotep II (Daressy 1902: 153f. nos. 24580–94) and Tuthmosis IV (Carter and Newberry 1904: CG 46437–50). Similar identifications were given to examples from private tombs at Abydos (D 108: Fitzwilliam E. 6–7, 9–19.1901, scored as if to represent two bangles lying together, Randall-Maciver and Mace 1902: 88, 101) and Thebes (Maiherpri, Daressy 1902: 26 no. 24062; child Amenhotep, MMA 36.3.155–.156, Hayes 1959b: fig. 100 [outer two examples]; Neferkhawet, MMA 35.3.100–.102, the latter, Hayes 1959b: fig. 100 [center]).

Although representations of *aaui*-rings are common in the 18th dynasty—that is, gold bangles worn on the upper arm with rectangular cross-section and assumed to be the finer versions of the vitreous rings catalogued below (Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 198f.)—it has proved impossible to find either gold or vitreous examples on mummies. A gold bangle similar in dimensions to the vitreous ones here exists in Leiden (H. Schneider 1997: no. 153b), and several of similar size, inlaid with glass, were in the mummy wrappings of Tutankhamun although not on his body (Edwards 1976b: no. 16). The gold bangles in Ahhotep’s group had an outer diameter of 10.4 but an inner diameter of 7.4, due to a thick wall. This corresponds more closely to the inner diameter of the Ahhotep *mesketu*-rings, 5.8–6.2 (Vernier 1907: CG 52074, pl. 10). A *mesketu*-shaped bangle inscribed with the name of Tuthmosis III in Leiden has an inner diameter of 7.1 (H. Schneider 1987: no. 84), and an ivory one in Tutankhamun’s tomb has an inner diameter of 6.5 (Edwards 1976b: no. 15). All of these dimensions contrast notably with the vitreous examples, where the inner diameter is commonly 8.0 or more.

When vitreous examples have been found in intact burials they were not on mummies: at Thebes, the child Amenhotep had two in the coffin near his head. Kha had two in a basket (Schiaparelli 1927: 77), Neferkhawet had three. One must also note the quantity of the vitreous bangles in the robbed royal tombs (four complete and pieces of twenty with Amenhotep II, thirteen complete and seventy-five pieces with Tuthmosis IV). Maiherpri’s four examples were stacked and tied with linen, the inner two examples tied further. Rings of this and other types have been found at Hathor shrines (Pinch 1993: 273f.).

Gold *aaui* given as rewards, to be worn on the upper arm, were the shape of ring-ingots; perhaps the vitreous examples refer to ingots. Gold ingots came from the south, and it may, in addition, be significant that bangles are an item of Nubian personal adornment. Faience, ivory or bone, and stone examples were commonly found at Kerma (Reisner 1923: 174f., 254–6), and the Qurna lady wore gold examples below the elbow, shaped as “rods bent into a circle” (Erimen et al. 2000: 37f.).

**44 EGYPTIAN BLUE BANGLE/INGOT**

Fig. 121 (lower right)  
MMA 26.8.140 (P 77–80).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Egyptian blue.

DIMENSIONS Exterior Diam 10.0, interior Diam 8.3, Th 1.4.

CONDITION Complete.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 15b (lower left).

**45 FAIENCE BANGLE/INGOT**

Fig. 121 (lower left)  
MMA 26.8.141 (P 77–80).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Faience.

DIMENSIONS Exterior Diam 10.3, interior Diam 8.0, Th 1.5.

CONDITION Mended from three pieces.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 15b (lower right).

## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

### 46 FAIENCE BANGLE/INGOT

Fig. 121 (upper right)

MMA 26.8.142 (P 77–80).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Faience.

DIMENSIONS Exterior Diam 10.6, interior Diam 8.6, Th 1.5.

CONDITION Mended from several pieces.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 15b (upper left).

### 47 FAIENCE BANGLE/INGOT

Fig. 121 (upper left)

MMA 26.8.143 (P 77–80).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Faience.

DIMENSIONS Exterior Diam 10.9, interior Diam 8.6, Th 1.6.

CONDITION Mended from four pieces.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 15b (upper right).

## VESSELS AND LIDS

### OINTMENT STORAGE JARS AND LIDS

**Ointment jar (48), shoulder jars (49–52), globular jars (53–6), inscribed piriform jars (57–64), non-inscribed piriform jars (65–73), serpentinite piriform jars and jug (74–8), foreign-derived shapes (79–84), lids (85–6);** see pp. 204–12

#### *Provenance*

A fragmentary serpentinite rim was found by Chaban in the tomb (p. 31) and a handle of the same material by the MMA in the Pit (p. 75).

All examples below have the standard early provenance. In addition, five have Tuthmoside inscriptions and were recorded by Carter at Luxor in the autumn of 1916 with the Wady Qurud provenance (pp. 48–9, 51). These include one for Hatshepsut and three for Tuthmosis III (51, 53–4, 62). Nine others have the name of Tuthmosis III, and one the name of Hatshepsut as royal wife. In general, the inscribed Tuthmosis III vessels have a better claim to the tomb than the Hatshepsut vessel, but—as pointed out above—the Hatshepsut jar 54 came to light shortly after the robbery and the occurrence of royal-name vessels in later tombs is well known (Lilyquist 1995a: 3).

In addition to the fourteen inscribed vessels, there are twenty uninscribed jars of high quality and of Tuthmoside date that are here assigned to the tomb. Two of the travertine examples were purchased in Cairo with a Wady Qurud provenance (48, 80, p. 111). The others were acquired in Luxor and include piriform jars and foreign-derived shapes, five of serpentinite. Several of these vessels were also documented by Carter in the Fall of 1916 (pp. 48, 50–1): five of travertine (50, 66, 79, 81, 84), lids from such vessels, and a serpentinite piriform jar (74). Two of the piriform travertine examples originally had hieratic inscriptions, but these were unfortunately washed off (67, 73). It is the author's judgment of typology, physical characteristics, and quality that puts uninscribed vessels in this chapter rather than in Chapter 6 where four jars and four lids are assigned (166–9, 170–3). A krater with strap handles noted by Winlock (1948: 12, 54, 63) is not catalogued: P 27, of travertine, H 17.5, broken and restored (p. 112).

Concerning MMA lids, four of travertine and three of serpentinite in the Catalogue were acquired in 1919, but they were not specifically linked with a particular vessel. Their association with particular jars in the MMA then and now is based on physical characteristics.

#### *Previous assessment*

Winlock believed that the foreign-derived shapes were part of a wine service; that is, they were decanters to fill small precious vessels he termed drinking cups (1948: 62f.). He believed the remaining large stone jars were containers for “cleansing cream,” following the analyses of contents from 56 and 81 by Hans T. Clarke (Winlock 1948: 53, 67: “mixtures of animal or vegetable oils and lime [or possibly chalk]).”

#### *Current understanding*

All vessels here are considered ointment storage jars because of the remains within them and the fact that ointment was found in stone vessels of similar shapes at Saqqara (Petrie 1937: 13 no. 883; Bissing 1904: CG 18734; Lilyquist 1995a: no. 93) and in the tombs of Maiherpri (Daressy 1902: 12f. nos. 24007–8), Kha (Schiaparelli 1927: figs. 88, 90, 120, 138–40), Yuya and Tuya (Quibell 1908: CG 51105–6), and Tutankhamun (El-Khouli et al. 1993: 5–33). Although ointment no doubt arrived in Egypt and was transported within Egypt in pottery, stone containers would have been preferred for the tomb.

## Chapter 5

Concerning certain vessels as a wine service, Winlock stated that “in all but one . . . the deposit which remained consisted of a thin sediment like that . . . of wine.” The exception he meant was the amphora of Canaanite shape, **79**; here he suggested that the ointment within had been put there by mistake (1948: 63, 67). In fact, Hans Clarke identified ointment in a second vessel, krater **81**; furthermore, other fancy shapes Winlock thought part of a wine service also had ointment staining or residue (**80**, **82–3**). The error was perhaps initiated by Winlock’s interpretation of the gold vessels as drinking cups.

Shedrinsky determined that the contents of six storage jars below were fatty acids present as calcium salts, the product of a reaction between the original oils—or more precisely, the fatty acids of the oils that are formed as a result of hydrolysis—and the calcium carbonate of the jars (Shedrinsky et al. 1991: 235–7; cf. Winlock 1948: 67; the analyses of Wadsten for the contents of **58** and **61** were misguided). It should parenthetically be noted that Winlock’s chemist, Hans Clarke, assumed “Egyptian alabaster” to be calcium sulfate, not having been informed that “Egyptian alabaster” conventionally refers to calcium carbonate. He unwittingly created the idea that lime was intentionally mixed with oils by the Egyptians, a misconception still alive in the literature. In Shedrinsky’s analyses, there was some small indication that the fatty material was vegetable rather than animal. Vegetable oils and animal fats differ chemically in the degree of saturation of their fatty acids, and differ from resins (derived from trees and shrubs) as well as bitumen (a petroleum product), as explained recently in Serpico 2000 and Serpico and White 2000. As all four of these organic groups could be used to help soften, emolliate, or perfume the body, and as none of the residues in the vessels published here was definitively analyzed, the term “ointment” will be used for all contents in a general way.

Some vessels below have extensive remains of ointment, occasionally still soft. Others have reasonable traces, and a few, no remains at all although the stone surfaces are always weathered as if there had been contents. Lids too are occasionally free of ointment, perhaps because cloth liners were used. Two jars without content remains were broken into pieces at one point (**63**, **71**), and three of the five serpentinite vessels show no appreciable amount of ointment (**75–7**). Perhaps the broken jars were cleaned before reassembly while the other jars originally contained non-viscous material. In jars with extensive remains of ointment, there are sometimes gouges in the substance around the orifice, made with a tool (**61–2**, **64**, **66**, **69**). As Wady DI is thought to have been intact until 1916, these gouges are most likely the traces of 20th century AD craftsmen who retrieved ointment to coat modern vessels and jewelry (see p. 278).

Typological features of the vessels below are standard for the period. For comparative examples and a discussion of various vessel features, see B. Williams (1992: 94f., on vessel characteristics) and Lilyquist (1995a, especially pp. 4–12 on shapes and sizes, 12–4 on materials and workmanship, and 15–8 on inscription content and format; Lilyquist 1997b). For globular vessels **53–6** in particular, see Lilyquist (1995a: 4), Lansing and Hayes (1937: fig. 44), Schiaparelli (1927: fig. 140), and Wreszinski (1935: pl. 33a–b nos. 40 [gold], 124 [silver], 193 [black granite], 201 [travertine]). For piriform jars **57–78**, see N. G. Davies (1922–23[1]: pl. 23), Wreszinski (1935: pl. 33a–b nos. 200, 202), and Lilyquist (1995a: 7–9). For the amphora of Canaanite type (**79**), see Lilyquist (1995a: 7, no. 95), and for slightly later examples, Schiaparelli (1927: fig. 120) and Zivie (1990: 128f). For the krater with strap handles (**80–2**), see Lilyquist (1995a: 9f. and no. 95); it is termed “long-necked flask with horizontal loop handles” by B. Aston (1994: 152). (A general parallel occurs in the gold vessels thought modern (**269–71**), where the shape is termed “composite jar on pedestal foot,” a term derived from pottery studies.) For the jug shape (**83–4**), see Lilyquist (1995a: 6f).

Including five variously shaped vessels not catalogued (P 25, 27–8, 63–4, see p. 112), a total of thirty-seven travertine ointment vessels are here assigned to the tomb, despite the fact that fragments of such were not excavated. Chaban found a fragmentary serpentinite rim (p. 44), and a handle of that material was excavated by the MMA in the Pit (p. 108). Five jars below are of serpentinite, and two additional examples were reported (P 26, 65, see p. 112); four of the serpentinite jars below have inscriptions now considered modern (see Chap. 7, Cats. **245–8**). For representations of colored stone or glass piriform vessels, see N. Davies (1915: pl. 24) and N. G. Davies (1930[1]: 29 nos. 72–3, pl. 20). The rocks of **74–5** appear similar, likewise the rocks of **77–8**.

Regarding size, while Tutankhamun had vessels that were comparable to those below, most of his examples—as in the tombs of Hatshepsut and Maiherpri—were much larger. Interestingly, four travertine piriform jars are approximately 21.0 high: **59–60**, example on p. 48, and P 25 (lost in 1919, see p. 112).

Lids of jars, especially for ointment storage, were fitted by the Museum staff as best it could. Those associations have been left except where they did not seem probable. The two stray lids **85–6** may be for storage jars, but a less convincing case could be made for them than for those placed with the jars.

### 48 LARGE OINTMENT JAR

Fig. 122

MMA 26.8.1a, b (P 177).

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Travertine: crystalline lid, crinkle-lined body.

DIMENSIONS H 17.4, rim Diam 14.4.

MANUFACTURE Quality very high. Lid diameter (13.9) smaller than the rim’s, and the diameter of the “plug” (6.9) considerably smaller than the mouth opening (Diam, 11.5). However, same stone type.

## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

CONDITION Intact. Weathering within but no traces of ointment.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 56, pl. 34 (right).

### 49 INSCRIBED SHOULDER JAR IN MMA

Fig. 123

MMA 26.8.15a, b (P 14), 26.8.20c (P 59).

SOURCE Purchases, Fletcher Fund, 1919–1920.

MATERIALS Crystalline travertine jar, limestone lid.

DIMENSIONS Jar H 23.5, Diam 17.5; lid H 1.8, Diam 6.0.

MANUFACTURE *Pt* and certain other signs in upper two-thirds of inscription carved deeply, sometimes obliterating scribed lines. Lid roughly shaped; may not belong although lack of residue matches jar's neck.

INSCRIPTION "Good god (*mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*), son of Ra (*dḥwty-ms nfr-hpr*), given life forever."

CONDITION Mended from a number of pieces, lip partially restored. Hardened reddish ointment within, little staining on mouth. Lid, originally on 70, has fault running through the stone but is intact; chips around edges; no ointment staining.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 54, pl. 32c; Lilyquist 1995a: no. 74.

### 50 SHOULDER JAR REPORTED BY CARTER

Fig. 20 (bottom)

Location unknown.

MATERIAL Travertine.

DIMENSIONS H ca. 28.0.

CONDITION "Mended and touched up" (Carter, Doc. 4, p. 51).

### 51 ANOTHER INSCRIBED SHOULDER JAR REPORTED BY CARTER

Fig. 21 (third from top)

Location unknown.

SOURCE "With Native Gourna" (Carter, Doc. 4).

MATERIAL Travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 16.0.

INSCRIPTION "Good god (*mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*), son of Ra (*dḥwty-ms nfr-hpr*), beloved of Amun, given life forever; *hmw* [measure] 3½."

CONDITION "Broken and much cracked . . . full of some fatty substance" (Carter loc. cit.).

### 52 INSCRIBED SHOULDER JAR PUBLISHED BY SOBHY

Fig. 124

Location unknown.

SOURCE "Bought from a well-known dealer in antiquities at Luxor in the winter of 1922" (Sobhy 1924).

MATERIAL Travertine.

DIMENSIONS "1500 c.c. when filled up to the root of the neck" (Sobhy loc. cit.).

MANUFACTURE Very similar to 51.

INSCRIPTION Two framed columns side by side: "good god (*mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*), son of Ra (*dḥwty-ms nfr-hpr*), beloved of Amun, given life forever." A third frame below, "*hmw*, 3½."

CONDITION Vertical crack. Ointment on exterior, "a certain amount of dry resinous material" within.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Sobhy 1924; Lilyquist 1995a: no. 73.

53 GLOBULAR JAR NAMING TUTHMOSIS III, WITH LID  
Figs. 21 (second from top, without lid), 125, 126 (left)  
MMA 18.8.13a, b (P 162).

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1917.

MATERIAL Crystalline travertine.

DIMENSIONS Jar H 18.0, Diam 21.5; lid H 1.2, Diam 7.2.

MANUFACTURE Jar well shaped and polished; inscription not plumb, gouged like 64, and without traces of paint. Lid flat on top, slightly rounded below; diameter slightly less than mouth diameter of vessel.

INSCRIPTION Standard Tuthmosis III type (see Lilyquist 1995a: 15, no. 74) with *pt*-sign above. Below frame, "*hnmw*, 5½, *ntry* [divine]."

CONDITION A good deal of ointment within, viscous in consistency with gouge marks in it; matches traces on rim. Cracks near base, with some ointment seeping through; sample studied by Shedrinsky. Ancient abrasion on back side. Lid, not acquired with jar, has one edge missing; traces of ointment underneath, especially along edge.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 11, 53–7, pl. 31d; Lilyquist 1995a: no. 76.

### 54 GLOBULAR JAR NAMING HATSHEPSUT

Figs. 21 (top), 126 (second from left), 127a

MMA 18.8.15 (P164).

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1917.

MATERIAL Travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 12.3, Diam 13.0; given a height of 11.5 in Document 4 (p. 51).

MANUFACTURE Nicely shaped and smoothed; inscription lightly incised, no traces of paint. Lid 85 originally placed here.

INSCRIPTION Frame with *pt*-sign at top: "king's daughter, king's sister, god's wife, great royal wife (*h3t-špswt*), living and enduring like Ra forever."

CONDITION Cracks; only two sections of rim preserved, and they, once dislodged, are now rejoined. Hardened ointment on inner sides and bottom.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 11, 53–7, pl. 32a; Hayes 1959b: 80, fig. 43; Lilyquist 1995a: no. 60.

### 55 LIGHT-TONED GLOBULAR JAR NAMING TUTHMOSIS III, WITH LID

Figs. 126 (second from right), 127b

MMA 26.8.21a, b (P 60).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Fine-grained translucent and crystalline travertine.

DIMENSIONS Jar H 19.0, Diam 21.8; lid H 1.1, Diam 7.3.

MANUFACTURE Vessel beautifully symmetrical and polished, but inscription gouged, and little or no care taken with *pt*-sign; no traces of color. Lid flat above, slightly rounded below.

INSCRIPTION Standard inscription of Tuthmosis III but impossible to make out signs at bottom of nomen, due to damage.

CONDITION Vertical crack through entire vessel; traces of modern glue indicate item was in two pieces, stone rough and stained in this area. Thin layer of ointment and dirt within. Lid slightly chipped at edges; residue of ointment on underside matches traces on mouth of jar although lid a little large.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 53–7; Lilyquist 1995a: no. 78.

## Chapter 5

### 56 STAINED GLOBULAR JAR NAMING TUTHMOSIS III, WITH LID

Figs. 126 (right), 127c  
MMA 26.8.19a, b (P 58).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Jar, crystalline travertine with strong “looped” banding. Lid, limestone.

DIMENSIONS Jar H 20.0, Diam 21.0; lid H 0.8, Diam 5.9.

MANUFACTURE Vessel not completely symmetrical; smoothed rather than highly polished. Inscription well made; no traces of paint. *Pt*-sign and some of hieroglyphs gouged, remainder incised. Lid does not fit flush.

INSCRIPTION Standard Tuthmosis III type, *pt*-sign at top.

CONDITION Staining on lower part of vessel, especially on one side. Hardened ointment within, with tool scratches near top. Lid edges chipped in antiquity; ointment layer on underside matches that in mouth of jar. Clarke analyzed the ointment (Winlock 1948), as did Shedrinsky et al. (1991).

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 53–7, 67, pl. 32d; Lilyquist 1995a: no. 79.

### 57 PIRIFORM JAR NAMING HATSHEPSUT

Fig. 128a  
MMA 26.8.8a (P 7).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 23.0.

MANUFACTURE Vessel smoothed on exterior; drill holes in bottom of interior very pronounced. Inscription incised, no paint. Formerly fitted with lid 85.

INSCRIPTION “God’s wife, king’s great wife, his beloved, mistress of the two lands (*ḥ3t-špswt*) living.”

CONDITION Weathering stains and thin layer of residue inside.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 55, pl. 32b; Lilyquist 1995a: no. 58.

### 58 PHILIP’S PIRIFORM JAR NAMING TUTHMOSIS III, WITH LID

Fig. 128b  
Stockholm Medelhavsmuseet, MME 1957:2.

SOURCE Hoffman Philip; Joseph Brummer; Mrs. Joseph Brummer.

MATERIAL Travertine.

DIMENSIONS Jar H 21.0, Diam 19.0; rim Diam 14.4; lid H 1.9, Diam 6.5.

MANUFACTURE Well shaped and polished; inscription roughly gouged out and filled with blue pigment.

INSCRIPTION Standard.

CONDITION Ointment within.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 12, 54f. (where it is mistakenly said that a *hnnw*-measure of capacity is present); Parke-Bernet Galleries 1949: lot 52; Peterson 1978; Wadsten 1978; Lilyquist 1995a: no. 80.

### 59 CALLENDER’S PIRIFORM JAR NAMING TUTHMOSIS III, WITH LID

Fig. 128c  
American private collection.

SOURCE “Natives of Kurneh,” “a native” (Winlock 1948: 11f., 54); A. R. Callender, 1919; Minneapolis Institute of Arts 27.12.8, gift of Edward S. Harkness; Lannan Foundation.

MATERIAL Crystalline travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 21.5, Diam 14.7.

MANUFACTURE Very well shaped and polished; line incised where neck joins body. Inscription somewhat rough; double lines for cartouche, no *pt*-ticks, top of frame a thickened line. Lid flat above, rounded below.

INSCRIPTION As 56.

CONDITION Almost completely full of hardened ointment; damage on base.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Minneapolis Institute of Arts 1928: 22, 24; Winlock 1948: 11f., 54; Parke-Bernet Galleries 1958: lot 105; Sotheby Parke-Bernet Galleries 1979: lot 260; Lilyquist 1995a: no. 85.

### 60 HASSAN PIRIFORM JAR NAMING TUTHMOSIS III, WITH LID

Fig. 20 (top)  
Present location unknown.

SOURCE Jusef Hassan, Oct. 11, 1916.

MATERIAL Travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 21.0.

MANUFACTURE Thought to be different from 59 because this entry was on the art market with a dealer.

INSCRIPTION Prenomen and nomen of Tuthmosis III (Carter, Doc. 4, p. 48).

### 61 SINGLE-COLUMN INSCRIBED PIRIFORM JAR NAMING TUTHMOSIS III, WITH LID

Figs. 129a, 130c (second from left)  
MMA 26.8.6a, b (P 5).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Finely banded travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 24.0, Diam 20.0.

MANUFACTURE Well-shaped and beautifully polished body; tool marks still evident on neck, rim smoothed but not polished. Signs incised roughly, filled with green pigment; no frame. Lid flat on top, rounded below; fits vessel well.

INSCRIPTION “Good god (*mn-ḥpr-r*), given life; *hnnw*, 5.”

CONDITION Intact; one crack originating from base. Area below *hnnw* abraded, not as neatly as on drawing given here. Hardened ointment on sides and bottom, about one-quarter full and studied by Shedrinsky; tool marks in it. Lid has ring left by ointment on underside, consistent with traces in jar mouth.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 53–7, pl. 31c; Wadsten 1981; Lilyquist 1995a: no. 89.

### 62 PIRIFORM JAR NAMING TUTHMOSIS III

Figs. 23 (top), 129b, 130c (second from right)  
MMA 18.8.14a (P 163).

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1917.

MATERIAL Variegated travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 23.8, Diam 20.0.

MANUFACTURE Very well shaped; body polished, rim smoothed. Inscription panel slightly askew, incised and filled with blue pigment. Vessel quality and inscription rendering comparable to 64. Lid 170 formerly placed here.

INSCRIPTION Simple frame encloses standard inscription for Tuthmosis III (minus *dī* <sup>c</sup>*nh* *dt*). Below frame, *hnnw* 4½.

CONDITION Intact. About half filled with soft ointment; severe gouging around mouth.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 11, 53–7, pl. 31b; Wadsten 1981; Shedrinsky et al. 1991; Lilyquist 1995a: no. 82.

## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

**63** WIDE-NECKED PIRIFORM JAR NAMING TUTHMOSIS III  
Figs 130a, 130c (left)  
MMA 66.99.83.

SOURCE Hoffman Philip; Joseph Brummer; Albert Gallatin. MMA Purchase, Fletcher Fund and The Guide Foundation Inc. Gift, 1966.

MATERIAL Crystalline travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 21.0, Diam 19.5.

MANUFACTURE Very large mouth (Diam, 7.5), differs from examples **68–9**, **71**, **73** in being cut straight down for approximately 6.0, rather than angling inward at least for part of the mouth opening. Well shaped, polish remaining on some fragments. Inscription somewhat skewed; no trace of color.

INSCRIPTION Frame with *pt*-sign encloses a standard inscription naming Tuthmosis III. Below the frame, “*hmnw*, 6,” and below that, “*ntyw*,” a gum resin (Helck 1963: 512f.; Serpico 2000: 438).

CONDITION Mended from many pieces; two parts of rim and a bit of base missing. No ointment residue, but inside weathered and brownish, probably from such material.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 12, 54f.; Parke-Bernet Galleries 1949: lot 51; Cooney 1953: no. 18; Lilyquist 1995a: no. 84.

**64** RIMLESS PIRIFORM JAR NAMING TUTHMOSIS III  
Figs. 130b, 130c (right)  
MMA 26.8.20a (P 59).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 23.0, Diam 19.5.

MANUFACTURE Jar is very well shaped and polished; thickness of stone at broken edge 0.3, no doubt the reason the rim is now missing. Inscription broadly chiseled; signs filled with blue pigment. Winlock understood that the jar did not belong with rim **70**, but they were put together at a subsequent date.

INSCRIPTION Box frame with standard inscription naming Tuthmosis III; below it, “*hmnw*, 6½.”

CONDITION Vertical crack; staining in that area from lying on that surface. Hardened ointment inside on sides and base; about one-third full, with gouge marks.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 53–7, pl. 31e; Lilyquist 1995a: no. 91.

**65** PIRIFORM JAR WITH LID  
Figs. 131c, 132 (third from left)  
MMA 26.8.7a, b (P 6).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Crystalline travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 22.5, Diam 20.3.

MANUFACTURE Well shaped, smoothed, and polished. Lid flat on top, rounded below.

CONDITION Large diagonal crack in body; rim piece broken off and replaced, only a small chip missing; modern chip in lip also. Almost completely filled with broken, hardened ointment. Lid chipped on sides, anciently, and stained with ointment matching contents.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 53–7.

**66** TALLER PIRIFORM JAR  
Figs. 22 (bottom), 131b, 132 (second from right)  
MMA 18.8.16 (P 165).

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1917.

MATERIAL Travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 27.0, Diam 21.5.

MANUFACTURE Exterior beautifully shaped and polished; mouth does not appear smoothed. Lid **86** originally placed with jar.

CONDITION Intact. A few gouges under rim and on neck, and one on top of rim; these are presumably tool marks not obliterated in the finishing of the vessel rather than marks left from an attempt to break off the rim. Soft ointment on sides and bottom inside jar, that at bottom seemingly still viscous; gouge marks.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 11, 53–7.

**67** FORMER MMA PIRIFORM JAR WITH LID  
Fig. 131a

Lowe Art Museum 58.105.009 (University of Miami at Coral Gables, Florida).

SOURCE MMA 26.8.11 (P 10), Purchase Fletcher Fund, 1919; deaccessioned 1956.

MATERIAL Travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 20.2, Diam 16 cm.

INSCRIPTION Originally had ink hieratic inscription of capacity, mistakenly cleaned off by Museum in 1920.

CONDITION Rim repair (Coral Gables information).

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 53–7.

**68** WIDE-BASED PIRIFORM JAR  
Figs. 131f, 132 (second from left)  
MMA 1987.103, formerly 26.8.22a (P 61).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919–20; deaccessioned 1956; purchase, Rogers Fund, 1987.

MATERIAL Crystalline travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 20.5, Diam 20.0.

MANUFACTURE Well shaped and smoothed.

CONDITION Several vertical cracks; almost half the rim missing. Thin layer of hardened ointment on interior sides and bottom.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 53–7.

**69** PIRIFORM JAR WITH HIGH NECK, WITH LID  
Figs. 131d, 132 (right)  
MMA 26.8.23a, b (P 62).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Crystalline travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 20.2, Diam 19.0.

MANUFACTURE Jar nicely shaped and polished, especially on body. Lid flat on top, rounded below, fits jar well.

INSCRIPTION Thought to be modern; see **250**.

CONDITION Horizontal fissures below the inscription, and scattered areas of abrasion; piece of lip missing. Hardened ointment on inner sides and bottom, tool marks. Lid, light residue of ointment on underside.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 53–7, pl. 31a; Lilyquist 1995a: no. 83.



**70 RIM AND NECK OF PIRIFORM JAR**

Figs. 131e, 132 (foreground right)

MMA 26.8.20b (P 59).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Travertine.

DIMENSIONS Rim Diam 16.1.

MAINTENANCE Very well shaped and smoothed.

CONDITION Rim probably separated from jar because of heaviness of contents and thinness of wall at neck (about 0.4). Hardened ointment in mouth; residue on upper surface and staining on lower.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 53–7, pl. 31e, where it is incorrectly joined to 64.

**71 THIN PIRIFORM JAR WITH LID**

Figs. 131h, 132 (left)

MMA 26.8.10a, b (P 9).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 21.3, Diam 13.0.

MANUFACTURE Well shaped and beautifully polished. Lid flat on top, rounded below but with the tip flattened.

INSCRIPTION Thought to be modern, see 249.

CONDITION Split vertically in two and mended; a quarter of the neck and rim present. Interior clean of ointment but weathered. Lid lacks part of edge, matches rim damage.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 53–7.

**72 TALLEST PIRIFORM JAR, WITH LID**

Figs. 131i, 132 (center)

MMA 26.8.5a, b (P 4).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Variegated travertine.

DIMENSIONS Jar H 33.5, Diam 20.5; lid H 0.4, maximum Diam 5.8.

MANUFACTURE Slightly asymmetric body, with neck askew; well polished. Lid shallow but fits opening, with traces of ointment consistent with shape of jar's mouth.

CONDITION Crack running from base upward; certain amount of brown staining; two areas of rim missing. Almost completely filled with hardened ointment. Lid edges chipped anciently and modernly; ointment residue on lower surface.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 53–7, pl. 34 (center).

**73 PIRIFORM JAR**

Figs. 131k, 132 (third from right)

MMA 26.8.9a (P 8).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 22.3, Diam 16.0.

MANUFACTURE Well shaped and smoothed. Jar previously placed with lid 86.

INSCRIPTION Originally an ink hieratic inscription, mistakenly cleaned off by Museum in 1920.

CONDITION Piece of rim missing. Interior sides and bottom have hardened ointment, some broken into pieces; about one-third of contents present.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 53–7.

**74 LIGHT BROWN PIRIFORM JAR**

Figs. 23 (bottom), 133 (left), 134a

MMA 18.8.17a (P 166).

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1917.

MATERIAL Light brown serpentinite with black veining.

DIMENSIONS H 20.0, Diam 15.2.

MANUFACTURE Nicely shaped and polished, even on base; mouth opening shows fine horizontal drill lines. Not acquired with a lid; lid 172, of cosmetic-jar type, originally placed here.

CONDITION Some discoloration and pitting due to weathering on exterior; rim broken and mended, one piece missing. Thin deposits of ointment on sides and bottom.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 11, 53–7.

**75 MAROON-COLORED PIRIFORM JAR**

Figs. 133 (second from left), 134b

MMA 26.8.12 (P 11).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Dark maroon serpentinite with black and camel veining.

DIMENSIONS H 21.8, Diam 15.2.

MANUFACTURE Well shaped and highly polished. Interior shows fine grooves of drill, with circular ridge in bottom and a small depressed hole in its center. See lid 172.

INSCRIPTION Considered modern, see 245.

CONDITION Several cracks; piece of rim perhaps formerly separated; one fill. Interior weathered but without traces of ointment.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 53–7, pl. 33c.

**76 GREEN PIRIFORM JAR WITH LID**

Figs. 133 (right), 134c

MMA 26.8.14a, b (P 13).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Green and pink serpentinite.

DIMENSIONS Jar H 20.0, Diam 14.5; lid H 1.4, Diam 5.6.

MANUFACTURE Jar very well shaped and polished, fine horizontal drill grooves in mouth and on interior walls. Lid flat above, angled in below, with flat bottom; completely polished; fit in mouth good.

INSCRIPTION Considered modern, see 246.

CONDITION Some pitting on exterior due to weathering; one area of loss; probably completely broken and mended. Stain on sides of interior, residue at bottom. Lid edges slightly chipped, ointment stained on underside.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 53–7, pl. 33a.

**77 DARK MAROON PIRIFORM JUG**

Figs. 133 (second from right), 134d

MMA 26.8.16a (P 17).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Dark maroon serpentinite with light green and black horizontal veining.

DIMENSIONS H 22.5, Diam 15.2.

MANUFACTURE Well shaped and polished body, including base; handle summarily formed with no decoration at base; mouth with fine horizontal drill grooves.

Inscription placed low and neither at front nor side. Lid 171 previously placed with this jar.

INSCRIPTION Considered modern, see 247.

CONDITION Midsection of handle and a part of rim missing. Not clear if weathering and discoloration inside are due to ointment or not.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 53–7, pl. 33d; Hayes 1959b: 140, fig. 76.

## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

### 78 DARK GREEN PIRIFORM JAR

Figs. 133 (center), 134e  
MMA 26.8.13 (P 12).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Greenish black serpentinite with little veining.

DIMENSIONS H 20.5, Diam 15.5.

MANUFACTURE Symmetrical and nicely polished, including base. Mouth shows fine circular grooves of drill.

INSCRIPTION Considered modern, see 248.

CONDITION Rim and mouth clean, hardened ointment on sides and in bottom. Exterior of base brown from contents. Chips and one section of rim missing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 53–7, pl. 33b.

### 79 AMPHORA OF CANAANITE SHAPE

Figs. 22 (middle), 135a, 135g (center)  
MMA 18.8.19 (P 168).

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1917.

MATERIAL Travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 24.5, Diam 14.2.

MANUFACTURE Nicely shaped and polished, although one handle slightly lower than other and neck not polished. Wall between handle loops still shows gouge of chisel.

CONDITION One crack, with ointment staining; staining above stand. More than three-quarters full of hardened ointment.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 11, 63, pl. 37 (lower left).

### 80 SMALL KRATER WITH STRAP HANDLES

Figs. 135c, 135g (right)  
MMA 18.8.18 (P 178).

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Crystalline and banded travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 17.8, Diam 12.8.

MANUFACTURE Well shaped and smoothed, although handles slightly cocked to viewer's right when facing them straight on. Ring foot. See 173.

CONDITION Top of one handle broken off and rejoined; cracks in other handle. Some ointment discoloration at neck base, near rim, and at bottom of jar. Dried ointment layer within body, traces on neck.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 11, 63, pl. 37 (upper left).

### 81 LARGE KRATER WITH STRAP HANDLES

Figs. 22 (top), 135d, 135g (second from left)  
MMA 26.8.2 (P 167)

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1917.

MATERIAL Crystalline and banded travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 22.8, Diam 17.0.

MANUFACTURE Well shaped, smoothed, and polished, although one handle is slightly asymmetric. Handles more rounded in cross section than those of 80, 82. Ring foot, with drill hole in center.

CONDITION Staining on exterior; a hole with staining around it centered on wall above point where loops of one handle join. A comparable spot near the other handle has accretion on the surface, as if it were a cement plug to fill a similar hole. In both instances, the vase maker did not control the thickness of the wall during manufacture. Hardened ointment on interior of body and traces up to rim, analyzed by Shedrinsky.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 63, 67, pl. 37 (upper right).

### 82 FRAGMENTARY KRATER WITH STRAP HANDLES

Figs. 135e, 135g (left)  
MMA 26.8.17 (P 18).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Crystalline travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 14.4, Diam 14.0.

MANUFACTURE Well shaped; broad ring foot; one handle noticeably lower than the other.

CONDITION Neck, rim, top of one handle missing; remainder mended from pieces. Thinness of wall at neck (0.3) probably accounts for breakage. Interior clean, but with weathering and ointment staining.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 63.

### 83 MMA JUG

Figs. 135b, 135g (second from right)  
MMA 26.8.18 (P 19).

SOURCE Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Travertine with large crystals.

DIMENSIONS H 20.7, Diam 15.0.

MANUFACTURE Well shaped and smoothed but with the carved details rather soft. Very broad ring foot. See lid 173.

CONDITION Intact. Hardened ointment in bottom; wall of neck weathered.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 63, pl. 37 (lower right).

### 84 PHILIP JUG

Figs. 20 (bottom left), 135f

Elsa and Dr. Pierre Henri Bloch-Diener Collection, Bern.

SOURCE Hoffman Philip (see Doc. 22, p. 37); Ernest Brummer.

MATERIAL Travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 29.2 (Page-Gasser).

CONDITION Cracks visible in photograph.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Sotheby & Co 1964: lot 6; Galerie Koller 1979: lot 510; Page-Gasser 1997.

### 85 FLATTENED STORAGE JAR LID

Figs. 131g, 132 (foreground left)  
MMA 26.8.8b (P 7).

SOURCE Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Finely banded travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 1.2, Diam 5.0.

MANUFACTURE Top flat, bottom rounded with tip flattened. Well shaped and smoothed. Originally placed on 54 and then 57. Considerably smaller than opening of 57, is of different stone, and lacks traces of ointment. However, these characteristics do not prevent the lid from belonging to that jar.

CONDITION Small chip on edge; no traces of ointment.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 54.

### 86 ROUNDED STORAGE JAR LID

Figs. 131j, 132 (foreground, second from left)  
MMA 26.8.9b (P 165).

SOURCE Rogers Fund, 1917.

MATERIAL Travertine.

DIMENSIONS Greatest Diam 6.0.

MANUFACTURE Flat on top, rounded below.

CONDITION Coated with thin brown ointment. Originally placed with piriform jars 66 and 73. Ointment residue does not match that of 73; could match that of 66 or 62 but their mouths are larger.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 54.

## PRECIOUS VESSELS AND LIDS

**Ointment jars (87–8), kohl jars (89–91), piriform jar (92), wide-necked jars with pedestal foot (93–4), bottles (95–6), lotiform vessel (97), lids (98–9); see pp. 214–9**

*Provenance*

A piece of gold foil that could have been trim for a cosmetic vessel or lid was found by Chaban in the tomb (Fig. 16a [left], p. 44).

Carter recorded the lid and foot of ointment jar **87** and neck of bottle **96** in 1916 (pp. 48f.). The travertine lotiform vessel **97** was bought by Carter for Carnarvon and was described by Carter in the Carnarvon catalogue (Carter 1907–22: 72 no. 1202, “Princess tomb Gabbanat el Qirûd”) and then in a list annotated by Lythgoe as the two packed objects at the time the MMA purchased the Carnarvon Collection (Carter 1926: 237 no. 1202, “Princess’ tomb Gabbânât el Qirûd”).

The remainder of precious vessels was purchased by the MMA on the international art market between 1919 and 1922 with a provenance of Wady Qurud. Eight have the name of Tuthmosis III on both jar and lid; an additional vessel and two lids also have his name. A kohl jar and fragment of same match the inscribed vessels in overall quality, preciousness of materials used, and modern history (**90–1**). Two further cosmetic jars could belong in this group but are uninscribed and less fine, thus have been placed in Chapter 6 (**174–5**).

*Previous assessment*

Winlock categorized twelve precious vessels as cosmetic jars, but the travertine lotiform **97** as “tableware” (Winlock 1939: fig. 4; 1948: 62, pl. 35b [right]), an interpretation followed elsewhere (N. Scott 1944: fig. 17; *Illustrated London News* 1945: 24; Hayes 1959b: 139f., fig. 77; MMA 1962: 15; N. Scott 1973: fig. 25; Kayser 1969: fig. 4; Lesko 1977: 42).

Winlock seemed to doubt a Wady Qurud provenance for the fragmentary green marble kohl jar **90** (1948: 51); he termed the material of the vitreous example **93** “green-glazed limestone” and thought the lower part had been restored (1948: 52); and he doubted that the lid of anhydrite jar **94** belonged, due to the discrepancy between the diameters of the lid’s stopper and jar’s rim (Winlock 1948: 51). Finally, he placed lids **98–9** with jars **174–5** but later separated them.

The inscriptions of **87–9**, **92–7** were artificially highlighted in early publications.

*Current understanding*

Unlike the ointment storage jars above, none of the jars below has significant content remains except for the kohl jars. Some have proportionately wide mouths, probably for rather solid substances with slow evaporation rate; others have narrow necks, presumably for more viscous, volatile contents. (For these shapes as ointment or cosmetic containers, see Lilyquist 1995a: 2f.) They are termed precious vessels here as a convenience; the term is meant to connote special products, whether for beautification or health.

The use of rich materials is notable, but is paralleled in representations as well as extant examples (Lilyquist 1995a: 12–4). Small carnelian, lapis lazuli, and obsidian vessels are known from the Middle Kingdom sites of Dahshur, Lahun, and Byblos; a cobalt-colored glass lid of a kohl jar was in the tomb of Tuthmosis III (Lilyquist and Brill 1993: 25), and abundant glass vessels were in the tomb of Amenhotep II (Daressy 1902). The quantity of glass inlays and beads colored by cobalt and copper in Wady D1 supports the occurrence of the vitreous vessel **93**. For contemporary kohl jars in various materials, see Lilyquist (1995a: 4), Bruyère (1937: fig. 41), Jéquier (1933: 44f., pl. 10.15), Lansing and Hayes (1937: 28), Hayes (1935: fig. 13), and Carnarvon and Carter (1912: 85 no. 78).

Gold trim is especially common on contemporary kohl jars, but is also found on vessels from Kerma and Tutankhamun’s tomb, and on a small piriform jar in the Louvre (Lilyquist 1995a: 51; see also BM 32151, a hematite kohl pot, and Schlögel 1978, an “obsidian” kohl pot). Normally the gold is an edging only, but the entire neck of wide-necked jar **93** is covered. For a running spiral as decoration on the shoulder of kohl jars, as on **91**, see three glazed steatite examples (Bourriau 1982: no. 267; Kayser 1969: figs. 56–7).

Inscriptions like those on the lids and jars here are found on faience vessels of Tutankhamun (Carter 54rr, 620 [29 and 30]; T. Davis 1912: pl. 92) and otherwise on a variety of his objects: a glass persea fruit (Carter 585u, Lilyquist and Brill 1993: 25f.), red glass *tît*-amulet (Carter 46y, JdE 61792, GI TAA photo 225), and boomerangs (Carter 367o, 370v, 607f; cf. Beinlich and Saleh 1989, *passim*). A simple *mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>* in cartouche occurs on two glazed steatite *Tilapia*-shaped vessels naming Tuthmosis III (Lilyquist 1995a: nos. L, M). For similar inscriptions on non-excavated jewelry, see a lotus clasp and bangle in Leiden (H. Schneider 1987: no. 83; 1997).

Concerning shapes, the piriform shape is normally for ointment storage (Lilyquist 1995a: 7–9) but another example of the miniature size, as **92**, is known (Lilyquist 1995a: 51, Louvre N 1229).

## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

The wide-necked jar with pedestal foot is represented in large size holding wine (Brack and Brack 1980: 24 §2.1.2, 30 §c, fig. 10, pls. 4c and 29a), but the small-to-medium size, as 93–4, is a popular shape for ointments and resins in the mid-18th dynasty (Bourriau 1982: no. 123), and ointment has been found in some examples (Hayes 1935: 30; Schiaparelli 1927: fig. 88). On the origin of the shape, see Lilyquist 1995a: 9f.

No exact parallels for the bottle shapes 95–6 have been found. However, a wide, squat body is seen on a vessel from Deir el-Medina and a related shape names Tiye (Vandier d'Abbadie 1972: nos. 456, 566). Further, a low base with high neck characterizes a vessel in the tomb of Yuya and Tuya (T. Davis 1907: pl. 26). Functionally, the bottles below must have been for liquids, where evaporation would have been minimized by the thin neck.

On the lotiform shape 97, see Lilyquist (1995a: 5). Flatness of rim top suggests this vessel had a lid and was not for drinking. B. Aston uses the term “lotus goblet” for 97 although she illustrates a vessel with flaring walls and tapered rim (1994: 150f.). For a stone example with a bell form, thickened rim, and stoppered lid, see an example excavated at Saqqara that is thought to have held cosmetic (Kanawati et al. 1984: 61 §S83:52, 78, pl. 39).

On the discrepancy of stopper diameter to jar opening on 94, see examples from the tomb of Neferkhawet where a vessel has a lid diameter smaller than the rim's, and a stopper has a diameter noticeably smaller than that of the mouth (Hayes 1935: fig. 13).

### 87 TRAVERTINE OINTMENT JAR AND LID NAMING TUTHMOSIS III

Figs. 21 (bottom), 136a, 136b (left)  
MMA 26.8.33a, b.

SOURCE Lower part of vase: Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1922 (1917). Lid with upper part of vase: Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919 (P 30).

MATERIALS Banded travertine (vase and lid), gold.

DIMENSIONS Jar H without lid 11.4; lid Diam 9.35, Th 0.35.

MANUFACTURE Very evenly shaped and beautifully polished, including the flat base and lid. A strip of gold is on exterior wall, a second strip covering its upper edge and all of rim; gold on foot of vase applied similarly.

Lid virtually flat on underside, with only a slightly recessed border ca. 1.0 wide. Gold on edge is one piece, crimped on underside; no visible cuts in circumference.

Inscription good on jar, but summary and not centered on lid.

INSCRIPTIONS Jar, “good god (*mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*) given life.”  
Lid, “(*mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*).”

CONDITION Broken and mended although rim and base remain intact; two sections of wall restored. Clean, but weathered within and in patches on exterior. Lid: upper surface weathered, stained near rim.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 52 no. H, pl. 30.9; Lilyquist 1995a: no. O.

### 88 SERPENTINITE OINTMENT JAR AND LID NAMING TUTHMOSIS III

Figs. 136b (right), 136c  
MMA 26.8.36a, b (P 123).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIALS Serpentinite, gold.

DIMENSIONS Jar H without lid 10.7; lid Diam 8.7, Th, 0.4.

MANUFACTURE Beautifully shaped and polished, including base. Gold trim applied to jar and lid as on 87, again without evidence of vertical seam. Inscriptions on jar and lid sure.

INSCRIPTIONS Jar, “good god (*mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*), given life.” Lid, “(*mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*).”

CONDITION One edge of foot broken but held by gold.

White patches of weathering on exterior; interior clean but stained and weathered, the contents having left a white ring. Stain patterns of jar and lid match.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 52 no. I, pl. 30.5; Lilyquist 1995a: no. P.

### 89 VARIEGATED KOHL JAR AND LID NAMING TUTHMOSIS III

Figs. 137a, 137e (left jar)  
MMA 26.8.38a, b (P 125).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIALS Diorite(?), porphyritic; gold.

DIMENSIONS Jar H without lid 7.8; lid Diam 3.4, Th 0.7.

MANUFACTURE Line incised at base of neck, with slight swelling below it. Shoulder line of jar not always at same height. Exterior beautifully polished. Gold on rim of jar seems to have originally been one piece; that on foot applied in two pieces, as on 87. Lid polished on upper surface, smoothed below; plug polished but pitted.

Diameter of lid slightly greater than rim of jar. Gold on lid one piece, crimped and barely reaching to underside; ca. 3.0 of the circumference has no foil, perhaps indicating that such trim was usually applied in two pieces.

Inscriptions on jar and lid very well done.

INSCRIPTIONS Jar, “good god (*mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*), given life.”  
Lid, “(*mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*).”

CONDITION Some cracks in jar. Filled within 1.0 of top with hard gray substance, no doubt hardened kohl. Gold on jar rim is in place but torn, edges loose, one piece missing. Strip on lid torn, edges loose.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 51 no. A, pl. 30.4; Lilyquist 1995a: no. X.

### 90 GREEN KOHL JAR FRAGMENT, WITH LID Figs. 137c, 137e (left foreground) MMA 26.8.40a, b (P 73–4).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Green marble (Wheeler).

DIMENSIONS Diam of lid 5.2.

MANUFACTURE Channel where neck joins body. Break at neck undoubtedly due to thinness of wall; mouth not centered in neck. Lid's stopper smaller in diameter than that of jar's mouth.

CONDITION Both rim and lid broken and mended; piece missing from lid, rim chipped.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 51 no. C.

**91 BLACK KOHL JAR WITH SPIRAL**

Figs. 137d, 137e (center jar)

MMA 26.8.39 (P 122).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIALS Goethite (Frantz), gold.

DIMENSIONS H 6.9, Diam 5.3.

MANUFACTURE Beautifully shaped and polished, although not absolutely symmetrical due to flat spot on shoulder and neck being slightly askew. Undersides of rim and base smoothed. Groove at base of neck. One piece of gold on rim, barely covering edge; a section of about 1.3 missing, see lid of 89. One piece of gold on foot, torn where foot chipped. Encircling shoulder is a band constructed of two parallel wires with a running spiral between; not joined to body, diameter fits jar's shoulder.

CONDITION One point on shoulder flat, with three vertical scored lines. Chips at edge of rim, underneath it, and along foot. Interior filled within 0.5 of top with hard gray powder, no doubt kohl; depression concave.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 51 no. B, pl. 30.3.

**92 VARIEGATED PIRIFORM JAR AND LID NAMING**

TUTHMOSIS III

Figs. 137b, 137e (right jar)

MMA 26.8.37a, b (P 124).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIALS Diorite(?), porphyritic (Wheeler); gold.

DIMENSIONS Jar H 10.0, Diam 7.8; lid Diam 2.9, Th 0.6.

MANUFACTURE Jar beautifully shaped; groove at base of neck, remains of drill core in base. Lid has slightly conical shape, flattened on underside. Both jar and lid entirely polished, exterior of jar more so. Inscriptions on both made with sure hand. Rim of jar and lid both decorated by one piece of gold, burnished without evidence of a seam.

INSCRIPTIONS Jar, "good god (*mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*), given life." Lid, "*(mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>)*."

CONDITION Intact; several cracks in jar. Interior has thin traces of ointment.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 52j, pl. 30.6; Lilyquist 1995a: no. T.

**93 LIGHT GREEN WIDE-NECKED JAR AND LID NAMING**

TUTHMOSIS III

Fig. 138

MMA 26.8.34a, b (P 68).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIALS Vitreous substance, gold.

DIMENSIONS Jar H without lid 8.2; lid Diam 6.75, Th 0.7.

MANUFACTURE Vessel has sheen. Foot slightly concave on underside. Inscription excellent, incised and filled anciently with white calcium carbonate (lime plaster). Neck of jar covered by foil smoothed in place; vertical break may be an original seam. At the rim, a second piece of foil covers the upper edge of the neck appliqué. Foot has flat band of gold along top edge.

Lid's upper surface semi-glossy, lower surface matt and pitted. On the lid, one piece of gold barely extends over bottom edge.

INSCRIPTIONS Very detailed. Jar, "Live! the Horus strong bull arising in Thebes, the good god, lord of the two lands, king of upper and lower Egypt (*mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*), son of Ra (*dhwti-ms nfr-hpr*), given life, stability and dominion like Ra forever." Lid, "good god (*mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*) given life."

CONDITION Some cracking on jar exterior, especially on foot; light brown staining also, generally below horizontal crack (not visible on interior). Inside, surface partially fallen away; blue powder residue at the bottom.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 52 no. E, pl. 30.2; Lilyquist and Brill 1993: 13 no. 8, 16.

**94 PALE BLUE WIDE-NECKED JAR AND LID NAMING**

TUTHMOSIS III

Figs. 140, 141 (upper right)

MMA 26.8.35a, b (P 126).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIALS Anhydrite, reddish gold.

DIMENSIONS H without lid 7.0; lid Diam 4.5, Th 0.35.

MANUFACTURE Well shaped; originally polished except for foot. Floor of jar has centered depression from drill. Ring foot, drilled in center. One piece of gold at jar's rim, the bottom edge crimped.

Lid smoothed below, probably polished above.

Diameter considerably less than jar's rim; one piece of foil crimped around lower edge. Inscriptions carved well, particularly on jar, but not of the quality of stone and gold work.

INSCRIPTIONS Jar and lid, "*(mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>)*."

CONDITION Cracks, one seemingly glued. Weathered and stained exterior; interior clean.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 51 no. D, pl. 30.1; Lilyquist 1995a: no. Q.

**95 BOTTLE AND LID NAMING TUTHMOSIS III**

Figs. 142b, 142c (right)

MMA 26.8.31a, b (P 67).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIALS Homogeneous travertine, gold.

DIMENSIONS H with lid 9.8, Diam of jar 8.0, Diam of lid 6.5.

MANUFACTURE Well shaped and completely polished. Drill hole in center interior. Stopper of lid fits mouth of jar.

Gold on lid and jar crimped around edge, no seam visible.

Inscription on jar good, lid fair.

INSCRIPTIONS Jar, "good god (*mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*), given life." Lid, "*(mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>)*."

CONDITION Rim of jar broken and one piece glued into place. Contents as those of 96, although more incrustation inside vase and on bottom of lid.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 52 no. G, pl. 30.7; Lilyquist 1995a: no. V; Lilyquist 2002: 462 no. 191.

**96 BOTTLE WITH PEDESTAL FOOT AND LID NAMING**

TUTHMOSIS III

Figs. 20 (neck second from top), 142a, 142c (left)

MMA Body and lid, 26.8.30a, b (P 29); neck and rim, 39.2.1.

SOURCE Body and lid: Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919. Rim and neck: Hoffman Philip; Joseph Brummer; Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1939.

MATERIALS Banded travertine, gold.

DIMENSIONS H with lid 13.6, Diam of jar 10.6, Diam of lid 8.5.

MANUFACTURE Exceedingly finely shaped. Polished, including upper surface of rim and ring of foot; gold as on jar 95. Lid stopper fits jar mouth. Inscription on jar good, on lid fair.

INSCRIPTIONS Jar, "good god (*mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*)." Lid, "*(mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>)*."

## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

CONDITION Vase broken at base of neck and repaired, thinness of neck wall at juncture with body accounts for break; one piece of neck missing. Oily residue with incrustation on all inner surfaces of jar; lid stained on both sides.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 12, 52 no. F, 54, pl. 30.8; Lilyquist 1995a: no. W.

### 97 LOTIFORM VESSEL NAMING TUTHMOSIS III

Figs. 143, 145 (left)

MMA 26.7.1434.

SOURCE Carnarvon Collection; Purchase, Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1926.

MATERIALS Very finely banded travertine, gold.

DIMENSIONS H 10.5, Diam of mouth 8.0.

MANUFACTURE Beautifully shaped, with the exterior polished; however, cup very slightly cocked on stand and inscription cursory. Ring foot. Gold foil on rim appears to be applied in two pieces: one on exterior and another that covers the upper edge of that piece and continues over the rim to the inside of the vessel; no seams detected.

Lid 98 is a similar stone but white rather than cream in tone, and the gold is more yellowish. This does not obviate association of the two, nor does lid's more schematic inscription, smaller diameter compared with vessel's rim diameter, more frugal use of gold, or thinness of rim compared to jar's rim.

INSCRIPTION "Good god (*mn-hpr-r*), given life."

CONDITION Vertical cracks and staining. Interior clean, but darkened and weathered in lower half from contents.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1939: fig. 4; N. Scott 1944: fig. 17; Illustrated London News 1945: 24; Winlock 1948: 61f., pl. 35b (right); Hayes 1959b: 140, fig. 77; Kayser 1969: fig. 4; Lilyquist 1995a: 5, no. N; Lilyquist 2002: 462 no. 191bis; Ziegler 2002: 263 fig. 33.

### 98 LARGE GOLD-TRIMMED LID NAMING TUTHMOSIS III

Figs. 139b, 141 (left)

MMA 26.8.29b (P 126).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIALS Finely banded travertine, transparent due to thinness; gold foil.

DIMENSIONS Diam 7.5, Th 0.3.

MANUFACTURE One piece of gold foil on lid, extending to edge of bottom. Inscription satisfactory. This lid is thinner than the rim of jar 174, with which it was originally placed, but such variance occurs on 88. For another vessel to which 98 might belong, see 97.

INSCRIPTION "*(mn-hpr-r)*."

CONDITION Somewhat leached on top surface.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 52 no. L.

### 99 SMALL GOLD-TRIMMED LID NAMING TUTHMOSIS III

Figs. 139a, 141 (center foreground)

MMA 26.8.32b (P 66).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIALS Marble-like travertine; gold trim.

DIMENSIONS Diam 5.8, Th 3.5.

MANUFACTURE Bottom surface not polished, stopper very short. One piece of gold on edge of lid, barely covering it but adhering well. Inscription fair. The stopper of this lid fits the inner neck diameter of 175, and the stone matches its white opaque banding. However, the lack of gold trim on the vessel and the difference in overall quality between jar and lid indicate the items do not belong together.

INSCRIPTION "*(mn-hpr-r)*."

CONDITION Top weathered, including inscription; stained on both sides.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 52 no. K; Lilyquist 1995a: no. S, where the lid is with jar 175 below.

## PRECIOUS VESSELS OF UNDETERMINED USE

**Footed bowl (100), carinated bowls (101–2), lotiform vessel (103), jar with button base (104), wide-necked jar with pedestal foot (105);** see pp. 219f.

### Provenance

The two silver vessels 100 and 105 came to light in Luxor in 1918 (Winlock 1948: 11); the fragmentary green marble bowls 101–2 appeared in 1920 with the standard provenance.

The vitreous vessels 103–4 were purchased by Carter for Carnarvon and were described in the Carnarvon catalogue as "Purchased Luxor, 1919; from a tomb of three princesses, Wâdi Gabbânat el Qirûd, Western Thebes; Discovered by natives during the summer of 1916" (Carter 1907–22: 36).

### Previous assessment

Like the lotiform vessel 97, Winlock understood the function of the vessels of this section to be for drink (1948: 60–2).

Carter had believed the footed bowl 100 was a complete cup, but the MMA added a cylindrical neck to match the shape of 105, the silver wide-necked jar.

Winlock understood the carinated vessels 101–2 to be felspar, and thought at least the larger one had a foot (1948: 62).

The stem of glass lotiform vessel 103 was restored by the MMA upon acquisition in 1923, and illustrated thus until 1993 (Lythgoe 1923: 272f.; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1936: fig. 1; Winlock 1939: 122, fig. 4; N. Scott 1944: fig. 17; Illustrated London News 1945: 24; Winlock 1948: pl. 35b [center]; Hayes 1959b: 139f., fig. 77; Nolte 1968: 48, pl. 1.7; Barag 1970: 181f., fig. 91; Kayser 1969: fig. 4; N. Scott 1973: 151; Lesko 1977: 42; Casson 1981: 55).

A foot was added to jar 104 by Lord Carnarvon, according to MMA records; it also was illustrated thus until 1993 (Lythgoe 1927: 36; Winlock 1939: 122, fig. 4; N. Scott 1944: fig. 17; Illustrated London News 1945: 24;

## Chapter 5

Winlock 1948: 61, pl. 35b [left]; Hayes 1959b: 141, fig. 77; Nolte 1968: 49f., pl. 1.8; Kayser 1969: fig. 4; Barag 1970: 181f., fig. 92; Lesko 1977: 42).

### *Current understanding*

The function of these six vessels does not seem clear, as explained.

Footed bowl **100** recalls the silver cup found with two small pitchers in the burial of Senenmut's mother, Hatnufer (Lansing and Hayes 1937: 28, fig. 43). Those three vessels made a service for special drink, as understood from representations. In two details, however, the footed bowl here contrasts with Hatnufer's: although apparently complete, the rim is not parallel with the base, and the rim curves inward. Photographs of Hatnufer's cup indicate that the rim curves slightly outward.

The size of carinated bowls **101–2**, as well as their specific shapes, are puzzling. Carinated vessels without stands are shown in representations, to hold liquid (Säve-Söderbergh 1957: pl. 23; Römisch-Germanisches Museum Köln 1986: 52; N. G. Davies 1925: 53, pl. 5). The size of **101** would be appropriate for this but perhaps not the size of **102**. A faience example with separate stand is smaller yet than **102**, however, having a diameter of 7.6 (G. Spalinger 1982: no. 153). Examples with feet are represented being used for drink and ointment. On the larger fragment **101**, the thinness of the wall at the point nearest the base suggests that the base was rounded. The material, green marble, looks similar to the stone of a piriform jar in the Louvre (Lilyquist 1995a: 51), a kohl pot from Passalacqua's work at Thebes (Möller 1910: no. 19), and possibly an earlier kohl pot from El-Kab (Bourriau 1988: no. 146).

The function of turquoise glass lotiform vessel **103** is also uncertain. On the use of lotiform vessels generally, see Radwan (1983: 144–6), G. Nagel (1938: 199–206), and Brovarski (1982: 145–8). Enough is preserved of this vessel to see that it differs from travertine example **97** and that it probably did not contain ointment, due to its straight walls of even thickness, flat straight rim, and gold leaf edging running just over the outside of the rim. Although there may be some small evidence for blue lotus vessels being used for drink (Brovarski 1982; Kendall 1982: fig. 16), the walls and rim here do not have the sinuous shape and tapered or thin rim seen on **104** or the gold cup of Tawosret (Vernier 1927: CG 53260). For comments on vessels with gold trim and inscriptions, see the discussion of precious vessels **87–99** above.

On the other hand, cult scene representations of lotiform vessels are often quite large: the vessels hold vegetation (G. Nagel 1938: figs. 174, 176) or unguent (as in Brack and Brack 1980: 29, pls. 36a and 85). In other representations, lotiform vessels receive liquid (Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge 1922: lot 266, pl. 8; G. Nagel 1938: fig. 179). Tuthmosis III offered examples of gold, silver, gold and lapis, and malachite to Amun at Karnak (Wreszinski 1935: pls. 33a–b nos. 10, 121, 139, 140). Private monuments show them too: a blue example is represented in the tomb of Kenamun (N. G. Davies 1930[1]: 29 no. 16, pl. 20), as are silver (loc. cit., 29 no. 47) and gold examples (N. G. Davies 1923: 31, pl. 33).

Vitreous jar **104**—a marbled goblet whose analysis and shape indicate an import—is probably to be understood in a foreign context. Especially luxurious—with colorful swirling matrix and lavish use of gold—it would have been a reasonable possession for a foreign wife.

The understanding of this vessel changed significantly in the current study. During the re-installation of the Egyptian collection between 1974 and 1983, X-ray and microscopic examination revealed that the base was augmented by a lead disk, plaster, and gold leaf, thus confirming Barag's earlier suggestion (1970: 182). The original button-shaped base—preserved within the restoration—was encircled with gold foil that had, at some point, been cut and torn away from the flat underside of the button base itself. The lead disk, plaster, and gold leaf were no doubt added in modern times to make the vessel stand more securely; it is not known when the disk of gold was cut away.

Thanks to the earlier work of Barag and Brill as well as new analyses of Brill, the fabric of the vessel could be related specifically to three fragments found at Nuzi (Lilyquist and Brill 1993: 9–12). Comparative lead isotope analyses on samples from those fragments and from this vessel showed that lead in the red part of this vessel fell within the range of Mesopotamian rather than Egyptian ores. However, unlike two of the Nuzi fragments and numerous Near Eastern pottery vessels that have a distinct neck and body covered by a raised band (Starr 1939: 135ff.), the neck and body of this vessel blend into each other.

Yet the shape of this vessel is not that of a wide-necked jar with pedestal foot per se, such as the Egyptians fashioned in stone, Egyptian blue, and glass—a shape with depressed globular body, cylindrical neck with flat rim, and flared foot. This vessel has a more spherical body, wide neck that flares outward, rim that tapers, and a small button base that allows the vessel to stand precariously by itself. The flared and tapered rim indicate that it was a drinking vessel; Diana Stein calls the general shape a shoulder cup, a drinking vessel that goes back to the Isin-Larsa period of Mesopotamia in the late 3rd–early 2nd millennium BC (Stein 1989: 89).

As for the silver medium-sized wide-necked jar with pedestal foot **105**, its flat rim suggests accommodation for a lid, and representations exist of metal vessels holding ointment. Silver does not seem a particularly felicitous material



## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

as a container for resin; however, the silver pomegranate vessel in Tutankhamun's tomb was presumably for storing some type of liquid (Carter 469; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1976: no. 50), and the same may be suggested for two tiny piriform vessels for that king, one of gold and one of silver (Carter 394, 620 [37]; JdE 62190, 62191; TAA neg. 551). The silver cup and two miniature pitchers of Hatnufer were for a wine service (Lansing and Hayes 1937: 28, fig. 43). Kha owned a handled, carinated bowl, thought to be electrum by Schiaparelli (1927: fig. 157) and a bronze-silver alloy by Radwan (1983: no. 332). Compositional analyses of the two silver vessels here were undertaken in 1974 by Mishara and Meyers from "thermal neutron activation . . . on small samples obtained by rubbing etched quartz tubing against cleaned surface" (1974: 36–40).

### 100 METAL FOOTED BOWL

Figs. 148c, 148d (right)

MMA 18.8.24 (P 176).

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1918.

MATERIAL Silver: Cu 3.9, Ag 95.5, Au 0.62 (Mishara and Meyers).

DIMENSIONS H 6.0, Diam 9.2.

MANUFACTURE Separate, attached foot. Foot hollow, with base plate having an air hole in center.

CONDITION Cracked; a few losses. Interior not polished since acquisition.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 11, 60, pl. 36 (upper right).

### 101 GREEN FRAGMENTARY BOWL

Figs. 146 (left), 147 (top)

MMA 26.8.43 (P 76).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Green marble (Wheeler).

DIMENSIONS 9.3 x 3.0; projected Diam 11.5.

MANUFACTURE Beautifully worked; exterior more polished than interior; no evidence of a foot.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 38a (right).

### 102 SMALL GREEN FRAGMENTARY BOWL

Figs. 146 (right), 147 (bottom)

MMA 26.8.42 (P 75).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Green marble (Wheeler).

DIMENSIONS 6.2 x 3.0; projected Diam 8.5.

MANUFACTURE Beautifully polished exterior, smoothed interior.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 38a (left).

### 103 TURQUOISE LOTIFORM VESSEL NAMING TUTHMOSIS III

Figs. 144, 145 (right)

MMA 23.9.

SOURCE Carnarvon Collection; Bequest of Lord Carnarvon, 1923.

MATERIALS Turquoise glass, gold foil.

DIMENSIONS H 7.5, Diam of mouth 8.5.

MANUFACTURE The vessel was no doubt cast; several vertical "creases" extending from the lip downward on the interior of the cup are impressions from the core. The break along the bottom edge shows that the walls were not of even thickness (0.5 at top, 0.2 below); the point immediately to the proper left of the inscription is the thinnest and highest point on the vessel. Several of the petals are rounded at the top.

Gold foil was applied to the rim; at the level where foil wraps over the lip is an incised horizontal line. Foil adheres well to the glass at that point but is jagged on the inner surface of the cup.

Inscription summarily carved, but is more sure than inscription on 97.

INSCRIPTION "(mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>)."

CONDITION Bottom of cup, stem, and base are missing. In almost every instance, cup broke from the foot along the score-marks outlining the calyx. Exterior has various spots of discoloration; most of the inscription has more incrustation than the petal lines. Some brown staining on the interior, mostly below the rim on one side.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 61f., pl. 35b (center).

### 104 VARIEGATED JAR WITH FLARING NECK AND BUTTON BASE

Fig. 148a

MMA 26.7.1175.

SOURCE Carnarvon Collection; Purchase, Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1926.

MATERIALS Glassy faience, gold.

DIMENSIONS H 10.2, Diam of mouth 7.0.

MANUFACTURE Brill believes that sections of the walls were first pre-formed and then placed together over a core, fused, marvered, and polished. The pattern of colors on the outside—opaque brick red, camel, dark turquoise, and a small amount of white together with a more transparent light turquoise—does not match that on the inside. The exterior is polished except for the bottom of the foot, which is only ground smooth. A single piece of gold foil encircles the rim (no seam is visible). A second piece of gold foil once undoubtedly encircled the entire base; at its upper edge, where it rests against the bowl, a layer of gesso is visible. Inside the vessel, the bottom is slightly rough from lack of grinding and polishing and has a depression, off-center.

CONDITION Some staining below the rim on the exterior; interior is not stained.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Lilyquist and Brill 1993: 9–15, nos. 9–13.

### 105 METAL WIDE-NECKED JAR

Figs. 148b, 148d (left)

MMA 18.8.23 (P 175).

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1918.

MATERIAL Silver: Cu 2.2, Ag 96.7, Au 1.1 (Mishara and Meyers).

DIMENSIONS H 13.0, Diam 8.7.

MANUFACTURE Foot made separately; join of foot to body covered with round wire. Foot hollow as seen today.

CONDITION Almost half-restored, however a 0.5 gap at point where neck joins body, therefore profile complete. It is impossible to comment on original surface of interior, due to restoration of vessel by Leon André (see p. 127).

BIBLIOGRAPHY N. Scott 1944: fig. 17; Illustrated London News 1945: 24; Winlock 1948: 11, 60, pl. 36 (upper left); Hayes 1959b: 139, fig. 77; Kayser 1969: fig. 4; N. Scott 1973: 151; Lesko 1977: 42; Casson 1981: 55.

## TOILET IMPLEMENTS

## MIRRORS

**Two mirrors (106–7);** see p. 222

*Provenance*

Both of the mirrors have the standard early provenance. Their rich materials alone indicate manufacture in a royal workshop, and one has the cartouche of Tuthmosis III.

*Current understanding*

Although gold and silver mirrors are shown in representations, few examples have come to light (for pre-New Kingdom examples see Lilyquist 1979: 57). Yuya and Tuya had a wooden example that had a silver leaf-covered disk and gold leaf-covered *hm*-shaped handle (Quibell 1908: CG 51173). According to two empty mirror cases in Tutankhamun's tomb, covered with gold foil, the king had two mirrors of precious materials (Carter 1933: pl. 21b).

The larger of the mirrors below is more striking because of its size and once-inlaid eyes, but the smaller is the inscribed example, with greater detail of ears, umbel, and calyx.

A mirror of the Hathor and papyrus umbel-type is inscribed for the "living Ahmose Nefertary" (Hughes 1969: fig. 8); two uninscribed examples have an excavated Theban context (Lansing 1917: fig. 8; Möller 1910: no. 27).

Compositional analysis for the disk of **106** was obtained in 1974 by Mishara and Meyers from "thermal neutron activation [on a small sample] obtained by rubbing etched quartz tubing against cleaned surface" (Mishara and Meyers 1974: 36–40).

**106** HATHOR MIRROR WITH NAME OF TUTHMOSIS III

Figs. 149, 151

MMA 26.8.97 (P 32, 82).

SOURCE Purchases, Fletcher Fund, 1919, 1920.

MATERIALS Gold, silver; originally wood. Silver: Cu 1.7, Ag 94.8, Au 1.2, Pb 0.2; not determined, 2.1 (Mishara and Meyers).

DIMENSIONS Total H 30.0, W of disk 14.5.

MANUFACTURE Foil of umbel in two pieces that overlap on the axis of the Hathor face and were fastened to the original wood core by eight pegs on the front and six on the back. Each Hathor face is complete with ears, and the two halves were fastened along the sides—three pegs on the proper right and probably two on the proper left. The shaft is one piece of gold down to the ties, with a seam on the axis; the ferule also has a seam along the axis. A rivet holding the disk to the handle passed through the umbel.

INSCRIPTION On front of umbel, "(*mn-hpr-r*)."

CONDITION Handle interior and rivet attaching disk to handle restored, "the original rivet a copper wire"

(Winlock 1948: 49f.). Back of mirror is as found, front was polished in Museum. Cloth impression on back.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 29 (left); Haslauer 2001b: no. 78; Lilyquist 2002: 462 no. 189; Ziegler 2002: 263 fig. 32.

**107** HATHOR MIRROR WITH INLAID EYES

Fig. 150

MMA 26.8.98 (P 81).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIALS Gold, silver.

DIMENSIONS Total H 33.0, W of disk 15.5.

MANUFACTURE Probably similar to above.

CONDITION Back of disk as found, front polished (Winlock 1948: 49f.). Restored are handle interior, calyx, rivet attaching disk to handle, and eye inlays.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 29 (right); Hayes 1959b: 139, fig. 75; Glubok 1962: 43; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1962: fig. 20; N. Scott 1973: fig. 30.

## JEWELRY

## INTRODUCTION

The study of jewelry associated with Wady DI is an investigation into modern museological history as much as it is into the original configuration and ancient deposition of objects. This is due to the fact that while the funerary equipment and various vessels associated with the tomb generally came to light as whole objects in the early part of the 20th century, the jewelry arrived in the Museum primarily as thousands of elements, beads, and spacers over a period of seventy years—some acquisitions long removed from the parties originally knowledgeable about the events of 1916–22. No acquisition in the Department of Egyptian Art has elicited as much research and study, all directed toward restoring information about this important, unusual, and, unfortunately, robbed tomb.

## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

The first group of jewelry surveyed in this study is comprised of purchases that are certain or likely to have come from the tomb. The second group of jewelry, in Chapter 6, contains items less certain to have come from the tomb, although they could have done so, judging by type or modern history and sometimes quality. The third group of jewelry, in Chapter 7, includes objects that would not have been in the tomb. Insofar as possible, the items of each jewelry group are arranged according to the part of the body where worn: head, body, and limbs.

### Acquisition history

As implied in Chapter 4, perhaps two-thirds of the jewelry acquired by the MMA and alleged to come from Wady Dī was purchased or received between 1919 and 1922. For the remainder, there were two further periods of MMA jewelry acquisition: 1958–70 (Hayes 1958: 46; Hayes 1959a; Redmond and Rorimer 1959; Hayes 1963: 66; N. Scott 1964: 231–4; Fischer 1966; Fischer 1970) and 1982–88 (Lilyquist 1982: 24; 1983: 25; 1988a). The dealers and staff active during the two later periods were not active in the first.

At the time of the 1958–70 acquisitions, however, there was an attitude of trust concerning hearsay provenance, no doubt derived from the experience of the earlier MMA staff members. Furthermore, the scientific analysis so much a part of today's research had not developed. At the same time, there was no special difference in the character of the 1958–70 objects from the character of the earlier ones purchased. As the second group's objects can be seen now, there was a mixture of things that surely came from the tomb, could have come from the tomb but for which there was no particular proof, and surely did not come from the tomb. These are the same categories into which the earlier purchases are now seen to fall. For example, there was a sizable number of excellent rosettes for **114** in the 1958–70 purchases (378 plain, twelve trapezoid, and twenty-six terminal), one gold stall (**37**), forty drop-shaped elements (**129–30**), five palmettes and forty *nefer*-elements (**132**), and three gold and turquoise glass beads (**153**). But there were also items whose link to the tomb decreased in probability from possible (drum bead **199**, glazed steatite seal amulet **190**, ridged gold earrings **176–8**), to more doubtful (wallet spacers **187**), to nonexistent because of earlier or later date (vulture pendant **224**; wide ear or hair ring **226**, leaf-shaped elements **227**). As well, there were a number of items in the 1958–70 purchases that are now considered modern: rosettes **288**, shield-shaped element in **289**, beetle elements **294–5**, inlaid flies or lotuses **305**, and melon, acacia, and filigreed beads **318–22**. In the 1970 purchase alone, only one rosette represented the original find; the other items were either Roman (MMA 1970.169.110–.161) or modern. For further discussion of the issues in linking art market objects to Wady Dī, see Chapter 4.

The third period of jewelry acquisition involved a source that went back to the beginning of the century but was not the source of the 1958–70 material. This period had the advantage of scientific analysis newly developed in museum studies, which in turn encouraged a more critical attitude toward alleged tomb provenance. Thus, most of the items acquired in the 1980s could be demonstrated to match Wady Qurud objects, and they were incorporated with them. It must be said, however, that some items not represented in earlier material were purchased during this third period because they were technically similar to earlier items or had similar accretions. However, because the jewelry purchased in the 1980s also included early Dynasty 18 royal bracelets (Lilyquist 1981), items purchased in 1982–88 were *not* integrated with the two previous groups of “Wady Qurud” jewelry unless they matched excavated Wady Dī items. For items seen in the 1980s that related to “Wady D” material, but were not acquired, see p. 115.

### Earlier notes of caution on the reconstruction of art market finds

Winlock 1948:

I have not experienced as much pleasure in composing these pages as in working on *The Treasure of el Lāhūn*. In that case one could be confident that we had all the elements of the jewelry, thanks to the efforts of Guy Brunton, who had done everything humanly possible to save the objects in the field. In the present case the labor has been prolonged by efforts to find how the various elements would best go together and by my own ill health. (p. vf.)

What I want to do is to make it perfectly clear that every single idea in the following pages should be weighed against what is likely. It is absolutely impossible to reconstruct this jewelry with anything approximating the assurance with which that from el Lāhūn was described, and this statement is only an index of the immeasurable difference between the knowledge of Guy Brunton, who found Sit Ḥat-Ḥor Yūnet's jewelry, and the ignorance of the natives who looted the tomb of the three Princesses. If in telling this story I have thrown in a paragraph or so about an Arab bride, it should be realized that archaeologists had absolutely nothing to do with this jewelry for years after it was found, but that the *fellahīn* did. (p. 8)

## Chapter 5

Each princess had a complicated broad collar to wear about her neck, but it is difficult to say now exactly of which each was composed . . . we do not really know which elements go with which shoulder pieces. (p. 18)

One should remember that all these objects arrived in New York with no trustworthy information as to how they went together originally, and it is possible that some things were included in the Museum's purchase which were never associated with the three Princesses. (p. 21)

A great number of beads of various types were found in the tomb, but it is now almost impossible to say just how they should be strung. We must remember the story, current in Luxor for several years after the find was made in 1916, of the cigarette boxes full of beads which we never got, and we should recall that most antiquity dealers in Egypt seemed to have some beads which came from the tomb. Such strays had either been pilfered from the original discoverers or had been sifted from the dirt left on the spot during the few days following the spread of general knowledge of the find. On the other hand, beads which did not come from the tomb were probably mixed in with those which did, and every goldsmith in the town made some contributions, usually copied from the rosettes which came from the big head-dress. Thus it is that so far as individual beads go we can guarantee nothing and can only offer [various] necklaces as being probably from the tomb and possibly strung as they were found. (p. 22)

de Keyser 1949:

Patiemment, M. Winlock et ses collaborateurs ont tenté de restituer aux pièces du trésor leur aspect ancien; c'est ainsi que les sandales, les vases d'argent, d'autres objets encore furent habilement restaurés. Les pièces d'enfilage posaient un tout autre problème: beaucoup d'éléments ayant disparu et aucun n'étant réuni à son voisin, il était extrêmement difficile de se faire une idée de l'ordre primitif. La pièce la plus étonnante de l'ensemble, la grande coiffure à rosettes fut cependant reconstituée de manière très plausible malgré les nombreuses difficultés que présentait le travail. Il est fâcheux néanmoins que, pour utiliser au mieux toutes les pièces entrées au musée, on ait cru devoir y ajouter de minuscules pendentifs certainement étrangers à la coiffure. Le même principe d'utilisation maximum des pièces, joint au souci d'une agréable présentation au public, a présidé à la reconstitution des colliers, sans qu'il soit tenu compte cette fois des indications données par les pièces elles-mêmes. . . . On ne peut qu'admirer la ténacité et la patience de ceux qui sont parvenus à réunir les fragments épars d'un tel trésor, mais on regrette d'autant plus la caractère fantaisiste de la plupart des reconstitutions. (p. 259)

Cyril Aldred, from a letter to William C. Hayes and Nora Scott, May 17, 1957 (MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art)

[Concerning the 1956–70 jewelry considered for purchase] . . . clearly genuine—I could see no recent pieces among it. It is now pretty evident that Winlock rushed into publication too quickly. I am sure too that there were three headdresses (two covers and one circlet) and they were shorter than W[inlock] has made yours, so that they did not dangle and clash below the shoulders. The necklaces (collars) also require revision.

Cyril Aldred, from a letter to Scott, May 28, 1957 (MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art)

The more I go into the problem [of arranging the rosettes], the more I despair of ever seeing a satisfactory reconstruction of the jewellery.

### HEAD ORNAMENTS

**Gazelle diadem (108);** see pp. 125, 156, 225

#### *Provenance*

The turquoise opaque glass in the diadem rosettes is the type in the rosette for wig cover found by Chaban. Further, Chaban found a flat, translucent carnelian, petal-shaped inlay that would fit a diadem rosette (Fig. 17d [upper left]).

Standard early history.

## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

### *Previous assessment*

Winlock initially published the diadem equipped with ring beads and *nefers* suspended from rings on the front of the diadem (Winlock 1933: 159f. and 1935: fig. 8), but these items were omitted in his publication of 1948, where the diadem was described as “one of the most charming head-dresses that has survived from ancient Egypt” (Winlock 1948: 16f., pls. 6–7, 41b). He considered the rosettes related to the flowers of Sithathoryunet’s Middle Kingdom circlet (Vernier 1925: CG 52641), and the gazelles related to headdresses of “concubines” in the tombs of Menna and Païry, although he realized that the Wady Qurud women bore a more important title, namely *hmt nswt*, “king’s wife,” rather than *hkr̥t nswt*, “ornament of the king” (1948: 3, as against 1933: 159f.). He identified the felines as leopards. While describing the gazelles as “excellently fashioned,” he referred to the diadem generally as of rather poor workmanship (1948: 17, 64). A. Wilkinson suggested that the gazelles might have a foreign derivation and noted “a great deal of solder” on the band near them and around the rosettes (1971: 116). Bruce Williams also commented on the solder in 1976, and suggested that the small rings along the front “would only serve to hang coins over the face for a modern fellah woman.”

When first acquired, one rosette was missing (second from center, proper right); no other information exists concerning previous condition.

### *Current understanding*

The following comments are based upon the extensive technical description provided below under the section “Manufacture.”

#### DESIGN AND TECHNIQUE

The construction and indications of wear on this object, as well as ancient representations of gazelle diadems, indicate that this item was not created for the tomb. However, several features are puzzling, and prevent full comprehension of the object.

First of all, the design is not coherent. There are three simple, flat, and separated feline heads to be worn at the back of the head (Figs. 92d [right], 155 [below]), projecting gazelles of great detail at the brow (Figs. 92b, 155 [above]), variously-placed overlarge rosettes filling the width of the bands—one rosette hidden behind the gazelles (Figs. 92a, d [left])—and a series of small rings that compete with the gazelles and have no apparent purpose (Fig. 92a). The overall effect is a surfeit of form and iconography.

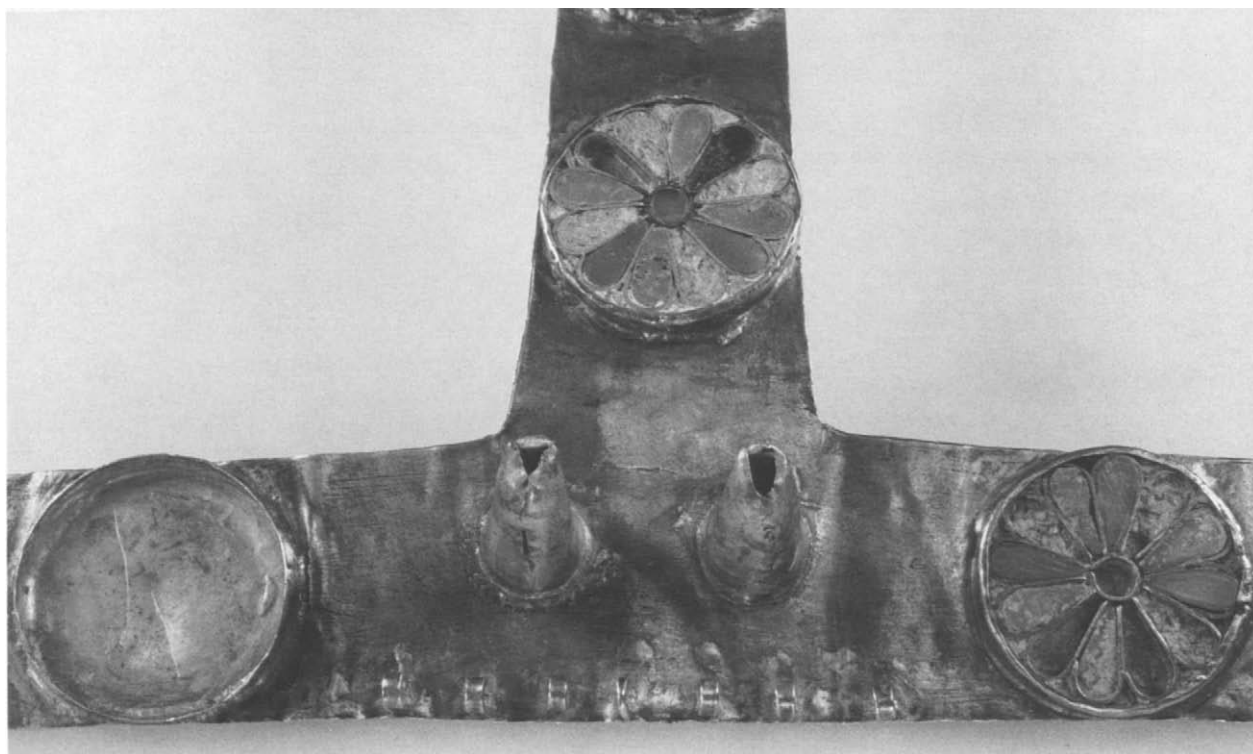
Technical evidence contributes further to the impression of the diadem’s disunity. The posts, felines, protomes, and rosette assemblages all show fusion in their construction, but there is also excessive solder and no attempt to clear it away. In other words, while the bands are cut with clarity, the fusing of the feline heads and the gold work of the rosette assemblages is competent, and the metal joining and finishing of the gazelle heads is superlative, the soldering is casual, and the failure to remove the excess amount breathtakingly cavalier. To goldsmith Baines, it is inconceivable that the artisan who fashioned the protomes was working in the same shop as the craftsman who applied the solder.

Does the current appearance, then, reflect a single design stage, the hands of different artisans, or an assemblage of disparately made parts? Is the workmanship altogether ancient or partially modern?

Analytical evidence suggests that parts and solder are ancient. Micro-samples taken by Wypyski for SEM/EDS elemental analyses revealed that the parts were remarkably consistent one to another in their gold/silver/copper alloys—particularly the band, post, rosette, rosette bezel, gazelles, and rounded ring (the other rings had slightly less gold content; Appendix 2). As for the compositions of the solders of the object, these grouped a little less tightly than those of the parts, but nonetheless they were relatively close. As in other objects analyzed here and believed to be ancient, the percentage of copper in the solder rose two to three times what it was in the alloys. These analyses do not confirm or negate authenticity; objects believed indeterminate (clasps 216) and modern on other grounds (gold mummy fittings 230–2) had similar ratios. But the similarity of the parts and the solders to each other is striking.

It must further be noted that the use of solder on the diadem is not altogether cavalier: it varies in character and extent. There is little around the posts (Fig. 92a), more around the rings of the gazelle necks (Fig. 92b [proper left gazelle, “gazelle 1”]), and a great deal near the bezels and the rings below the protomes (Figs. 92a, d [left]). Even the bezel areas are not uniformly flooded, with the bezel closest to center on the proper right carefully fused on its interior surface (Fig. 92a [left]). It also must be recognized that the solder at the back of the gazelle necks is in an unimportant area, and that, in general, the excess solder might have been less noticeable before the adjacent parts developed a reddish tarnish. Also in favor of ancient manufacture is the fact that the excess solder has not been *filed* away, as it commonly was on the “Wady Qurud” forgeries discussed in Chapter 7.

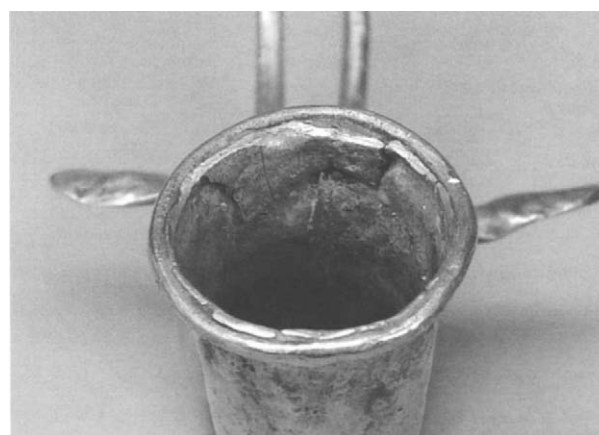
Some technical evidence is equivocal. There are scratches on the band that are lined with reddish silver-gold sulfide and lie under the yellow patches of solder. Sometimes the solder patches have red sulfide lying within pits



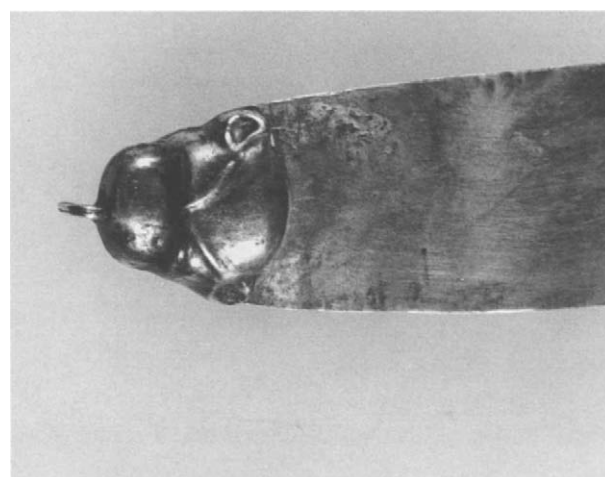
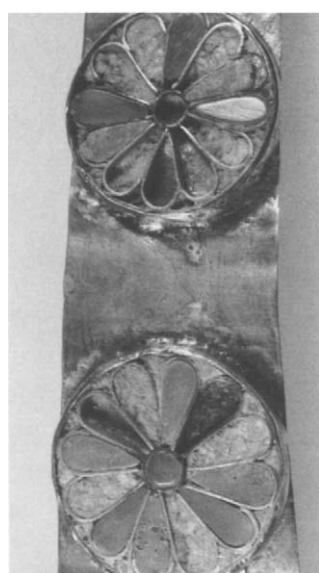
a. Diadem with protomes removed; note small amount of solder around posts, much more around bezels and small rings



b. Proper left gazelle head with massive solder near wire attachment ring



c. Interior of proper right gazelle, showing large reinforcement for attaching wire



d. Left, two rosettes on vertical band of diadem with excessive solder near bezels. Right, proper right leopard head, showing solder on band

Fig. 92a–d. Details from gazelle diadem Cat. 108





a. Menna's daughters, the first two holding Hathor-faced sistra and wearing a headdress composed of a fillet, gazelle, plumes, and modius



b. Paury's daughter wearing a similar headdress, with a preliminary inscription naming Hathor above her

Fig. 93a–b. Eighteenth dynasty representations of gazelle diadems



(Schorsch), indicating that the surfaces of the solder patches were tarnished and then buffed. But while the scratches on the band were clearly made earlier than the solder patches on top, it is not clear whether they were produced during manufacture or in the course of time. Unfortunately, tarnish can form within a relatively short period, as can be seen by the modern roulette-like lines on the underside of the diadem's vertical band.

In the larger context, it must be said that not all extant royal Egyptian gold work is of high quality (as described on p. 119), and, to some extent, the determination of an object's integrity depends on how much leeway modern scholars give ancient craftsmen. C. Williams advocated more, rather than less, consideration (1924: 37–9). Other items associated with Wady Qurud have poor design, chasing, or construction, as described above in the technical notes of Chapter 4.

However, there are some basic discrepancies to keep in mind. The reinforcement on the inner surface of the proper right gazelle's neck (Fig. 92c) cannot be attributed to the artisan who created the gazelles' exquisite modeling. It is likely that this reinforcement was added because the encircling wire did not touch the neck at all points—for on the other gazelle head, there is space between neck and wire, and the result is horribly clumsy. Beyond that, however, and considering both the positive and equivocal evidence above, it is difficult to attribute to an ancient Egyptian craftsman the excess solder on the band near the bezels and near the small rings. Baines was reminded in these instances of the use of solder in wire form, a technique he does not know from antiquity. Stone has never seen such excessive solder use in antiquity.

A somewhat less problematic feature is the method of attaching the gazelles to the band. According to Stone, large raised and hollow posts—as supports for dimensional metal objects that are held firm by adhesive—are otherwise unknown in ancient metalwork. Uraei, such as published by Vernier (1925: CG 52702), are configured to offer an extensive surface for contact directly with the substrate. It is true that the uraeus on Sithathoryunet's diadem was made separately from the band, and is attached to the band by sliding into a slot (Vernier 1925: CG 52641). The Nekhbet protome on Tutankhamun's boatman circlet is similarly configured. But the post-and-adhesive method on the gazelle diadem appears clumsy, and the usual means of attaching a protome is permanent, by means of the following:

- a flange with a ca. 2 mm wide inner ring (central animal protome for stag diadem, Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 244; spout on ewer of Amenemope from Tanis, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères 1987: 209);
- wire for tying on the object (flowers on Tawosret diadem, Vernier 1925: CG 52644);
- rivets (uraeus on crown associated with Hierakonpolis falcon, Vernier 1925: CG 52701; handle Bubastis vessel, Vernier 1927: CG 53262; possibly the uraeus on Tutankhamun's mask, Carter 256a, TAA negs. 505 and 1363, and gamma-ray image produced by Kodak in 1968, MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art);
- fusion of a plate between the object and the flat surface, to maximize contact (apparently the Tutankhamun diadem, Carter 2560000, TAA GI negs. 828 and 829, TAA MMA neg. 1184);
- massive solder (Kamose armlet, Vernier 1925: CG 52642; Bubastis silver dish with gold center boss, Vernier 1927: CG 53263).

In surveying east Mediterranean metalwork, the same situation prevails. Two examples have been located where a repoussé figure was joined permanently to a flat surface (a small female on a gold vase from Byblos, Lilyquist 1993b: fig. 13c; and a calf on a pendant from Kamid el-Loz, Lilyquist 1994a: fig. 41). On the other hand, there is no evidence on the gazelle diadem for an earlier attachment. Simple fillets with a hole at each end have been found in excavations at Tell ed-Dabaa (Bietak 1996: 45, color pl. 2a; Hein 1994b: no. 170). The T-shaped design here, however, as well as the feline heads at the back, suggest that there should have been something at the front of the diadem rather than an open space, and there is no indication of an earlier central attachment.

In the author's final assessment, it is the thick large rosettes, non-functional rings along the brow, and excessive solder nearby that are the most disquieting features of the diadem. Yet the closeness of the solder composition to that of the diadem's parts is unlikely to be a matter of chance. Stone thus proposes that a modern craftsman borrowed the rosettes from another Wady Qurud object and soldered them to a simpler ancient diadem by creating a solder from the gold of a separate Wady Qurud object to which the craftsman added copper. Is it possible instead that the diadem was made in antiquity by several artisans who worked in an uncanonical manner during the Tuthmoside period? These men could have included foreign craftsmen (for illustrations of poor Canaanite goldsmithing see Lilyquist 1993b: figs. 22c–d, 23b and d), and the result could have been an assemblage that was not conceptually whole. It must be stressed, however, that no excavated Egyptian example shows such disunity.

In sum, the protomes show the best of Egyptian workmanship, the rosettes present the inventiveness of new technology and taste, the bands exhibit the surety of skilled craftsmen, but the overall design and excess gold mar the ornament's effect and question its integrity.

## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

### ICONOGRAPHY

Roughly contemporary diadems are scarce: a circlet of beads and pendants was on Meryetamun's mummy (Winlock 1932: fig. 2) and a more formalized version was in the Amarna period burial of Aperel's wife (Zivie 1993: 11, pl. 1). The purchased diadem of Intef is now known to be of silver, electrum, faience, and Egyptian blue, and to have been variously reworked (Raven 1988).

Without being absolutely certain that the gazelle diadem today is as it was in ancient times, there are limitations to interpretation. However, it is clear that the components could be of the Tuthmoside period and that they are appropriate to a diadem or diadems.

The basic T-shaped construction is unusual but has a general parallel in Tutankhamun's boatman's circlet where the cobra's body arches over the crown of the head from the front to the back of the headband (Carter 2560000: Carter 1927: pl. 75).

Concerning the feline protomes at the terminus of each band, these are otherwise unknown on a diadem but, on the basis of technique, are certainly part of the bands. A. Wilkinson believed that the precious-metal feline heads on royal Middle Kingdom girdle spacers, clasps, and mirror handles were lionesses (1971: 81–3). She went on to state that beads of feline shape continue to be used into the New Kingdom when they were rarely made of gold, more usually of vitreous material (see also C. Andrews 1994: 65f.). The author has located only a few excavated examples of the New Kingdom, all from private burials and probably early Dynasty 18: a pair of Egyptian blue spacers with holes to accommodate two vertical threads, from a *rishi* burial found by Carnarvon-Carter in the Assasif during 1914 (Mandara tomb 74, MMA 26.7.1364; Burlington Fine Arts Club 1922: 28 no. 29), and a similarly constructed spacer from Abydos D116, said to have been strung in accordance with an example found by Reisner at El-Ahiwa (Randall-Maciver and Mace 1902: 88f., pl. 46; Eaton-Krauss 1982: no. 320). Pinch also reports vitreous heads pierced once vertically from Hathor shrines (1993: 187f., 254). In other words, a feline-headed amulet is attested in early Dynasty 18 but not on a headdress. Larger and apparently later heads of vitreous material are MMA 41.160.131, Langdon and Langdon 1940: no. 231, and Lilyquist and Brill 1993: 5f.

A comparison of the diadem felines with animals in the wild for the purpose of identifying them is problematic—as it sometimes is for animal representations—because of several factors: the small scale of the object, a two- more than three-dimensional format that caused foreshortening, artistic desire to create a compact outline, and the occasional mixing of animal traits as explained in Osborn 1985. The characteristics that seem most prominent on the heads of the diadem are flat nose, prominent brow lines, and a roundness created by head shape, ears, and wide muzzle. These features differentiate the heads from the jeweled heads at Dahshur and Lahun, but they are similar to those on a gilded wooden head found with spotted fabric in Tutankhamun's tomb as part of a *sm*-priest costume (Metropolitan Museum of Art 1976: pl. 3). Osborn identified that object as a cheetah head because of its lacrimal lines, head shape, and smallness of muzzle (*Acinonyx jubatus*; Osborn and Osbornová 1998: 121, 123), refuting the obvious case for it being a leopard (*Panthera pardus*). He also implied that brow lines are natural on cheetahs (loc. cit., p. 122) and lions (loc. cit., p. 118) while suggesting that they are artistic conventions on Egyptian representations of black leopards (loc. cit., fig. 7–226). Two factors caution identification of the diadem heads as cheetahs however: the lack of the lacrimal lines and the otherwise unknown use of the cheetah as an amulet. Photos of lioness, cheetah, and leopard in the wild have been studied and compared with frontal photos of Egyptian lions (Edwards 1976a: 61, 97, 217) and leopards (loc. cit., p. 190). The wild leopard (Kingdon 1977: 354f.), lion (loc. cit., pp. 378f., 387), and cheetah (loc. cit., p. 407) all have brow lines, although vertical. Altogether, it would seem that the diadem heads are leopards because they lack defined noses and triangular heads and ears. Whether the Egyptians had leopards in mind is another matter. Leopards occur on Middle Kingdom magic knives with apotropaic value (Störk 1977); other meanings are possible (Hornung and Staehelin 1976: 129f.).

Regarding the rosettes, they have a long history on Egyptian diadems, as Winlock, Aldred, and others have noted. A fairly close parallel for the examples below occurs on a diadem worn by princess Neferubity—daughter of Tuthmosis I—in a scene before the bark of Amun at Hatshepsut's funerary temple (Naville 1906: 10, pl. 145). A formal parallel decorates glass vessels from the tomb of Amenhotep II (Nolte 1968: 60, frontispiece no. c, pl. 2.1 and 3). It should also be noted that rosettes occur on Near Eastern diadems (Ziffer 1990: 57\*), a fact that opens the possibility of foreign connotation for the gazelle diadem. An eight-petalled rosette was excavated at Megiddo (Loud 1948: pl. 224 no. 27).

As for the gazelles (*Dorcas gazella*), their symbolic meaning here is unclear because their use as amulets was quite new in the reign of Tuthmosis III, and because the use of one example on two separate diadems cannot be ruled out.

In general, the animal appears widely on Egyptian monuments and must have had spiritual meaning since early times (Brunner-Traut 1977; Troy 1986: 130; Houlihan 1996: 61–7; Osborn and Osbornová 1998: 175–80). This significance eventually broadened to form associations with deities such as Hathor, Anuket, Isis, Horus the child, Min, Shed, and Bes (Quaegebeur 1999: 118–28). However, the gazelle is rarely used as an amulet or body ornament, and

it is a Hyksos period diadem reportedly from the Eastern Delta that shows the heads of four gazelles (and a deer) on a jewel for the first time (Fischer 1969; Aldred 1971: 204f., pl. 59; Müller and Thiem 1998: 128, figs. 244–6; Quaegebeur 1999: fig. 38). The deer is certainly male, and apparently the gazelles also, as judged by the long horns (a male is distinguished by having thicker, more curved, and longer-ringed horns than a female: Osborn and Osbornová 1998: 175, fig. 13–143 a–b). This diadem is of manifestly east Mediterranean workmanship, whether produced in Egypt or Canaan (Lilyquist 1993b: 54f.). The stag occurs throughout the Near East, whereas it is rare in Egypt, its native occurrence there uncertain (Osborn and Osbornová 1998: 152–5; Houlihan 1987; note that Feucht [1999: 385] and Haslauer [2001b: no. 74] suggest the East as the inspiration for the gazelles here). Gazelles also are known in the Near East; a Late Bronze age gold plaque shows a nude female goddess holding one if not two gazelles (Clamer 1980: 156). Particularly relevant in relation to the gazelle diadem is the gazelle protome often on the forehead of the Syro-Palestinian god Rashef. In Egypt the gazelle is associated with the animal's desert habitat, and the gazelle is said to occur on the forehead of later representations of the Egyptian, but foreign- or desert-connected, gods Shed and Horus the child (Quaegebeur 1999: 141 note 86, 125–7). Further afield geographically, but still of interest, is a band found in the third millennium BC royal cemetery at Ur, near the head of a woman (Pittman 1998: 92): this diadem had horned bulls, rams, antelope, and fallow-deer, three if not four of them male. Aldred wrote that “in the North Syrian Kingdom of Ugarit a gazelle signified a young prince or princess” (1971: 204). This statement, cited by others, probably has as its basis the practice in Ugaritic and Hebrew of using animal terms to signify high levels of human leadership (Mark Smith communication, Jan. 2001). In all published references located (Greenstein 1997: 27; Miller 1970), adult male leaders are meant, with the exception of Amos 4:1 where “the cows of Bashan” refers to the wives of leaders. Smith does not know of “gazelles” in Ugaritic being extended to children of leaders.

While both apotropaic and nurturing aspects have been seen by Quaegebeur in the Egyptian gazelle, it does appear that the gazelle had a connection to Hathor in the 18th dynasty (see also now R. Friedman 1999), and Hathor—as daughter of Ra and personification of sexual vitality and rejuvenation—had importance for royal and private Egyptian women then (Troy 1986: 75, 86). Gazelle wands were already represented in rejuvenation dances of the Old Kingdom (Troy 1986: 130), and in the New Kingdom are represented at the Hathor-centered jubilee of Amenhotep III (Wente 1969; Epigraphic Survey 1980: pl. 45; Wente 1980: 52); they also appear in the festival hall of Osorkon II at Bubastis with *menats*, sistra, and flower-stalked headdresses (no modiuses; Wente 1969: 84 note 6). Further, gazelles are drawn on Dynasty 18 faience bowls that Pinch connects to Hathor (Pinch 1993: 310–3). It may also be noted that Hathor was known at Byblos since the mid-3rd millennium BC.

Post-dating the Hyksos period diadem and the Wady Qurud gazelle diadem are representations of gazelle diadems for women in the reigns of Amenhotep III and Ramesses II. There a single gazelle is drawn, not two, as often cited (the depiction of Ahmose Nefertary in TT 15 as drawn by N. G. Davies shows a double uraeus rather than two gazelles, contra Troy 1986: 129). Of the four women depicted early in the reign of Amenhotep III (Appendix 4; on their dates, see Green 1996: 8 and Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 268, 280), Sitamun and Menna's two daughters hold *menat* and sistrum—attributes especially associated with Hathor—while Paury's daughter stands near the implements that her mother holds. The setting for these women is funerary. In the tomb of Menna, the owner and his wife survey agricultural scenes, and the text, emanating from the children who stand before them reads, “Being entertained and seeing good things in your enclosure of justification [tomb] by the effective confident of his lord, blessed of the good god, scribe, overseer of fields, Menna” (Fig. 93a; James Allen translation). In the tomb of Paury—*wab*-priest, first royal son in front of Amun, and overseer of peasants of Amun—the owner pours offerings as he is followed by his wife (holding sistrum and *menat*), the daughter who wears gazelle and plumes and has a faint Hathor sign in front of her (Fig. 93b), and a son, “his beloved, child of the royal nursery, Ptahmose called Nana.”

All four of these women with gazelle protomes wear a modius; Sitamun's has lotuses sprouting from it, Menna's presumably-older daughter, rosettes. Three of them wear plumes. The headdresses with flower stalks are reminiscent of a modius decorated by papyrus on the protomes of Sitamun's chair (and with papyrus[?] blossoms, Quibell 1908: pl. 38). There Sitamun is termed *s3t nswt* (king's daughter), while Menna's daughter is called *hkrt nswt* (ornament of the king)—a title formerly interpreted “royal concubine” (as in Aldred 1971: 205f. §60; A. Wilkinson 1971: 116f.). Noble-court extended this interpretation to suggest that an unnamed woman wearing a modius with rosettes on a vessel sherd excavated at Ugarit was an Amarna princess given in marriage to a Syrian ruler (1956; the author believes the woman portrayed is Syrian, as Eaton-Kraus 1985). However, the title is now thought to have courtly or cultic meaning more than sexual (most recently Haslauer [2001a: 77]; see also Beinlich-Seeber [Beinlich-Seeber and Shedid 1987: 107]).

The representations from the reign of Ramesses II show two of the king's daughters in a small temple at El-Kab, each with a gazelle protome on the brow (A. Wilkinson 1971: 117). Meryetamun is not given a title (for her lifetime titles see Troy 1986: 170) but Bintanat is termed “king's daughter” as well as “king's wife.” Each has a modius without stalks, shakes a sistrum, and carries a gazelle-headed wand. They face Iunmutef (“pillar of his mother”), a solar deity often associated with the crown prince.

## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

Neither the plumes, nor the floral headdress mentioned above, are attested from Wady D, although a gold sistrum with papyrus and double-Hathor heads was purported to have come from there (Winlock 1948: 10, 49). Furthermore, as Winlock noted, the Qurud women were not king's daughters and lacked the title *hkrt nswt*. However, it may be useful to further explore iconography associated with gazelles for king's daughters and royal ornaments to see if there is any relevance for the understanding of the gazelle diadem (see the chart, Appendix 4).

The plumes on the representations of gazelle diadems during the time of Amenhotep III are similar to Middle Kingdom "plumes" that rise from a papyrus umbel at the back of Sithathoryunet's crown and at the back of the head of women participating in Hathoric rites at Meir (as already noted by A. Wilkinson 1971: 73). These tall items would have caught sunlight, just as the streamers on Sithathoryunet's diadem. Brunton wondered whether the uprights on the Lahun diadem were intended to be *šwtj*—falcon feathers later worn by Hathor, daughter of Ra, and by Hatshepsut and Neferura as they offered bread to Hathor at Sinai (with modius and vulture headdress; Troy 1986: 164 §18.13.14 and 18.15.7; Brunton 1920: 27). However, perhaps another possibility for the origin of these plumes is the *wh*-fetish of Kusai (Gardiner R16), the district of Meir and location of Hathor worship. In addition to the three representations of gazelles with plumes in the 18th dynasty, plumes are shown on a small daughter of Tuthmosis IV during a Feast of the Valley scene in the private tomb of Horemheb (Appendix 4). She does not appear to have a gazelle on her forehead but it seems that the tomb owner's mother nearby had a pet gazelle under her chair.

The modius with flower stalks has been interpreted in a restricted manner (Van Siclen 1974), but, in fact, different types of women wear this headgear: Sitamun, with and without Hathoric imagery, before she was a queen; courtly private women with the epithet/title *hkrt nswt*; Nubian servants (they wear the same variety of crown as Sitamun); king's daughters for whom there is no evidence that they had sexual relations with their father; royal wives for whom there is no evidence of being king's daughters; and nude young women in the *mgdol*-style apartments of Ramesses III. O'Connor considers the latter group *nfrt* (communication, 6 Feb. 2001), while Troy terms them "maidens," in contrast to the married *hkrt nswt* who, with the *nfrt*, made up the harem and performed Hathoric ritual (Troy 1986: 78f.). The only preserved inscription for the Medinet Habu young women reads "children of the king," and while the young women depicted in the apartments wear various headdresses, the floral modius is not actually shown in that scene. O'Connor points out that none of those women is named, but a name may not be needed to signify royalty. In any event, without denying the possibility that a king had intimate relations with his daughters, recent research stresses less the sexual than the symbolic, religious, political, and even economic roles of royal women. Bryan has recently commented that "it remains a possibility that the title 'King's wife' was, in the case of [Amenhotep III's] daughters, merely a rank title, conferred as a courtesy to ensure revenues" (2001: 73).

In conclusion, it seems clear that New Kingdom women associated with the royal harem wore gazelle diadems, and it can be proposed that there was a reference to Hathor in the diadems. It may be that the gazelle protome for women was instigated by foreign women. While it may seem that the Wady Qurud diadem is over designed (felines, two gazelles, rosettes), the iconography is not inconsistent with the period and society.

### 108 GAZELLE DIADEM

Figs. 91g, 92a–d, 155

MMA 26.8.99 (P 83, diadem; P 129, one rosette).

SOURCE Purchase, George F. Baker and Mr. and Mrs. V. Everit Macy Gifts, 1920.

MATERIALS Gold (see Appendix 2), carnelian, opaque turquoise glass, decayed crizzled glass.

#### DIMENSIONS

*bands* L of forehead band 48.0, W at bottom of vertical strip 3.0.

*gazelle* (proper right) W at ears 2.3.

*rosettes* Diam 2.4 and 2.3.

*carnelian inlays in cloisons* L 0.8–0.85.

MANUFACTURE The band is T-shaped, comprised of one horizontal tapered strip and a second, perpendicular strip joined at its midpoint. X rays show the bands to be relatively featureless, but the proper left side is thicker than the right, as is the mid-section of the vertical band. A series of short parallel lines on the underside of the vertical band in the middle part are not visible on X rays, but clear with magnification. They appear to have been made by a roulette, in an area about 4" long. These lines are surely modern but their origin is unknown.

Baines believes that the band's two strips probably came from the same sheet, were chiseled in short sections, and then torn along scoring marks. The edges reveal that, on the proper left of the diadem, the tear along the top was from the front, while on the proper right, the tear was from the back. The join of the two bands was neatly made with a step-like overlap that is highlighted on the back with tiny beads of gold, a situation Schorsch has seen on New World metalwork (communication Dec. 2000; cf. Schorsch 1998: 120ff.). According to Baines, the stepped construction was fused, hammered, and then fused again, a type of join heretofore unknown to Schorsch in Egyptian gold work. Sureness of workmanship is evident in the strips, but there are surface scratches especially around the posts (see below).

Each of the three ends tapers towards its terminus, and each has a repoussé feline head attached there. All three heads have solder adjacent to them on the band (Fig. 92d [right] for the proper right), and in two cases, on the head as well. According to Baines, the quality of the heads is very similar to the bands, and he believes all these parts were made together. The heads were pressed from one die, with that on the vertical band the best rendered and without after-work. The section of band

behind each head has been pierced with an air hole. A ring has been soldered at the mouth of the proper left leopard; the means of attachment for the proper right ring (which has a groove down the center as if from swaging) is not evident; the ring from the vertical strip's leopard is missing. String passing through the three rings no doubt tied the headdress together in back, with some space left between the termini (Fig. 155 [below]).

In the center of the horizontal strip are two gazelle protomes, of much higher workmanship than the parts just described. Each was made from two halves of thick sheet gold that were fused together (no doubt with a copper mineral salt), extensively burnished, and chased with naturalistic details (Winlock 1948: pl. 7). According to Baines, the ears and horns are solid, with the horns—one thicker than the other—forged and made by the same person. Joins around the horns and left ear of the proper right gazelle are green, indicating the use of a copper salt for diffusion bonding. A wire ring around the base of each neck, on the other hand, has been summarily soldered into place with considerable excess solder left on the surface (Fig. 92b). The heads fit loosely onto hollow conical posts (Fig. 92a; Winlock 1948: pl. 41b), and can be made fully secure only by adhesive. These posts are asymmetrically shaped and seamed on the underside. On the top side of the proper right post, a strip strengthens that post's attachment to the band. There are small drops of solder around the posts. The gazelles are not interchangeable on the posts. The posts provide a mechanical support for the protomes, and the vertical band, tied in back, counteracts the weight of the gazelles.

Six rosettes are attached to the bands: two to each side of the protomes, and two on the vertical strip (Figs. 92a, d [left], 155 [above]). These are individual assemblages comprised of a gold disk edged by a wall, within which are individual hook-, loop-, and petal-shaped walls holding twelve inlays of alternating carnelian, turquoise glass, and crizzled glass that is sometimes a pale blue. The spandrels between the petals also have crizzled glass inlays. The order of the petal inlays is the same on the rosettes of the vertical band and on the rosette to the proper left of the gazelles; a different scheme exists on the remaining rosettes. Also, the color scheme in each rosette is never

consistent—for example, red never occurs in the same place, as at 2 o'clock.

The rosettes are in two sizes in order to accommodate the tapered bands; they fill the width at which they are placed. All are set into rings that formed bezels when they were joined to the bands. One rosette (on the proper right, closest to the center) can be lifted out of its bezel; it is clear that this ring was neatly fused to the band along the ring's inner edge, and a thin stray coupon lies within the ring. However, there is messy solder around the exterior of this bezel and on the band, and, in fact, such solder exists around all bezels, especially on the vertical band (Fig. 92d [left]) and on the proper left side of the diadem. In all but the rosette that can be lifted out, the bezel was pushed inward around the top to secure the rosette assemblage. In the outermost rosette on the proper left, the thicker gold of the ring was additionally pushed down with a tool. The attachment scheme for the assemblages is typologically similar to that for a rosette in a bowl from Tanis (Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 449). What is curious, however, is that the rosette assemblage that comes out of its bezel on the diadem shows wear on the back as well as damage from overheating, at the same time as the interior of the bezel is clean.

Below the protomes are six flat rings flanking a central ring of rounded wire, slightly out of line with the other rings (Fig. 92a). The wire ring is the same type as on the feline heads, although larger. The seven rings are not equidistant, and all but the second and third from the proper right have excessive solder near them; furthermore, a number are askew. There is wear on the exterior surfaces but not on the interior.

CONDITION Ring for central leopard head is missing. Many inlays are missing or deteriorated, but the central one on one rosette is preserved, pace Winlock 1948: 17; a turquoise glass inlay in the innermost left rosette is reset.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1933: 159f.; 1935: fig. 8; 1948: 16f., pls. 6–7, 41b; Hayes 1959b: 131, fig. 70; N. Scott 1964: 234, figs. 26–7; Aldred 1971: 206, pl. 61; A. Wilkinson 1971: 115f., pls. 4 and 41; C. Andrews 1990: 8, fig. 3; Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 343; Quaegebeur 1999: 124, fig. 37; Haslauer 2001b: no. 74; Lilyquist 2002: 460 no. 186; Ziegler 2002: 263 fig. 31.

### Five pairs of earrings (109–113); see pp. 120, 125, 224

#### *Provenance*

Pairs 109–110 have the decayed crizzled glass widely associated with Wady DI. Pairs 111–112 probably did not have glass inlay and are less substantial, but have a similar design and the same standard early provenance. The construction of pair 113 is more elaborate, and its decorative element is different; however, it shares the basic configuration, is surely of royal workshop quality, and has the same modern history.

#### *Previous assessment*

Winlock considered these ornaments hair rings because of the difficulty of seeing them under wigs and the discomfort of threading the posts through ear lobes (1948: 17f.). Hayes as well as Wilkinson understood them as earrings (Hayes 1959b: 131; A. Wilkinson 1971: 122, 220 note 15, pl. 45a).

#### *Current understanding*

Representations indicate that these ornaments are earrings (Bourriau 1981: no. 50 and 1987: pl. 31 no. 4; Bakr 1977: fig. 4); logically, a post would not exist if the ring were simply to hold hair.

## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

The glass-inlaid disks with dots in the center are an unusual form, although the motif occurs in Tutankhamun's jewelry (Edwards 1976b: nos. 1, 24, 33). One of the earring sets of Meret, the wife of Kha, also apparently had disks (Curto et al. 1980: fig. 3) although not so indicated in the first X-ray images (Curto and Mancini 1968: 79). As for the set with sedge appliqué, a pair in the BM has a small gold flower (C. Andrews 1990: 112; Tait 1976: 62 no. 55.d).

Smaller red-gold examples without attachments were found in Assasif excavations that Carter dated to the 17th dynasty (Carnarvon and Carter 1912: 67 no. 83, 86 §Niche [G]83, pl. 69.2 no. 37-83, MMA 26.7.1321-1323). They are comprised of four triangular ribs backed by a solid plate, with a diameter of 2.5. Examples from nearby tombs (MMA 26.7.1334-1337) are similar to those of Petrie's Qurna woman (Petrie 1909: 9; Eremin et al. 2000: 37f.): four round tubes, scored at the ends or along the tubes. Larger examples found at Thebes probably date to the time of Tuthmosis III (Passalacqua 1826: 159 no. 601 and Möller 1910: 26 no. 21, formerly Berlin 1826/7). They did not occur in the Ahhotep group (contra A. Wilkinson 1971: 122 and Eaton-Krauss 1982: no. 293). The four pairs illustrated by Mariette (1871: pl. 31), and mislabeled in later museum *Guides*, are from unknown mummies at Thebes (JdE 3375-82; Vernier 1907: CG 52378-81, CG 52409-12), while the large single earring illustrated by Mariette is from Saqqara (JdE 6471) and two pairs of similar ornaments no doubt from elsewhere as well. Two corrugated gold rings assigned to Dynasty 13 were found in Garstang's Abydos tomb E108 (Garstang 1901: 4, frontispiece); they are oval bracelets with pierced, curved ends that converge.

### 109 PAIR OF INLAID DISK EARRINGS

Figs. 91h, 152a  
MMA 26.8.93a, b (P 42).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIALS Gold, transparent crizzled glass.

DIMENSIONS Ring Diam 3.6, W 1.2.

MANUFACTURE Ring is made of six triangular tubes lying side by side, their apexes outward. The ends of all tubes are open, and the two inner ones project beyond the others to form a post that would have gone through an ear lobe. The inner surfaces of these triangular tubes are poorly worked. At the point where the two central tubes project beyond the other four on each earring, an inlaid disk is fused, perpendicular to the tubes. This unit is made of separate back, sides, and interior ring (yielding double walls of gold). Inlaid in the space between the interior ring and the outer edge of the disk are remains of decayed crizzled glass.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 8b (lower left); Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 340 (second pair from left).

### 110 PAIR OF LESS WELL-PRESERVED INLAID DISK EARRINGS

Fig. 152b  
MMA 26.8.94a, b (P 43).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIALS Gold (see Appendix 2), transparent crizzled glass, carnelian.

DIMENSIONS Ring Diam 3.5, W 1.3.

MANUFACTURE As 109, except that the inner rings of the disks are single walls, and carnelian inlay is preserved in the center of one. The back of cloison 26.8.94b is poorly worked, with what appear to be reinforcements (Fig. 89b). The inner surface of this earring's triangular tubes is also irregular, and there are gaps in the solder between the tubes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 8b (lower right); Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 340 (leftmost pair).

### 111 PAIR OF DISK EARRINGS

Fig. 153b  
MMA 26.8.95a, b (P 44).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS Ring Diam 3.1, W 1.2.

MANUFACTURE Made similarly to 109-110 except that disk units are more shallow, appear made of one piece of gold, and have no inner ring. Egyptian blue would be a logical inlay material here, as in the spiral 186 and presumably in a series of gold shell pendants that are in the MMA's Hyksos group (MMA 68.136.19).

CONDITION No remains of inlay or cement.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1935: fig. 13 (right); Winlock 1948: pl. 8b (middle left); Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 340 (rightmost pair).

### 112 SECOND PAIR OF DISK EARRINGS

Fig. 153a  
MMA 26.8.96a, b (P 45).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS Ring Diam 3.3, W 1.2.

MANUFACTURE As 111.

CONDITION No remains of inlay or cement.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 8b (middle right); Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 340 (second pair from right).

### 113 PAIR OF SEDGE EARRINGS

Fig. 154  
MMA 26.8.92a, b (P 41).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

PROVENANCE Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS Ring Diam 3.5, W 2.0.

MANUFACTURE General scheme as above, but this pair is more substantial. Eight tubes with triangular cross section have been bent into a circle; the central two tubes are longer than the others and terminate 0.4 from the starting point. A solid strip of gold has been fused to the flat, inner surfaces of the tubes; the ends of this strip are serrated and bent up to cover the open triangular ends of the six outermost tubes. Where the two tubes project beyond the six, an upright sedge blossom is fused. It has a neat back plate; the top, raised surface is cut out for inlay with the edges folded down. One sedge has solder on its back plate.

CONDITION No traces of inlay; slight traces of cement?

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1935: fig. 13 (left); Winlock 1948: pls. 6, 8b (top); Hayes 1959b: fig. 70.

## Chapter 5

**Wig covering (114);** see pp. 125, 226f.

### *Provenance*

A single rosette was found by Chaban in the tomb, of distinctive configuration and materials (pp. 29f., 120). It is inlaid with turquoise glass and carnelian.

Carter saw several rosette elements with dealers in the fall of 1916 (pp. 47f.; cf. p. 125), of horseshoe, trapezoid, and square shape. The square shape has not otherwise been documented.

### *Previous assessment*

From the early 20th century, a flat gold disk and hundreds of inlaid gold elements associated with Wady DI posed a challenge of reconstruction. Chaban termed the horseshoe-shaped element he excavated simply a “bijoux,” and Carter first thought that the horseshoe and trapezoid shapes were either elements from a “network,” or pendants from a necklace. By 1937, however, Winlock was sure that the two shapes plus an oval one could be strung into ribbons and suspended around the edge of the flat gold disk. Indeed, the rosette at the lower part of each trapezoid element is roughly the size of the smallest rosette of the horseshoe-shaped elements, and the rosette of each terminal is roughly the size of the largest rosette of the horseshoe-shaped elements.

Winlock strung fifteen and one-half trapezoids, seven hundred seventy horseshoes, and ten terminals into thirty-seven ribbons and attached them to what he now considered a head plate for the “Great Headdress” (Winlock 1937; Lansing 1940: pl. 8). The greatest number of elements by far were of horseshoe shape; they were of various diameters from 0.9 to 1.9. But as there were more carnelian lunette inlays than terminals to hold them, Winlock had a number of terminals made up to aid the arrangement; he added reproductions of trapezoids and rosettes as well.

The resulting headdress was long, slender, and somewhat bell-shaped, but—on the belief that all elements belonged to that one assembly because there was only one head plate—Winlock posited that the headdress would have been longer still on the sides and back. In the 1948 publication he recognized that this reconstruction would have been “uncomfortably heavy” to wear, but did not seem to consider that, when all ribbons were intermeshed into a narrow tube, no human’s neck would have been long enough to wear the jewel in a normal manner (1948: 14–6, pls. 3–5). He strung small loop-and-ring beads (201) along the hairline, believed that the inlays of the head plate would have been one color, thought the turquoise-colored inlay in the elements was stone (it is glass), and realized that several smiths had been involved in the gold working. For illustrations and limited discussion of this assemblage, see Hayes 1959b: 131f. fig. 69; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1962: 16; N. Scott 1964: 232–4; Kayser 1969: fig. 190; Aldred 1971: 206f., pl. 62; A. Wilkinson 1971: 114f., pl. 39; Feucht 1975: 391, fig. 397; Hibbard 1986: fig. 62; Reeves 2000: 150.

When additional inlaid elements were acquired from the art market between 1958 and 1970 under N. Scott’s recommendation (twelve trapezoids, three hundred seventy-nine horseshoes, and twenty-six terminals), Aldred observed that Winlock’s reconstruction was actually too long (note that five additional trapezoids, thirteen rosettes, and one terminal were acquired by the MMA in 1982–83, and still further rosettes are known, 115–28). Considering the fact that only one head plate had come to light, Aldred wondered whether some inlaid elements might not have been used in other ways, particularly as there were small differences in manufacture (MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art). He suggested making a collar with a portion of the elements, while Scott suggested a *khat*-headdress, the advantage of the latter being that it required only a few terminals. By 1961, Scott had decided on a chaplet without head plate (N. Scott 1964: fig. 24; A. Wilkinson 1971: pl. 40).

### *Current understanding*

The following comments are based upon the extensive technical description provided below under the section “Manufacture.”

From 1978, when a renewed study of the tomb was begun, a question of authenticity arose with the disk and elements because it appeared that most items had been manipulated in modern times. This study resulted in the conviction that the disk is ancient but that the rosettes generally fell into two groups, one ancient and one modern. The study was begun by X-raying Winlock’s and Scott’s assemblages (Fig. 157), then disassembling and separating the rosettes into two lots according to thickness of gold, presence or absence of flashing around the edges, and character of the central boss (convex, hammered flat, or newly produced from a die). However, further study was required.

To begin with, the “best” elements (those least tampered with) were not of high quality, as compared, for example, with the falcon terminals of 129. That is, the elements had poorly attached walls, rings, and spokes that indicated a problem of design and temperature control. The horseshoe-shaped element excavated by Chaban, with no signs of modern intervention, was found to have flashing at the edges of the back plate, summarily cut inlays, and weak



## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

cement, the latter no doubt due to water in the tomb (Fig. 89a). SEM-analysis spoke for the authenticity of the MMA elements; the gold of one rosette—believed to be unmodified—was sectioned in 1982, and it had typical corrosion patterns (Stone), with the surface composition differing from the interior composition as expected when silver has been leached out by water. A copper salt had been added for joining purposes.

In addition, while resin from the burial had presumably been deposited on the items, and glass inlay had deteriorated in the tomb, the gold matrixes had become battered from handling (thicker walls held up better). Further, dealers had undoubtedly (and the MMA possibly) cleaned some elements mechanically, sometimes resetting or adding inlay, or strengthening and adding loops. The best-preserved housings (usually those with crizzled glass still in place) were those with a smooth join between side wall and back plate, a shiny appearance as if burnished by use, patches of iron oxide or silver sulfide, irregular buttons, and an indication of original inlay or bedding. But even elements with these features might have excess solder. Only after many years of study did it become clear that there were two groups, one substantially ancient, the other substantially modern (see 272–88 for the latter).

The total number of now accepted elements is tallied thus:

	trapezoids	horseshoes	terminals
<i>MMA</i>			
wig cover (114)	28½	403	31
groups (120–8)		301	6
		24 <sup>2</sup>	
<i>other locations</i>			
groups (115–9)	3	104	1
	<hr/> 31½	<hr/> 832	<hr/> 38

These tallies do not include other possible items, as noted in the literature but which the author has not seen:

one rosette now in the Allard Pierson Museum (1984: no. 147, and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1992: fig. 99; H 2.2, according to Willem van Haarlem [i.e., illustrated at 1:1]);  
three rosettes formerly on the London art market (Christie, Manson & Woods 1979: lot 64; 1985: lot 197);  
twenty-five rosettes in the Tokyo National Museum (H 1.8, W 1.32, Th 0.18 according to Takeshi Gotoh).

It seems likely that Winlock was correct in forming a headdress. A good number of horseshoe-shaped elements can be used with trapezoids and terminals to form ribbons, and these may be suspended from the disk to create a type of wig ornament. A parallel for such an assemblage appears to be represented on the early 18th dynasty coffin of Meryetamun (Winlock 1932: frontispiece, pls. 22–3) where a flat area on top of the head curves back from the forehead past the crown, probably to indicate the section where the wig's braids were tied together. The wig itself is decorated with vertical rows of chevron-shaped cloisons that were probably inlaid with Egyptian blue; the resulting effect was a jeweled wig. (The representation of a later wig covering is shown in Wolf 1957: fig. 679.)

A small silver statuette in Leiden suggests another proposal (H. Schneider 1981: no. 13; 1997: no. 77). A purchased object marked with the cartouche *mn-hpr-r*<sup>c</sup>, this figure shows a solid gold wig or wig cover on the head. However, the pieces available in 1983, when the present headdress was constructed, did not allow a completely meshed wig cover.

In the arrangement presented here, far fewer elements are used than in Winlock's day because only well-preserved, substantially ancient elements were selected, and a shorter length was deemed advisable. The elements are strung into individual ribbons that flare out with the modern wig on which they are placed, preventing buckling and allowing the wig to be seen as in Middle Kingdom examples (Hayes 1953: fig. 146; Lange and Hirmer 1968: pl. 84; Petrie 1930: pl. 24). As the elements are quite fragile and the head plate relatively flat, it is assumed that the entire assemblage would have been sewn to a wig in order to keep it in place. Elements were chosen that slightly gradate (the early reconstruction used many horseshoe-shaped elements with identical rosette diameters within a single ribbon), and thus the ribbons are short enough to clear a wearer's shoulder. Of course they could be made longer by increasing the number of horseshoe examples.

The present arrangement alternates the color of the trapezoid rosettes horizontally, red and blue. The color of the horseshoe rosettes is the same horizontally but it alternates vertically (each rosette matches the color of the

<sup>2</sup> See 273, 276–8, 281 in Chapter 7.

rosette to its right and left but each ribbon alternates red and blue vertically). All rosettes in the terminals are inlaid with carnelian. Altogether, the assemblage has a regular pattern in a comparatively even tonality, instead of the impressionistic effect of earlier years that was heightened by the lack of inlay, different shades of gold back plates, and use of reproductions.

An additional six terminals are not accommodated in the wig cover (124). Eight and one-half trapezoids on the headdress are slightly in doubt because of their pale pristine backs (proper left: sixth, seventh, tenth, thirteenth back; and proper right: ninth, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth back) but are more convincing than four separate trapezoids for the left side of the head that have been judged modern (282).

#### *Additional iconographic comments*

The palmette chased on the disk has parallels on horse trappings from the tomb of Amenhotep II (Daressy 1902: 70 no. 24124, 76 no. 24144) and a quiver from the tomb of Maiherpri (loc. cit., 32 no. CG 24071), both of which have Near Eastern associations. The diamonds at the top of the trapezoids occur in Egypt and the Near East. The rosettes are simple blossoms that are seen in *kheker*-friezes of contemporary tombs (Brack and Brack 1980: pl. 6); they also occur as far back as the Dynasty 4 diadem of Nofret (Aldred 1971: fig. 18).

#### 114 WIG COVERING

Figs. 91f, 158, 159

MMA 26.8.117a (comprised of P 33, 84, 179, 181, 195, 198–9, 201, 203), incorporating 58.153.2–3, 66.2.7, 1970.169.80, 1982.137.1, 1983.96.1–13, and selective 58.153.1 and 66.2.1).

SOURCE Various purchases: mainly Henry Walters and Edward S. Harkness Gifts, 1920, with Frederick P. Huntley Bequest, 1958, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1966, Rogers Fund, 1970, Lila Acheson Wallace Gifts, 1982–83.

MATERIALS Gold, gesso, carnelian and jasper, transparent crizzled glass, opaque turquoise glass.

DIMENSIONS H as arranged 24.0. Diam of rosettes 0.7–1.0 (trapezoids), 0.9–1.9 (horseshoes), 1.6–2.1 (terminals).

#### MANUFACTURE

*disk* The gold disk is comprised of two parallel sheets, the bottom one slightly concave and the top almost flat (Fig. 159). The surface of the top plate is chased with a palmette comprised of one central and twenty-one radiating fronds. Between the radiating fronds are twenty leaf-shaped cloisons; these openings were smoothed, then lined with strips running perpendicularly between the two plates. The strips begin at the central frond and meet at the tip; an additional strip also follows the outline of the central frond as a support between the two plates. Around the disk's circumference is a perpendicular strip that holds the two plates together.

The lower sheet has a bubbly surface that is eaten through in one spot; there is a large patch as well. Baines suggests that these are signs that the object was overheated when rings were attached to the circumference, due to the differential in the disk's porosity. Between the tip of each cloison and the circumference of the object, the plate is cut in several places and patched. There are presently thirty loops, attached at various intervals. MMA records state that the Museum attached two rings on the proper left front in 1935, but considered the rest original. The central loop is clearly attached with lead; excess solder and some filing surrounds most of the other loops but several are intact.

No trace of inlay was found in the cloisons, but some substances were noted: a gesso-like material stained by resin and a quartz grain-like substance. Egyptian blue is most likely to have been the inlay material of the cloisons; faience, stone, or glass are less likely.

*elements* The inlaid elements known today come in three shapes (as illustrated on p. 125 and Winlock 1948: pl. 5): one thin and elongated, having trapezoidal top and inverted U along the bottom; a second, horseshoe-shaped, with its top and bottom curved in parallel; and a third, elongated and oval, and eventually understood as a terminal. The top of the trapezoidal shape usually angles to right or left rather than running horizontally; the sides of this type and of the horseshoe type splay outward slightly. It should be noted that Carter saw a fourth, square shape; this has not been seen elsewhere (Fig. 20).

Each of the three major types has a back plate to which various perpendicular strips are joined to form edges as well as a rosette of radiating spokes. The trapezoidal elements have a diamond-shaped cloison above each rosette, and the oval terminals have three lunette-shaped cloisons below each rosette. In the horseshoe type, Vs are set to either side and below the rosette. In a number of cases there is flashing at the edges, or separation between the back plate and strips. The point where the spokes converge is covered by a disk that is either flat from beating or convex from a die. One element has several coupons on the reverse (proper right side, ninth ribbon back). Another has V-shaped spokes, and a fourth, converging spokes; three others have spokes converging but not meeting. Spokes vary in thickness. Some buttons are lumpy, others flat, still others convex.

All three shapes have rings at the edges for stringing; gold ring beads were no doubt originally strung between them. The trapezoid shape has two or three suspension rings on the sides and one or two at the top; the horseshoe has one or two on each side; and the terminal has two or three on each side. In the majority of cases, the horseshoe examples with similar sized rosettes have rings placed similarly; thus—although originally perhaps possible to intermesh the elements—it is very difficult to construct a large assemblage with horizontal interlocking today.

Some of the elements' back plates have a smooth surface, others show impressions of the cloisons, and a number have dots punched from inside (as the example of Chaban, p. 120), possibly caused by the pressure of spokes from the top. Marks that must be intentional, however, include a scribed circle on the back of several horseshoe-shaped elements, and lines on the trapezoids and terminals as follows. Five terminals have vertical

## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

strokes made from inside, more or less in the center of the plate (in denominations of three [two times], four, and nine [two times]). Some of these strokes may be modern but most are probably not. There are also four terminals with marks from the inside that look like flags flying left; in at least one of these cases, the marks are convincingly ancient. Eight other terminals have notches along the bottom edge (in denominations of three [two times], four, five, six, seven, nine [two times]). Two trapezoids also have ticks (one has two and another has eight). However, since the majority of the elements have no marks of any kind, the marks described here could not be used to determine placement (see p. 81 on marks).

*inlays in elements* More carnelian than glass inlays were lost, and some of the former have been reset in modern times after extensive cleaning of the gold housings. Carnelian inlays often show polishing lines, and occasionally the surfaces show grinding, as on the gold elements. Evidence for original coloration is:

*trapezoids*

one has a crizzled glass diamond and a carnelian rosette, and another has the opposite scheme; in a third, both diamond and rosette are crizzled glass; and in a fourth and fifth, the rosette is glass or carnelian but the diamond inlays are not preserved. In all trapezoids with original inlay preserved, the odd spaces are filled with turquoise glass. Five trapezoids have carnelian rosettes, ten have crizzled glass rosettes, and one is a hybrid (three inlays of each);

*horseshoe-shaped elements*

rosettes have either crizzled glass or carnelian, seldom jasper; cusps have copper-colored glass with one exception (dark amber glass);

*terminals*

one fully intact example has a carnelian rosette with one carnelian lunette flanked by two crizzled glass lunettes; other terminals corroborate this scheme in part.

The crizzled glass sometimes has a faint blue tinge, as in the gazelle diadem rosettes and as in the horse shoe-shaped element that was analyzed and found to have been colored with cobalt (Lilyquist and Brill 1993: 32 no. F).

*cement* Where preserved, the bedding material of the rosettes is white plaster containing calcium carbonate and gypsum with organic binders (Cleveland/Grossbard). In about 25% of the crizzled glass inlaid elements, the cement contained some Egyptian blue.

**ARRANGEMENT** Thirty-one “ribbons” are suspended from thirty loops along the circumference of the disk: 28½ trapezoidal units (plus 2½ restorations), 403 horseshoe-shaped elements (31 ribbons of 13 rosettes each), and 31 terminal units.

**CONDITION** Several reddish accretions noted on the gold; one was analyzed as lepidocrosite, a deposit from ground water that appeared as an orange patch with a tide line of developing tarnish films (cf. Frantz and Schorsch 1990: 148–50). Presence of resin on several elements. Relatively few inlays reset. Some rings with sharp edges (modern?). Occasional separation of wall from plate, tear in back plate. One glass rosette has fine texture, as if from cloth impressions (proper right: eleventh ribbon back, eighth down).

**BIBLIOGRAPHY** Dorman 1984: 26f.; Dorman 1987: 50 no. 33; C. Andrews 1990: fig. 90; Lilyquist 1991: fig. 21; Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 339.

## VARIOUS ROSETTES

**Fourteen groups of inlaid rosettes (115–28);** see pp. 228f.

*Provenance*

Like the rosette elements reconstructed in the wig covering, the rosettes below match the example found by Chaban (p. 45).

*Current understanding*

The 429 elements below, all of them believed to be from the Wady Qurud, are additional to those of the wig cover. Three hundred one are in the MMA, and were strung in 1983 according to their degree of preservation. They were acquired 1919–22 and 1958–66, and include elements formerly in the Great Headdress (comprised of P 33, 84, 179, 181, 195, 198–9, 201, 203), selective 66.2.1 and probably selective 58.153.1 (Purchases: Henry Walters and Edward S. Harkness Gifts, 1920; Frederick P. Huntley Bequest, 1958; Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1966).

Various possibilities exist for the use of the 429 units. A few may have been used on a head ornament, like the circlet with pendants Champollion rendered from a Theban tomb (Champollion 1845: pl. 154.2), or the modius worn by women in Menna’s tomb (Fig. 93a; Aldred, 1971: 205, considers the modius containers for fat). Fancy head ornaments are seen on Sitamun, daughter of Amenhotep III, as well as servants in the tomb of Yuya and Tuya, in-laws of Amenhotep III (Quibell 1908: pls. 36, 40, 43; A. Wilkinson 1971: 116). Such headdresses could have been made of permanent materials.

Another possibility is that some units may have been used in a collar with radiating stripes, even a rounded edge (Brack and Brack 1980: pl. 7; N. Davies and Gardiner 1936[1]: pl. 35; N. Davies 1963: pls. 1, 16). Items of clothing are also possibilities, as outlined in the discussion of elements with loops on p. 123. Representations of clothing for Tuthmosis IV (Brack and Brack 1980: pl. 6d) and other personages demonstrate complex patterns (Riefstahl 1944), but—given the origins of the Wady Qurud deceased—foreign fashions are also possibilities. For example, a later 18th dynasty representation in the BM depicts a shawl (Wallert 1967: 118 no. L 50), while the small gold and silver

figure from Leiden has a unique costume. Practicality suggests, however, that—if for clothing—the Wady D inlaid elements would not have been worn on large areas of the body because of their fragility.

In fact it is difficult to know the function of a number of individual Egyptian jewel fragments today: an element from the tomb of Nefertary (Leblanc and Sadek 1989: fig. 3; Getty Conservation Institute 1988) and a clasp with Tuthmosis III's name (H. Schneider 1995: 44–6) are examples. An understanding of the rosettes' function(s) remains elusive.

**115 FOURTEEN GLASS-INLAID ROSETTES**

Fig. 160c (left)

SOURCE European private collection.

MATERIALS Gold, crizzled glass, turquoise glass.

DIMENSIONS Diam of rosettes 1.1–1.5.

MANUFACTURE One or several V-spokes. Some backs smooth, others with punch marks that are sometimes associated with pressure from spokes on front. Several elements with excess gold; two with open seams. Some buttons flat, others convex.

CONDITION Original inlay and cement in each element.

One element has tears in back plate; some turquoise glass inlay and a few loops missing.

**116 FORTY-THREE STONE-INLAID ROSETTES**

Fig. 160a (left)

SOURCE European private collection.

MATERIALS Gold, carnelian and jasper, turquoise glass.

DIMENSIONS Diam of rosettes 1.0–1.5.

MANUFACTURE Several back plates with small hole, excess solder, punch marks, or open seam. Two with section of a circle chased on back plate, corresponding to circumference of rosette. Buttons convex and flat. Red inlay frequently has polishing marks.

CONDITION One element with tears in back plate; some loops missing. Some inlay missing but no restorations. Several elements have traces of resin, including one in a group of six that are detailed slightly differently.

**117 THIRTY-EIGHT INLAID ELEMENTS (THREE TRAPEZOIDS, THIRTY-FOUR HORSESHOES, ONE TERMINAL)**

Fig. 160b (right)

SOURCE Ligabue Collection, Venice.

MATERIALS Gold, carnelian and jasper, turquoise glass.

MANUFACTURE Not examined by author.

**118 SEVEN ROSETTES**

Fig. 160c (center)

Berlin Ägyptisches Museum 22452.

SOURCE Purchased from Mohareb Todros, Luxor, in winter 1925/26 from "ein Prinzessinnengrab aus der Zeit Thutmoses III. am Ende des Wadi Gabanet el Qurud" (Rudolf Anthes letter to Ambrose Lansing, 2 Nov. 1948, MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art).

MATERIALS Gold, carnelian, turquoise glass, transparent crizzled glass.

DIMENSIONS Diam of rosettes 0.9–1.3 (Museum).

MANUFACTURE Author examined these in 1987. Slides kindly supplied by the Museum in 2001 show that all are ancient. The elements are consistent with Cairo Museum and MMA rosettes: some of backs are punched from within, one has losses, side walls lift away from backs, there is excess solder on rings. At least two rosettes have original carnelian inlays and a third rosette has original crizzled glass. A fourth rosette appears to have carnelian reset over crizzled glass. The cusp inlays appear turquoise colored.

CONDITION Many inlays missing. Resin on one, according to photos. Reddish film on several backs. Missing in Fig. 160c from the group of ten photographed by Scharff are left row, top; center row, bottom; right row, second from top.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Scharff 1930: 118; Kaiser 1967: 62 no. 682.

**119 TWO GLASS-INLAID ROSETTES**

Fig. 160d

SOURCE New York art market, 1980; present location unknown.

MATERIALS Gold, crizzled glass, turquoise glass.

DIMENSIONS Diam of rosettes 1.3.

**120 FORTY-NINE STONE-INLAID ROSETTES**

Fig. 160a (right)

MMA 26.8.117b.

SOURCE See above.

MATERIALS Gold; carnelian and jasper; turquoise glass.

DIMENSIONS Panel H 15.3, W 11.7; Diam of rosettes 1.0–2.1.

MANUFACTURE Buttons flat or convex. Other features seen elsewhere are walls separating from backs, punches, excess solder. One element has chipped jasper inlays.

CONDITION A few holes in back; a collapsed wall. All elements have cement, approximately half of inlays preserved. A few reset inlays inserted with wax; resin on one element.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Haslauer 2001b: no. 75.

**121 FIFTY-NINE GLASS-INLAID ROSETTES**

Fig. 160b (left)

MMA 26.8.117c.

SOURCE See above.

MATERIALS Gold; crizzled glass; turquoise glass.

DIMENSIONS Panel H 13.2, W 18.0; Diam of rosettes 1.0–2.0.

MANUFACTURE Interior of back plates pale gold to dark copper; small holes, some excess solder, occasional flashing, punch marks, a few backs with open seams or tears; part of a scribed circle on one. Several have pieces of collapsed walls inside. Buttons in various configurations, including flat.

CONDITION Most have original glass inlay or cement; resin on several.

**122 TEN ROSETTES**

Fig. 160c (right)

MMA 26.8.117d.

SOURCE See above.

MATERIALS Gold; turquoise glass.

DIMENSIONS Panel H 9.5, W 6.4; Diam of rosettes 1.4–2.0.

MANUFACTURE Two with holes from inside, two with lower part of circle chased on outside, one with collapsed wall inside, one with excess solder. Some open seams.

CONDITION A few traces of glass inlay, some cement.

## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

### 123 THIRTY-EIGHT ROSETTES WITH INLAYS

Fig. 161b (right)

MMA 26.8.117e.

SOURCE See above.

MATERIALS Gold, carnelian and jasper, turquoise glass.

DIMENSIONS Panel H 10.2, W 11.5; Diam of rosettes 1.0–1.8.

MANUFACTURE AND CONDITION Almost all inlays waxed in place, making assessment difficult. File marks on spokes; a number of new rings. A little original cement and glass inlay.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Lilyquist 1987: no. 316.

### 124 SIX TERMINALS WITH RESET INLAYS

Fig. 161c (left)

MMA 26.8.117f.

SOURCE See above.

MATERIALS Gold, carnelian or jasper.

DIMENSIONS Panel H 3.8, W 12.5; Diam of rosettes 1.8–1.9.

MANUFACTURE One terminal with three ticks in edge, one with six (two on proper right). All but one button flat or slightly convex.

CONDITION Tiny bits of original cement preserved; all stone inlays reset. Third button from proper right is newly stamped.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Lilyquist 1987: no. 316.

### 125 ONE ROSETTE

Fig. 161c (right)

MMA 26.8.117g.

SOURCE See above.

MATERIALS Gold, resin, carnelian; glass?

DIMENSIONS Diam of rosette 1.4.

CONDITION Resin newly inserted among spokes; surface of carnelian is ground. One cusp inlay possibly original.

### 126 TWENTY-TWO ROSETTES

Fig. 161b

MMA 26.8.117h.

SOURCE See above.

MATERIALS Gold, carnelian, turquoise glass.

DIMENSIONS Panel H 8.2, W 7.5; Diam of rosettes 0.9–1.5.

MANUFACTURE One back plate has hole, two have a scribed circle.

CONDITION Several pieces of inlay reset; one element has ancient cement.

### 127 SEVENTY ROSETTES

Fig. 161a (left)

MMA 26.8.117i.

SOURCE See above.

MATERIALS Gold, carnelian, turquoise glass.

DIMENSIONS Panel H 18.2, W 9.5; Diam of rosettes 0.9–1.6.

MANUFACTURE Few holes in backs, excess solder, walls separating from back plates. Two have scribed circles on backs. Dark blue, translucent, glass cusp inlay in middle row, eighth down; petal inlay with it is reset carnelian.

CONDITION A little original inlay and bits of cement, rest of inlay reset.

### 128 FIFTY-TWO ROSETTES

Fig. 161a (right)

MMA 26.8.117j.

SOURCE See above.

MATERIALS Gold, carnelian, turquoise glass.

DIMENSIONS Panel H 15.5, W 10.0; Diam of rosettes 1.1–1.6.

MANUFACTURE Instances of hole in back plate, delamination; little excess solder, separation of back and sides. All but one button flat or convex.

CONDITION A little original cement and inlay preserved, some inlay reset. One newly stamped button.

## BODY ORNAMENTS

**Three reconstructed composite broad collars and additional parts (129–33);** see pp. 125, 230–3

### *Provenance*

Chaban found six carnelian and four turquoise glass cylinder beads in Wady DI, and carnelian and glass inlays for an inlaid drop (pp. 29f., 45).

A red deposit on one of the MMA drop elements was examined by SEM/XRF in 1982; it was iron oxide, essentially red ochre that could have washed onto it from the soil (Stone).

Carter saw a number of *nefer*-signs shortly after the find (p. 48): thirteen of different sizes, one of “fair work,” height about 1.2.

### *Previous assessment*

Three composite broad collars for everyday use were published by Winlock as the result of various trials within the Museum (1948: 18–22). The earlier experiments included:

- a multicolored collar—based on colored stone and glass beads, as well as various stone- and glass-inlaid gold elements—that used a lotiform counterpoise as one terminal and a reproduction of it as the other (Winlock 1935: fig. 13);
- a *nefer*-collar that used inlaid lotiform terminals with gold palmettes and *nefers* oriented to show their gold surfaces, as well as small gold falcons and Tawerets, and larger Beses and Tawerets (Lansing 1940: fig. 9);

## Chapter 5

a collar of empty drops that used inlaid falcon terminals with many empty drops, as well as six drops from the multicolored collar that had originally been equipped with inlays (Winlock 1948: pl. 9).

In Winlock's 1948 publication, the multicolored collar gained some cylinder beads (Winlock 1948: 19, 21, pl. 11); the gold falcons, Tawerets and Beses were removed from the *nefer*-collar (pl. 10); and the empty-drop collar remained unchanged. These are the arrangements of Hayes 1959b: 133f., fig. 71, although Winlock knew that the arrangement of the multicolored collar was problematic and Hayes noted that the empty-drop collar was inconsistent (Hayes 1959b: 133). Winlock understood the glass inlay of the falcon terminals to be turquoise and of the drop elements to be felspar or turquoise (1948: 19, 21f.).

In the 1950s and 1960s, additional MMA purchases of elements thought to come from Wady Gabbanat el-Qurud prompted restringing, and this was encouraged by Cyril Aldred. The result of the study was fuller assemblages. To the multicolored collar were added: sixteen drop-shaped elements, twenty shield-shaped elements with small gold drop pendants, twenty-four beetles, beads of cylinder and ring shape, and finally, reproduction falcon terminals (Aldred 1971: 208, pl. 65; A. Wilkinson 1971: 109f., pl. 34 [top]; C. Andrews 1990: fig. 103; Reeves 2000: 151). To the *nefer*-collar were added: the Museum's lotus-shaped counterpoise, fifty *nefers*, and five palmettes (Aldred 1971: 208f., pl. 66; A. Wilkinson 1971: 109f., pl. 33a; Slater 1982; C. Andrews 1990: fig. 102). To the empty-drop collar were added seventeen drops from which some inlays had been removed in order to maintain the collar's golden character (A. Wilkinson 1971: 109f., pl. 33b). Bruce Williams had observed when at the MMA in 1976, following de Keyser in 1949, that the collars were fancifully strung.

Except for the small cylinder beads, none of the parts in the above arrangements fit the string-hole spacing of the terminals with which they were used, and an extra row of elements always extended beyond the outer edge of the terminals.

### Current understanding

#### TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The evaluation of 1978–83 considered factors additional to (1) the inconsistency of the size of the parts with the placement of the string holes; and (2) the number of rows that could not be directly tied to a terminal.

First, the decayed crizzled glass found in the *nefer*-elements was thought to be significant, and thus was exhibited whenever it occurred, to contrast with the “solid” gold *nefers* made of raised fronts and flat backs.

Second, the fact that no documentation could be found from the Tuthmoside period that supported the exuberant character of the multicolored collar as previously strung was considered important. This evidence included examples where bead types varied, as on a coffin and mask (Winlock 1932: fig. 5; Edwards 1983: 71), in tomb scenes (N. G. Davies 1922–23[1]: pls. 23, 38 and [2]: pl. 48; N. G. Davies 1930[2]: pls. 9a, 10a, 22a; N. G. Davies 1943: pl. 64; Säve-Söderbergh 1957: pl. 2; C. Wilkinson and Hill 1987: figs. 30, 37) and on a later collar found on the mummy of Meret (Curto et al. 1980: fig. 2).

Third, after extensive study, it became clear that the majority of empty drop-shaped elements (298–9) as well as all of the shield-shaped elements 289–91, beetles 294–5, and elements with vase motive 292 were modern (see Chap. 7).

All three collars were thus disassembled, and items from other specified sources removed, as far as possible.<sup>3</sup>

The *nefer*-collar was easiest to reassemble: the lotus terminals—whose holes were too close to accommodate the *nefer*-elements—were removed, and *nefers*, palmettes, and rings were arranged without terminals. The *nefer*-signs inlaid with glass were displayed glass-side out, so that a blue and gold effect was achieved; palmettes were used as the terminal row; and all elements were strung with small gold rings into a compact shape that better matched representations (see below). The British Museum has eight small and two large *nefers* (162); seven of the smaller are open-backed, and six of these have traces of Egyptian blue (C. Andrews communication).

Two collars were made up from the remaining elements, based on the two sets of terminals: falcon collar 129, and lotus collar 130–1. Each of the four terminals had eight string holes that were so closely spaced that they could only accommodate cylinder beads. However, very few cylinder beads were on hand. Winlock stated that all but “twenty-one carnelian and twelve turquoise [*sic*] cylindrical beads” from the early purchases had been strung (1948: 21 no. A, 22 no. F, pl. 11), and he had strung only two rows in the multicolored collar (the top row of turquoise-colored cylinders and the bottom row as red). Thus, in 1983 the four terminals could be strung with only partial

<sup>3</sup> The carnelian cylinders were said to have been taken from MMA 21.10.55 and unaccessioned material from the Lisht North Pyramid village. Some unlabelled cylinders did not fit the spacing of the terminals (although they could have been used in the full collar), so they were removed and

numbered 26.8.70b, c, see 205. Faience cylinders were strung separately as 26.8.70d, see 205; these may be the “steatite barrels from MMA 27.3.150” noted to have been added in 1960, but they may also have come from earlier purchased “Wady Qurud” material that had not been used.

rows of cylinders. Ancient representations of broad collars show rows of red, blue, and green, or rows of blue and green. Three colors were certainly used in the lotus collar and probably also the falcon (there is no blue, i.e., crizzled glass in the falcon terminals).

The cylinder beads came from selective P 197; possibly from P 55 and 101 (“miscellaneous gold and stone beads”), P 148 (“miscellaneous gold and stone beads and inlay”), or P181 (“198 inches of beads”); from early purchases; and possibly from the British School of Archaeology. The sources of those acquisitions were Fletcher Fund, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922; Rogers Fund, 1922; Gift of Howard Carter, 1922; and British School of Archaeology Gift, 1921. No blue cylinders existed; the falcon collar used only rows of jasper and turquoise glass, and the lotus collar additionally used rows of colorless plastic cylinders in place of blue glass.

To create terminal rows for the falcon and lotus collars, the following elements were available: sixty-one drop-shaped elements from Scott’s multicolored collar, twenty-three from her empty-drop collar, and five (among sixteen) that Winlock had thought modern in 1943 (P 197, “16 petal units from collar”; Fletcher Fund, 1922). These were from P 34, 85, and 130 (all “inlaid gold pendants from collars”), and 58.153.12 (Fletcher Fund, 1919–22; Frederick P. Huntley Bequest, 1958). The drops were of similar size, reinforcing their use in terminal rather than interior rows. Six recommended by Scott were added to them (MMA 66.2.2; Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1966) and one by the author (MMA 1982.137.2; Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1982).

Some of these drops were thought to have modern inlay: four with dark, transparent blue glass, one set modernly with an Egyptian blue inlay, and three set with a paste of Egyptian blue, linen thread, gesso, and sand. One element had green felspar set into linen-filled gesso lying above cement tinted with Egyptian blue. In the five drops from the group Winlock thought modern, translucent dark blue glass considered modern was removed from two, which, in one case, revealed the decayed glass below that is widely found in objects associated with Wady Qurud. A third Winlock drop had dark blue glass and felspar inlays that were also thought to have been modernly placed; the remaining two drops were used as they were. The backs of three of these five elements had notches in the lower edge.

Of the Museums’ ninety-six drop-shaped elements considered ancient, all but one had a mark on its back plate: fifty-seven were notched on the edge, and thirty-eight were punched from within (cf. Winlock 1948: 22 and p. 123 below). The notches occurred at different places on the edge of the back plate (many on the proper left edge), whereas the punches tended to be centered. The notches ranged from one to twenty-five in number; the punches ranged from one to ten. As no pattern could be ascertained from these markings, the ninety-six elements were sorted into two groups according to the present coloration of their inlay in relation to the coloration of the cylinder beads and the inlays in the drops. Elements with brighter blue glass inlay were put with the lotus terminals and counterpoise, and those with more brownish turquoise glass inlay with the falcon terminals.

Of course, the two resulting collar shapes were dependent on the number of drop-shaped elements available. A few other drop-shaped elements are attested: Chaban found inlays for one in the tomb (Fig. 17d), the BM has a complete element with five notches in its back edge (162), and Christie’s London auctioned two elements in 1979 (Christie, Manson & Woods 1979: lot 65), one with fifteen notches and one with seven.

Finally, as other items were also disassembled in the restudy of jewelry thought to come from Wady Qurud, the opportunity was taken to separate ancient gold ring beads from modern reproductions with which they had been strung in the past. Beads were gathered from the former multicolored collar, wallet and *Tilapia*-fish girdles (see 135–6), Bes and Taweret bracelet (see 134), Maat-plaque necklace (see 308), and Taweret and falcon necklaces (see 306–7). Some were put in 129, 132, 135, and 187. Unused small rings became 206 and medium-sized rings became 209. All of the ancient beads in the earlier purchases had presumably originated in P 55, 101, 148, and 181, for the descriptions and funding of which see above.

### ICONOGRAPHY AND FORM

Although falcon collars are associated with funerary contexts beginning in Middle Kingdom *frise d’objets*, the terminals and drop elements from composite collars below show signs of wear. Falcon terminals are in the Ahhotep group (Vernier 1925: CG 52672). Tutankhamun had falcon collars of gold sheet; however, collars inlaid with cylinder beads are represented on the mask and several miniature coffins.

As for composite lotus collars, representations in the tomb of Kenamun show several examples with lotiform terminals and counterweight (N. G. Davies 1930[1]: pls. 15, 19).

While the lotiform terminals’ inscription is cloisonné, the falcon terminals’ are elegantly chased into gold sheet, their style recalling the high quality inscription of vitreous vessel 93 and gold inlaid ornaments 141–3.

The drop-shaped elements in both falcon and lotus collars use adjacent inlays, their joins masked by two straight-to-curved strips of gold. Earlier inlaid drops of this type from Dahshur have no masking strips, and the inlay joins curve downward rather than upward (Müller and Thiem 1998: figs. 212–3). The joins between inlays in drops from Neferuptah’s collar are straight across (loc. cit., fig. 237).



Composite *nefer*-collars are depicted in funerary contexts from mid-Dynasty 18 into the Ramesside period (Hayes 1959b: fig. 132; N. G. Davies 1930[2]: pl. 22a), but none have been found that show two colors as proposed here. However, two different sizes in each type of extant *nefer*, and the roughly 1:1 ratio of one type to the other suggest their combined use. For palmettes as a terminal row, see Meret's collar (Curto and Mancini 1968: 79, pl. 13 no. 2). A double palmette with a suspension tube on the back was found in the Carnarvon-Carter Assasif excavations (Carnarvon and Carter 1912: pl. 73.50, MMA 26.7.1374).

### 129 FALCON COLLAR

Figs. 91a, 163

MMA 26.8.59a (terminals, P 194); for cylinders, drops, and ring beads, see Technical description above.

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund 1922 (terminals). For other items, see Technical description above.

MATERIALS Gold, obsidian or black stone, jasper, carnelian, turquoise glass, transparent crizzled glass.

#### DIMENSIONS

*collar* W as arranged 36.5.

*cylinders* L of brownish turquoise glass 0.5–0.95, L of jasper 0.5–0.9.

*drop-shaped elements* H without rings 2.6.

*inlays in the drop elements* H of carnelian and jasper 1.0, W of turquoise glass 0.95.

#### MANUFACTURE

*terminals* Each of two gold falcon-head terminals is formed from top and bottom plates with perpendicular side walls connecting the plates around the exterior. X rays show what appear to be spacer walls inside. The top plate is slightly convex, and cut out to receive stone and glass inlays; the beak and eye areas are variously worked in the gold. A suspension ring is fused to the back of each falcon head. On the reverse of each terminal, the avian details on the front are chased into the gold, with the eye area additionally worked in repoussé. Below these markings is an elongated cartouche with inscription, and, finally, an open channel to accommodate knots at the end of eight strings that would have come through the bottom plate. Jasper inlay along top of heads.

*drop-shaped elements* Each of the forty-five drops appears to have been pressed into a die, but in rare cases a seam between back and sides is seen, indicating formation from a back plate and side walls neatly fused together. Carnelian was inlaid into the top section of each element, turquoise opaque glass in the center, and—into the bottom—the widely occurring decayed glass, analyzed in one instance to have been colored with cobalt. Bedding material considered original to the cloisons was occasionally tinted with Egyptian blue; the top of one cloison had cement tinted with yellow. Flat, straight-to-slightly-curved strips were fused to the top edge of each drop, and a suspension ring neatly fused at both top and bottom.

INSCRIPTION “(Live! the good god *mn-hpr-r*<sup>c</sup> given life forever).”

CONDITION Terminals: several cracks and chips in the glass, some discoloration. Carnelian inlays set into the back of the falcon's head missing from the proper left terminal. Drops: scratches on back plates, various accretions, occasional solder drops.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 347. Falcon terminals: Winlock 1935: fig. 13.

### 130 LOTUS COLLAR

Figs. 91b, e, m (above); 162; 224 (above left)

MMA 26.8.70a-1 (terminals, P 160), 1982.137.2. For other drop-shaped elements and for cylinders, see Technical description above.

SOURCE Terminals: Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921. Drop: Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1982. For other items, see Technical description above.

MATERIALS Gold, jasper, carnelian, turquoise glass, transparent crizzled glass.

#### DIMENSIONS

*collar* W as arranged 33.0.

*terminals* W 7.1.

*cylinder beads*

carnelian Thick examples L 0.5–1.0; thin examples L 0.5–0.95.

turquoise glass L 0.7–0.9.

*drop-shaped elements* H of element without rings 2.5–2.7, H of carnelian and jasper inlay 1.0, W of turquoise glass inlay 0.95.

#### MANUFACTURE

*terminals* Each terminal constructed of front plate and back plate, with perpendicular gold strips connecting the plates at their edges; a suspension ring is fused at the top. There are eight string holes in the bottom strip, and a rectangle cut out of the back plate above it to accommodate the knots of strings. The front plate is cut out for inlaid lotus flowers and hieroglyphic signs, with some cloisons having perpendicular walls to surround the inlays. The back plates show evidence of “stoning”—rubbing with a stone to achieve flatness (Baines). PGE inclusions were noted on the right terminal (Cleveland/Grossbard).

The inlays in the terminals' lotus buds are comprised of eight triangular carnelian pieces along each flower's upper edge; they alternate with four triangular turquoise glass inlays. The five largest petals are now empty but, following the scheme of the counterpoise, were once filled with decayed (blue) glass. The inlay scheme at each flower's base is preserved on the terminals: decayed glass in the base, turquoise glass in the center, and carnelian at the top. There is decayed glass in the *nefer*-sign of the proper right terminal, turquoise glass in the *nb*-sign, and Egyptian blue in the cement of the beetle's cloison. In the proper left terminal, the *ntr* has carnelian inlay.

*drop-shaped elements* Like the terminals, the fifty-one drop-shaped elements are substantial and of the highest workmanship. The gold is of even thickness, with each element appearing to be pressed from a die to which upper and lower suspension rings were fused. Occasionally, the bottom ring was anciently reinforced. Most of the drops are marked on the back with either small dots that have been pressed into the back surface from inside, or by ticks scored into the edge of the back plate. Across the top of each drop are two slightly curved gold bands which normally cover the joins of the inlays.

The top inlay was carnelian, the middle inlay was turquoise glass, and the bottom inlay was decayed glass.

## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

Several drops show Egyptian blue as the cement under the bottom and middle inlays. The cement is sandy.

INSCRIPTION “*nṯr nfr (mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>) nb.*”

CONDITION Reddish film on gold (silver-gold sulfide); accretions. A number of inlays reset in modern times; most inlays missing from terminals and from less than half the drops. Gold ring beads modern, as two rows of colorless plastic cylinders beads.

ARRANGEMENT Inscriptions face outward. Overall workmanship and remains of inlays in the terminals are consistent with such features in lotiform counterweight 131, with which the terminals were surely used. Like the counterpoise lotus, the flowers on the terminals were displayed upside down.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 19f., pl. 10.

### 131 LOTIFORM COUNTERPOISE

Figs. 91c, 162

MMA 26.8.70a-2 (P 131).

SOURCE Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIALS Gold, carnelian, turquoise glass, decayed glass.

DIMENSIONS H without ring 4.5, W 4.25.

MANUFACTURE Flat back plate edged with strips and divided internally for cloisons; round wire at base of lotus for collar suspension; five flat rings at tips, presumably spacers for ring beads. Original inlay as in terminals: five largest petals of decayed glass, four medium petals of turquoise glass, eight smallest tips of carnelian. Horizontal bands at base of flower gradate in size: decayed glass, turquoise glass, carnelian.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 21, pl. 11.

### 132 NEFER-COLLAR

Figs. 91d, 164

MMA 26.8.135a. Terminals: P 160. Palmettes: P 55, 133, 160, and 204, 58.153.9, selective 1988.25.1. *Nefers*: P 55, 87, 132, 160, and 204, 58.153.10, 1982.137.3, selective 1988.17. Ring beads: see p. 171.

SOURCE Purchases: Fletcher Fund 1919, 1920, 1921;

Rogers Fund, 1925; Frederick P. Huntley Bequest, 1958;

Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1982, 1988.

MATERIALS Gold, transparent crizzled glass, Egyptian blue.

DIMENSIONS

*collar* as reconstructed, W 31.0.

*nefers* H without rings 1.4 to 1.7.

*palmettes* H without ring 1.25.

MANUFACTURE *Nefers* are of two types: one has a convex front and pierced flat back, and the other is spoon shaped and filled with decayed glass that rests on a bed of Egyptian blue. Both types were made in dies; Cleveland/Grossbard thought that two basic sizes were made for each series, the larger size using thicker gold. For the open type, separate suspension rings are attached to top and bottom. In the solid type, the back plate extends upward and downward, and the two suspension rings rest against those projections as well as against the top and bottom of the element. Some gold solder around loops.

Decorated surface of palmettes created from die; flat, pierced back plates extend above top edge of front, and suspension ring is fused to back plate as well as top of front plate (gold *nefers* use a similar construction). Neatly fused along sides.

CONDITION Pre-1958 units “have all been cleaned” (Museum records). A few tears in *nefers*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 348.

### 133 INLAID DROP-SHAPED ELEMENT

MMA 1988.17.

SOURCE Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1988.

MATERIALS Gold (see Appendix 2), carnelian, cobalt-colored glass.

DIMENSIONS

*element* H including rings 3.35.

*carnelian inlay* H 1.0.

MANUFACTURE Drop appears pressed from a die. Upper and lower suspension rings; the top one has a reinforcing strip at the join. Horizontal strips along top edge overlap sides slightly, were attached with gold solder; pieces of a third wall adhere to side wall. One small dot impressed in bottom surface of cloison, from the inside.

CONDITION Both inlays reset in modern times.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Lilyquist and Brill 1993: 34 no. 10, fig. 37 (lower left).

## Parts for collar or pectoral(?) (134); see pp. 233, 301

### Provenance

Standard early provenance.

### Previous assessment

Originally strung into the *nefer*-collar (Lansing 1940: pl. 9), then assembled as a bracelet (Winlock 1948: 33, pl. 18d).

### Current understanding

There are four Tawerets in profile, four frontal Beses, and four dancing Beses in profile. The mouth of the Taweret is open (no tongue), the heel of the hind leg appears to be slightly lifted; a crocodile rests on the back, and it and the hippo's ruff are hatched. The frontal Bes has a broad face with vertical crease in the center of the forehead; no tongue. The left hand rests flat on the left thigh, the right is damaged. The body is generally lean, with flat, pointed pectoral muscles and rounded stomach; phallus and tail are represented. The profile Bes has open mouth, no tongue; the left hand rests on a *s3*-amulet, the right on the hip; the right heel is slightly lifted; there is no tail.

All amulets have one suspension ring at the top. The profile Taweret has two rings on the bottom and one on the other three sides; the frontal Bes has the same configuration of rings except that the side rings are staggered

rather than opposite. The profile Bes has one ring only on the sides and bottom. Although scale, wear, and style indicate that all twelve amulets were used together, no interlocking-ring arrangement tested could accommodate all elements, thus they were strung into four groups of horizontal and curving bands to indicate possible arrangements. Because of the two loops on the bottom of the Tawerets and frontal Beses, the elements could also be strung vertically. For jewel elements with multiple suspension rings, see p. 123.

A necklace segment excavated at Amarna had groups of three Beses playing tambourines, each with a ring at the top to enable suspension from a row of ring beads. In the center is a seated cat flanked by two additional Beses (Boyce 1995: 338f., fig. 11.1 no. d). Various features of the frontal Beses below correspond to dated representations from the mid-18th dynasty: kilt, jewelry, absence of belt, wrinkles, pronounced musculature or ribs, massive ruff, elaborate attributes (Romano 1989: 58–122). Good comparisons are also found at Hatshepsut's Deir el-Bahari temple, on the chair of Hatnufer, and in TT 20 and 99, as catalogued by Romano.

The profile Bes is also appropriate to the period, occurring in TT 73, on an early Dynasty 18 cosmetic vessel in the Pushkin museum (no. 3600), and on a bead from Kumma.

So too is the combination of Bes with Taweret chronologically apt. In TT 73, Bes holds a drum up while Taweret rests her forward paw on a *s3*-amulet; on a bead from Kumma, Bes is on one surface, Taweret another. On the Hatnufer chair, Bes is flanked by *dd*- and *tît*-amulets (Hayes 1959b: fig. 115). Although Romano writes of Bes-images used to “create a scene” only later in the dynasty, it seems that the amulets here would have been read together.

#### 134 BES AND TAWERET ELEMENTS

Figs. 165, 231 (right)

MMA 26.8.206a–d (P 46, 100, 160). For ring beads, see p. 171.

PROVENANCE Purchases, Fletcher Fund 1919–21.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H of elements 1.4.

MANUFACTURE Each amulet was made with a stamped top and flat back pierced with an air hole. Several top plates were not well stamped by their die(s). Sides have traces of stoning; joins precise; air holes in back look cut rather than punched. Solder for rings is pinkish. Suspension rings are large, one is delaminated.

CONDITION Several loops are damaged, one is modern and attached with lead solder.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Romano 1980: 47.

#### Two reconstructed girdles (135–6); see p. 234

##### *Provenance*

Concerning the wallet-spacer girdle 135, Chaban found one three-hole lapis spacer, 1.2 W (pp. 29f.); it has two rows of hatching engraved along the edge, and three holes piercing the spacer laterally. Carter also found a lapis spacer comparable to Chaban's, to judge by the drawing (p. 47).

Relevant to the *Tilapia*-spacer girdle 136, one fish is listed in Carter 1907–22: 54 no. 1127 as “Princesses tomb Gabbanât El Qirûd, Gift to Ld. C.” and in Carter 1926: 217 no. 1127, “Princess' Tomb, Gabbanât El Qirûd, Gift to Lord Carnarvon.”

For the ring beads used, see p. 171.

##### *Previous assessment*

Winlock intermixed the gold and lapis spacers of 135 and strung them with gold ring beads, as he states that the latter were found in holes of “the larger elements” (Winlock 1948: 37f., pl. 21; see also Winlock 1935: fig. 13; Hayes 1959b: 135, fig. 73, Kayser 1969: fig. 210, and A. Wilkinson 1971: 134, 222 note 4, pl. 47b). In 1959, Scott incorporated newly-purchased gold spacers—one of the earlier type and six of a poorer type now in 187.

The *Tilapia*-spacer girdle (here 136) made use of small gold, carnelian, and red faience beads from the beginning (Winlock 1935: fig. 13); in 1948, Winlock identified the fish as “probably the *Tilapia nilotica*” (38, pl. 21). It was widely illustrated thereafter (Hayes 1959b: 136, fig. 73; Kayser 1969: fig. 210; A. Wilkinson 1971: 135, 222 note 6; Aldred 1971: 207f., pl. 63; C. Andrews 1990: 142f., fig. 125).

##### *Current understanding*

Several unknowns make the reconstructions below only suggestions: the original number of each spacer type, the original number of girdles, and the type of filler beads used.

Beginning with the wallet-spacer girdle 135, the thirty-nine spacers extant are too many and the spacing between elements too little to have comprised only one jewel (excavated material indicates that spacing between elements is generally 1½ to 2½ times the length of a spacer). Furthermore, the details of the spacers differ, indicating that they might have come from different objects.

## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

No specific discussions of the iconography of “wallet” spacers have been found; it is a popular form in the New Kingdom (C. Andrews 1981: Appendix Z), seeming to replace *Cowrie*-spacers (loc. cit., Appendix M). Pinch equates the form with *Cowrie*-shells when discussing faience examples found at a Hathor shrine (1993: 285, fig. 2 [lower left]).

Eremin et al. (2000: 37) state that the earliest girdle of this type belonged to Petrie’s Qurna woman. Twenty-six two-string spacers were interspersed with barrel beads there, all of electrum, and the girdle was tied in order to decrease its circumference from 31.6” (without clasp) to 28.4” (Petrie 1909: 9). Wallet spacers in Ahhotep’s group were gold—seventeen total and of two sizes, all with two sets of holes (Vernier 1925: CG 52733). Passalacqua also found precious-metal wallet spacers at Thebes: eleven silver examples with two holes (Möller 1910: no. 33). Carter found six precious metal spacers in an intact burial there (tomb 43, burial 12; unpublished).

Wallet spacers could be made of other materials, however. Meryetamun had a three-strand girdle composed entirely of lapis, as revealed by a 38 cm section found on her mummy (Winlock 1932: 70 no. 7). Two faience spacers with ring beads were found near the thighs of burial 3 in the tomb of Ramose and Hatnufer (Hayes 1959b: fig. 101; MMA 36.3.25). Kha’s wife Meret had—according to X rays—an elaborate arrangement: five strands along the front of the body, where eleven precious-metal wallet spacers were interspersed with glass or faience ring beads; and three strands along the back, separated periodically by larger glass or faience beads.

As for the second girdle, **136**, the number of *Tilapia*-spacers (twenty-one) is in keeping with excavated evidence, and the quality indicates royal workmanship, but the spacing between elements seems short.

Concerning the design of the fish, lines on the tail fins generally are horizontal on Egyptian representations, rather than vertical as here (see Lilyquist 1988b: fig. 20). However, the living fish has dark vertical stripes on the tail (Gamer-Wallert 1970: pl. 5.6) and these are occasionally represented (loc. cit., fig. 4a, pl. 14.2). Interestingly, only one other fish spacer has been located, a gold one with two sets of holes from Thebes, total length 1.3 (Möller 1910: no. 52). For pendant fish amulets that may be of the period, see Lilyquist 1988b: figs. 69, 71–2.

In the New Kingdom, *Tilapia*-fish often appear on toilet objects or bowls that connote vitality, sexuality, and rejuvenation, and Gammer-Wallert has also pointed out *Tilapia*-fish textual references to Hathor and rejuvenation (1970: 24–7, 109–13). See also Andrews 1994: 67.

Girdles per se are represented on king’s daughters in ritual contexts: Rosellini 1832: pl. 19.23 (=Naville 1906: pl. 141), pl. 19.24 (=Naville 1906: pl. 145). The mummy of Amenhotep I has a string of ball beads around the hips that Derry thought must be metal strung with smaller beads of stone or faience (Derry 1934: 48; Wente and Harris 1980: B1, sheet 1); this must be a misplaced object.

### **135** RECONSTRUCTED GIRDLE WITH WALLET SPACERS

Fig. 167

MMA 26.8.60 (including Carter, P 93, selective 58.153.8, 1982.137.5).

**SOURCE** Spacers: one lapis, Gift of Howard Carter (Fig. 19); twenty-one gold, nine lapis (P 93, Fletcher Fund, 1920); one gold (selective 58.153.8, Frederick P. Huntley Bequest, 1958); four gold and four lapis (1982.137.5, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1982). Gold ring beads: P 55, purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919. For other sources of rings see p. 171.

**MATERIALS** Lapis lazuli, gold.

**DIMENSIONS** L as strung 81.3.

**MANUFACTURE** All but one of the twenty-six currently assembled gold spacers have the same design: parallel chased lines bordering the curved surface of the unit, with hatching from the inner line to the edge. On the exceptional spacer, there is a third row of hatching running beyond the inner curved line. Fourteen units are generally the same size (W 1.5, H 1.0); eight are 1.1 x 0.8; and two are roughly 0.9 x 0.6. Two others have no matches. Each unit was formed from two die-stamped parts that were fused together and then chased.

The thirteen lapis spacers are more varied: one of them matches the gold spacers exactly, and a second one is a poor version. Two others have two parallel lines where hatching of the inner of two rows extends beyond the inner curved line. The other spacers are more simple: four have only one scribed line, with hatching between

it and the curved edge of the spacer, and five have hatching extending beyond that scribed line to make a second row of hatching.

**CONDITION** Signs of wear.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY** Müller and Thiem 1998: figs. 355–6.

### **136** RECONSTRUCTED GIRDLE WITH *TILAPIA*-FISH SPACERS

Fig. 168

MMA 26.8.61a (P 39, P 95, 26.7.1354); selective 1987.399.1c–1.

**SOURCE** Twenty-one fish: Fletcher Fund, 1919 (P 39) and 1920 (P 95). One fish: Carnarvon Collection; Purchase, Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1926. Ring beads: Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1987.

**MATERIAL** Gold.

**DIMENSIONS** L as strung 83.8, L of individual fish 2.4.

**MANUFACTURE** At least a third of the fish have PGE inclusions (Cleveland, Grossbard). Each fish is composed of two halves shaped in a die, fused very neatly around the circumference. Three holes in mouth and three in tail, the latter centered in horizontal scorings; a smaller hole behind the dorsal fin in most examples. Dorsal, pectoral, ventral, and tail fins were chased with parallel lines.

**CONDITION** Normal wear. One fish with open seam, two dented. Some resin on surface.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY** Müller and Thiem 1998: figs. 353–4; Haslauer 2001b: no. 77; Lilyquist 2002: 460 no. 185; Ziegler 2002: 334 fig. 9.

## LIMB ORNAMENTS

**Two pairs of feline armlets and additional parts (137–40);** see pp. 120, 125, 235

### *Provenance*

The jewelry elements reconstructed as cat and lion armlets below are made of gold box spacers with animals of gold and carnelian, gold barrel- and biconical-bead spacers, and barrel and biconical beads of carnelian, turquoise glass, and lapis lazuli. As Chaban found barrel beads of similar dimensions in the tomb (eight carnelian and two turquoise glass, p. 30); as those beads match the dimensions of the gold bead spacers of the MMA, which in turn match the string holes of the feline spacers; as the gold feline spacers are appropriate for royal usage (see below), and as both types of spacers have a common history with other items known to be from the Wady Qurud, it is assumed that all parts reconstructed here originated in D1.

### *Previous assessment*

In the 1920s, the MMA postulated that the animal spacers had belonged to a girdle. This idea was given up, probably because of the unsuitability of their three-dimensional shape. In 1948, Winlock published the reconstructed jewels as cat armlets strung with reproduction beads. He illustrated one pair that has commonly been reproduced elsewhere:

- 26.8.121–.122: Winlock 1948: 29–31, pls. 16b–c, 42d;  
 26.8.121: Lansing 1940: fig. 9; Hayes 1959b: 134f., fig. 72; Aldred 1971: 214f., fig. 84; A. Wilkinson 1971: 103f., pl. 27a; Feucht 1975: 390f., fig. 396a; Casson 1981: 56f.; C. Andrews 1990: fig. 134 (transparency reversed); Reeves 2000: 151.

Winlock thought both sets of spacers showed cats, and judged the various parts of the armlets poorly made.

### *Current understanding*

#### TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The Manufacture section below contains specific details.

During the course of study, the armlets were disassembled in order to find better matches between beads, feline spacers, and bead spacers. As Winlock had concluded, parts for two pairs and elements for a third are present. Also disassembled was a string of carnelian and gold barrel beads that Scott had made up in 1959 from unaccessioned earlier purchases; the carnelian barrels were added to the feline armlets and the gold barrels were strung separately as 317.

The new reconstructions try to bring similarly-sized spacers and barrel beads together, and are based on the assumption that each armlet would have had three colored panels alternating with gold spacers. As there were feline spacers and clasps for four armlets, and carnelian beads to allow reconstruction of two such panels for each of four armlets, the gold spacers and colored beads were strung in homogenous groups. There are differences in size, design, technique, and alloy: Cleveland/Grossbard reported that 26.8.123–.124 had more silver and copper than 26.8.121–.122; precise analyses of 26.8.124 are listed in Appendix 2. The bead spacers here have PGE inclusions.

At the same time, several spare parts were left aside in the rearrangements: nine partial or complete gold spacers (139) and thirty carnelian beads of a size larger than those that appear in the bead spacers (140). One turquoise glass barrel bead left over from the early purchases could have been in these armlets; it is strung with 203. Gold bead spacers of a different character were catalogued as 191.

The original length of the reconstructed items cannot, of course, be determined, since the number of armlets in the tomb, the original length of any one of them, and the acceptable limits of bead size and spacer type within any such armlet is unknown. In addition to Chaban's eight carnelian and two turquoise glass barrels, the British Museum has sixteen carnelian or jasper barrels and eight turquoise glass barrels that could fit these armlets (162). Excavated material indicates that one of Tutankhamun's bracelets had a length of 16.2 (Carter 25600; Edwards 1976b: no. 11) and another a length of 15.0 (Carter 256ssbis; Edwards 1976b: no. 13, right). The Ahhotep-group vulture circlet measured 6.1 x 6.0 (Vernier 1907–09: CG 52068), which would correspond to a beaded armlet about 18.9 in length. Armlets 141–3 correspond to beadwork 18.0–19.0 long.

The sources of the parts in 26.8.121–.124 are:

- P 55: twenty-nine carnelian barrels; Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919;  
 P 96: two gold cat spacers, one gold clasp, sixteen gold bead spacers; Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920;  
 P 101: one broken gold bead spacer, nineteen gold bead spacers; Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920;

## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

P 157–9: three gold clasps, two gold cat spacers, nineteen gold bead spacers; Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920;  
P 181: four gold bead spacers; Purchase, Rogers Fund 1922;  
twenty-five carnelian barrels, two lapis barrels, seven turquoise glass barrels (probably P 181); Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1922;  
thirty carnelian barrels, one lapis barrel, four fifteen-unit gold bead spacers; Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1922;  
selective 26.8.212: carnelian barrels; Purchase, Fletcher Fund;  
thirty-nine carnelian or jasper barrels, one lapis barrel; Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1987 (1987.399.2a);  
twenty-six carnelian barrels, one lapis barrel; Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1988 (selective 1988.17).

The source of twelve remaining lapis barrels is probably P 181.

The two reconstructed pairs differ in several ways. That with carnelian animals is more finely made than the all-gold set, which, by comparison, has poorly-shaped bead spacers as well as quite a bit of visible solder. Figure 89c (p. 120) shows solder drops on the three sides of animal spacer 26.8.124d, while a small strip lies on one bead spacer and the solder between the beads is quite noticeable, partly due to its more coppery color (Fig. 89d). Another difference is in the number of strings used: the cat armlets have fifteen while the lion armlets have sixteen, and the holes were placed near the bottom of the cat spacers rather than near the top as on the lion spacers. A third difference is that the cat armlets provide cloisons for the carnelian animals, but attach their gold cats directly to the surface. The lion spacers provide cloisons for all animals.

Other differences concern tails: those on the carnelian cats are not visible at the same time that those on their gold mates curve away from the viewer. Tails for the lion cubs are attached to the walls of the cloisons, with some curving backward and the others curling forward. Both animals cross one paw over the other, but the top paw of the cats faces away from the viewer while the top paw of the lions faces towards the viewer.

The two sets may differ in one final respect, that is, their coloration. Each spacer has five animals. While the cat examples appear to alternate gold animals with orange, blue, and turquoise, the arrangement of the gold cubs on their spacers—which seems to be original—does not allow alternating colors. The differences in the species themselves are explained next.

### ICONOGRAPHY

The gold and carnelian armlets show cats, probably *Felis chaus*, while the all-gold armlets show lion cubs, *Panthera leo*. The cat identification is based on the pointed ears and more triangular, lean faces, and the lion cubs' on the spotted bodies, block-like heads, and rounded ears. These identifications were suggested by Rosa Garcia-Perea, Research Associate of the American Museum of Natural History, New York (Museum communication, Nov. 1994); see Malek 1993: 13f., 22–5; Osborn 1998: 106–13.

Lions are reported to have occurred at wrists and necks in Middle Kingdom–Second Intermediate period burials at Saqqara (Firth and Gunn 1926: 59, fig. 67, pl. 37), Tell ed-Dabaa (Bietak 1981: 242, pl. 13; Hein 1994b: no. 168), and Buhen (Randall-Maciver and Woolley 1911: frontispiece, 200f.).

Brunton dated graves at Qau to Dynasty 6–9 where crouching cat amulets looking ahead were found (Brunton 1928: 11, pl. 96); certainly such a cat is represented in gold collar elements of the Ahhotep group (Bissing 1900: pl. 8.7). The pose below—head turned and paws crossed—is first attested in Middle Bronze age faience figures at Byblos (Dunand 1950, 1954: pl. 104.15241). The earliest example of the pose in Egypt—in fact, for cats with crossed paws—occurs on gold spacers naming Sebekemsaef (C. Andrews 1981: nos. 577–8; C. Andrews 1990: fig. 65; these spacers are equipped with interior tubes). One glazed steatite cowroid with cat's head turned, but paws straight, has the name Amenhotep (G. Spalinger 1982: no. 378), another has the prenomen of Tuthmosis I (MMA 26.7.148), and a faience example has the prenomen of Tuthmosis III (Pamminger [1990]: no. 92). These amulets look like pets more than the apotropaic figures on Middle Kingdom magic wands, and—according to Malek (1993: 57, cf. p. 78)—domestic cats are shown more frequently in tombs beginning in the reign of Tuthmosis III. But the animals here must have had symbolic meaning (Warmenbol and Doyen 1991; Hornung and Staehelin 1976: 119f.), and a connection with Hathor seems established by the time of Tuthmosis III (Pinch 1993: 184–97).

The young age of the lions suggests an informal character. Yet the turned head and crossed-paws pose is used by lions who guard the approach to a temple for Amenhotep III (Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 219f.). The orientation on the arm is a question; the spacers of Sebekemsaef have inscriptions on the bottom which can be read if the cats' heads are positioned along the top.

## Chapter 5

### 137 PAIR OF CAT ARMLETS

Figs. 91m (below), 170

MMA 26.8.121a, 26.8.122a–e, and see above.

SOURCE See above.

MATERIALS 26.8.121a, gold, carnelian, lapis, turquoise glass; 26.8.122a–e, gold and carnelian.

DIMENSIONS L of 26.8.121a 16.8; cat spacer D 5.2, W 2.9; barrels L 0.6–0.9.

MANUFACTURE

*clasps* Constructed of a gold strip shaped into a loop, with perpendicular plate closing one long side. X rays show a spreader-bar bisecting 26.8.121a from top to bottom; fifteen holes in the sides are for strings. One half of this clasp has three loops, the other half has three pairs of loops into which the first set of loops fits. In 26.8.122a and e, there are three loops in each half; a pin fits them well, and notches in the top and bottom of each half accommodates it. Some drops of gold solder.

*cat spacers* Constructed of front and back plates joined at their edges by four perpendicular strips. The plates are not well made. The long side strips were pierced fifteen times for stringing after the parts were assembled. The holes were placed close to the bottom surface, thereby deforming it. One strut runs lengthwise within 26.8.121a.

To the top of each plate, three cloisons are fused to hold carnelian cats. Between these are hollow gold cats attached directly to the top surface of the spacers. The front paws of the felines are crossed over the back; their heads are turned to the left on one spacer and to the right on the other. The gold cats were made in two parts; pitch is seen in the cracks, and chasing details high-light anatomical features.

*bead spacers* Each gold bead spacer is constructed of fifteen fused biconical beads, and are not particularly well made.

The stone and glass beads are more truly barrels.

CONDITION Four cats missing, and many barrels.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 342. Armlet 26.8.121a: Lilyquist 2002: 461 no. 187, Ziegler 2002: 335 fig. 12.

### 138 PAIR OF LION CUB ARMLETS

Figs. 89c, 89d, 169

MMA 26.8.123a–g, 26.8.124a–g, and see above.

SOURCE See above.

MATERIALS Gold (see Appendix 2), carnelian.

DIMENSIONS Suggested original L of armlets as reconstructed 15.0; cat spacer D 5.0, W 2.7.

MANUFACTURE

*clasps* As 137, except that each clasp-half of 26.8.123 has four loops while 124 has three in one half and two in the other.

*lion spacers* Each unit has five cloisons, one for each feline. Lions were made separately, but wire tails run from the lion onto the outer wall of the cloison, sometimes to the front, sometimes to the back. Spacer 26.8.124d has four interior struts, running side to side; 26.8.123a has five struts, side to side. It would seem that the spacer 26.8.123d should have one gold cat at either end and one in the middle, leaving cloisons for two stone cats, carnelian and lapis. The holes in both spacers, which have sharp edges, were placed close to the top plate, thereby deforming it.

*bead spacers* As the cat spacers, but more crudely made.

CONDITION Six lions missing, and many beads.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 16a; Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 342.

### 139 NINE WHOLE OR PARTIAL BARREL BEAD SPACERS

Fig. 171 (group of four on right)

MMA 26.8.121b–e.

SOURCE See above.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS L of beads 0.8–1.0.

### 140 THIRTY BARREL BEADS

Fig. 171 (left)

MMA 26.8.121a (P 96).

SOURCE See above.

MATERIAL Carnelian.

DIMENSIONS L of beads 0.8–1.0.

MANUFACTURE Some almost biconical, others almost cylindrical.

CONDITION Various signs of wear.

## Three pairs of ornaments for arms or ankles (141–3); see pp. 120, 125, 236f., 275

### Provenance

Five pieces of ridged carnelian inlay were found by Chaban in Wady D1 (pp. 29f.). The carnelian and turquoise glass plaques here match them in dimensions, and they—with the traces of transparent crizzled glass identified as cobalt colored in one instance—are found on other items linked to the tomb.

### Previous assessment

Winlock considered these items bracelets, due to their small diameters and his belief that wearing the king's names near the feet would not have been appropriate (1948: 31f.; followed by Hayes 1959b: 134). He thought their inlays carnelian, decayed glass, and felspar or turquoise. The original pairings are illustrated in the following:

26.8.125, .126: Lansing 1940: pl. 10; Winlock 1948: pl. 17 (top);

26.8.127: Winlock 1948: pl. 17 (middle);

26.8.129, .130: Winlock 1948: pl. 17 (bottom).



## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

### *Current understanding*

#### TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

Two of the three pairs are matched differently than Winlock arranged them, on the basis of height, condition of inlays, number of hinges, paleography, and placement of interior struts (on 26.8.129 they are U-shaped, on .125, rectangular, and in the remainder there are parallel strips). The pair 26.8.126 and .128 (143) has small diameters; 26.8.129 and .130 (141) have greater height; and 26.8.128 (143) has greater wall thickness. Nevertheless, all follow a basic scheme of design and construction. As for indications from the excellent inscriptions, the two of 141 clearly match because of the epithet *nb t3wy*. However, it should be noted that while certain signs are similar in this set, the formation of the *mn* and *hpr* in the prenomen and the *nfr* in the nomen is not. Whether this means that the two other pairs of ornaments were inscribed in each case by a single artisan is not known.

Each hinged half was made from a rectangular sheet of thick gold to which a parallel strip was fused on each long side. Perpendicular strips about 7 mm wide were fused between the two reinforced edges approximately every 7 mm; these created six cloisons per bangle half. Along each side of the perpendicular strips a return was inset to hold the cloisons. The cloisons as measured are usually 0.7 wide (but as wide as 0.8); some taper in width from 0.65 to 0.8. The joins of the gold are all neat, very little excess solder is visible, there are no color differences between the hinges and the semi-circular halves, and the metal is well burnished. The inscriptions were presumably chased on the inside of each half before the inlays were inserted.

Lime-plaster cement was inserted into the cloisons, followed by ridged plaques of various length; the alternating pattern was carnelian, turquoise glass, and a second type of glass, now crizzled but originally, undoubtedly colored by cobalt. When completely crizzled, the decayed glass sometimes extends underneath the gold strips, whereas the carnelian and turquoise glass plaques (generally not deteriorated) have edges perpendicular to the strips. Two possibilities were considered as explanation for the extension of the deteriorated glass: fusion of the glass in place, and application in a semi-molten state. However, the gesso's bedding plane in such cloisons is not uniformly of the same depth, rather, it has impressions of separate plaques once pressed into it. Secondly, the carnelian and turquoise glass inlays have ridges, and if glass powder had been fused in place for the third color, it would have resulted in a flat surface, a feature disproved by the remains of ridged decayed glass. Thirdly, since the other two inlays were pre-formed (one of them glass), it is likely that the third one was also, on the grounds of symmetry. To explain the recessing of the glass under the gold strips, it is suggested that water had allowed the gesso to contract and the glass to expand.

The final step must have been the insertion of a pin into the interlocking hinges of two matching halves, and the striking of the pointed end to form a stop. Bangles 26.8.127 and .130 have three-part hinges, where the other four have five.

#### INSCRIPTION

To right, “*nṯr nfr (mn-hpr-rꜥ)*”; to left, “*s3 rꜥ (dḥwty-ms nfr hpr)*”; to right and left, “*dī ʿnh dī*.” Excellent paleographic examples of 18th dynasty royal inscriptions, chased with elegance and surety as well as expected variations. In five instances, the movable pin is between the facing columns; on 26.8.129, the prenomen faces right also. As paired now, each set contains one ornament with the door bolt-*s* in the prenomen, and one ornament without.

#### ICONOGRAPHY

Although Winlock believed that these ornaments were for arms (1948: 31f.), and Hayes agreed (1959b: 134), little comparative data is available from the ankles or upper arms of mummies. The bangles in burials are often flimsier in construction than real jewelry, or, if functional, were provided with string ties to allow size adjustment. Since the three pairs here are hinged, they did not have to have been large enough to go over hand, elbow, or ankle, although their height would have affected ease of wear (5.9 to 7.2).

Evidence from their height is not conclusive. Winlock found a mummy arm impressed with an ornament above the elbow that was 2.4 wide, and two or three ornaments below the elbow 5.5 and 5.8 wide (found with linen inscribed for Ahmose Tumerisy: Winlock 1926: 8). Meryetamun's mummy also had wide bangles on the lower arm (there were impressions 5.0 and 7.0 wide: Winlock 1932: 15, 69). New Kingdom tomb representations show wide ornaments above the elbow; the mummy of Tuthmosis III shows one below (Wente and Harris 1980: microfiche 1, D8–9).

Nor is diameter conclusive. Hinged bracelets on Tutankhamun's lower arms had diameters of 5.3 and 5.5 (H 3.3 and 4.1: Carter 256pp [Edwards 1976b: no. 12]; Carter 256ww [Edwards 1976b: no. 13, left]); solid bangles on the lower arms of Psusennes had diameters of 6.5 and 6.7 (Montet 1951: 151f., nos. 540, 548); and two hinge-pin anklets on Psusennes' mummy had diameters of 5.2 (top) and 6.0 (bottom), with heights of 5.0 (nos. 600, 601). A wire bangle fits tightly on Tutankhamun's right ankle but could have been wound rather than slipped on (Carter 256mm: Carter 1927: pl. 82b).

Assuming that the bangles were oriented so that the inscriptions were upright, 26.8.127 and .128 are very slightly larger in diameter at the top, while .129 clearly is larger, and .130 is larger at the bottom. The resin-stained surfaces of 26.8.126 and .128, and apparent impressions of cloth on .128, may indicate that these two bangles were on a mummy.

## Chapter 5

In appearance, the hinged ornaments are reminiscent of funerary items for Nubhetepthekhered of the late Middle Kingdom. These were seen on exhibition in Cairo, 1980, but not located in de Morgan's 1894 publication. Embedded in resin, there are alternating panels of horizontally placed cylinder beads and flat squares covered with gold leaf. Tutankhamun had a tapered bangle with ridged plaques (Carter 256n; Carter 1927: 36, pl. 82b), although the latter has an inscribed band along the top. Tomb paintings for Rekhmira seem to show such bangles (C. Wilkinson and Hill 1987: 40).

Vertical titularies occur on the exterior of bangles in the Ahhotep group (Bissing 1900: pls. 5.3a–b; 7.2, .4, .4b). Tutankhamun had several bracelets inscribed inside (Carter 256qq; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1976: pl. 15), and at Tanis there were more examples (Montet 1951: pls. 53, 120, 122), one of which has two vertical columns side by side facing the same direction (loc. cit., pl. 29). It is usual for a king's name to be inscribed on jewels for royal wives and daughters. The only exceptions located are a cat spacer of Queen Sebekemsaef (she is pronounced "living," while the second spacer has her deceased husband's name) and two bracelets inscribed for queens Sitamun and Ahmose Nefertary (Lilyquist 1981).

### 141 WIDEST PAIR OF HINGED INLAID ORNAMENTS

Figs. 89e, 91i, 172, 176, 225 (left)

MMA 26.8.129, .130 (P 193).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1922.

MATERIALS 26.8.129, gold (see Appendix 2), carnelian, turquoise glass; 26.8.130, the same plus transparent crizzled glass.

DIMENSIONS H of 26.8.129 H, 7.0; original H not ascertainable. H of 26.8.130, 7.2; Diam 4.8 x 6 (top) and 5.1 x 6.3 (bottom).

MANUFACTURE Some solder not removed in burnishing, notably, coupons on walls adjoining hinges and where strip meets reinforced edge (Fig. 89e). One small patch of delamination on inner surface. PGE inclusions noted on 26.8.130. Cement provided for carnelian plaques has specks of realgar/orpiment. Transparent glass extends under surface strips that form cloisons. However, impressions of individual plaques in gesso show that this glass was inserted in a hardened state.

INSCRIPTION On 26.8.129, both columns face right.

CONDITION Transparent crizzled glass in 26.8.129 is stained brown. Empty cloisons of .130 cleaned of cement, and some of turquoise glass plaques cleaned. Wax around many inlays.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 17 (bottom); Aldred 1971: 208, pl. 64 (bottom). Ornament 26.8.130: Lilyquist 1988b: figs. 61–2; Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 350; Haslauer 2001b: no. 76. Ornament 26.8.130: Lilyquist 2002: 461 no. 188, Ziegler 2002: 335 figs. 10–1.

### 142 PAIR OF CLEANED HINGED INLAID ORNAMENTS

Figs. 173, 175

MMA 26.8.125, .127 (P 191, 192).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1922.

MATERIALS Gold, carnelian, turquoise glass.

DIMENSIONS H of 26.8.125, 5.9; outside Diam at top 5.6 x 6.8. H of 26.8.127, 5.9; outside Diam at top 5.8 x 6.3 cm.

MANUFACTURE 26.8.125 hinges of coiled wire rather than striated tubes; small drop of excess solder.

CONDITION 26.8.125 slightly flattened. Red (sulfide) on unexposed surfaces. Cloisons generally clean, no traces of decayed glass and almost none of cement. Carnelian and copper-colored glass inlays sometimes missing, those present usually waxed in.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 17 (upper left, 26.8.125; center, .127); Aldred 1971: 208, pl. 64 (top pair); C. Andrews 1990: 154, fig. 135 (left, 26.8.125; right, .127; transparency reversed). Ornaments 26.8.125 above, .127 below: Dorman 1984: 26, Dorman 1987: fig. 32, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1993: 15. Ornament 26.8.125: Lansing 1940: fig. 10 (left). Ornament 26.8.127: Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 349 (transparency upside down).

### 143 PAIR OF UNCLEANED HINGED INLAID ORNAMENTS

Fig. 174

MMA 26.8.126, .128 (P 191, 192).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1922.

MATERIALS Gold, carnelian, turquoise glass, transparent crizzled glass.

DIMENSIONS H of 26.8.126, 6.0; outside Diam at top 4.7 x 6.5. H of 26.8.128, 6.2; outside Diam at top 5.4 x 6.1.

MANUFACTURE Gold of both bangles has PGE inclusions. Remains of transparent crizzled glass in 26.8.126 show that it was ridged and inserted in pieces.

CONDITION Ornament 26.8.126 has been "squashed," presumably accounting for the difference of diameter dimension in .128. Transparent crizzled glass preserved more in .126 than elsewhere; darkened from resin. Most of inlay of .128 missing, but gesso still in place. Good deal of resin as well as an inorganic reddish incrustation with hematite (Cleveland/Grossbard). Some of turquoise glass inlay on .128 stained by resin in a dot pattern that indicates former contact with cloth. The tip of the movable pin of .126 broken off.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Ornament 26.8.126: Lansing 1940: fig. 10 (right); Winlock 1948: pl. 17 (upper right).

## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

**Seven finger rings (144–50);** see pp. 238f.

### *Provenance*

The seven scarab rings below—connected to each other by inscription, type, and material—are assigned to Wady D1 on the basis of the Hatshepsut-Tuthmosis III names, their royal quality, and their temporal and spatial appearance on the art market.

All were originally acquired by Lord Carnarvon and appeared in Carter's catalogues of that collection as follows:

Carter 1907–22: 54–6, nos. 763–9: “purchased Luxor. From the tomb of three princesses, discovered by Arabs, Gabbânat el Qirûd, W. Thebes.”

Carter 1926: 135 nos. 763–9: “from Tomb of Princesses, Gabbânat el Qirûd; see Carter's Jewellery Cat. No. pp. 54–56.”

### *Previous assessment*

Winlock 1948: 35; A. Wilkinson 1971: 130, 221 note 16.

### *Current understanding*

The shape and details of the various scarabs fit the period outlined by Newberry: high body (except for 147; see, however, a flat type found in MMA's examples from Hatshepsut's foundation deposits); clypeus and head clearly cut; curved lines between thorax and body; divided wings, often with ticks; inscriptions relating to a ruler (Newberry 1906: 74f., 77, pl. 28). The hieroglyphic legends on the faience and glazed steatite scarabs from Hatshepsut's foundation deposits are generally simpler than the more elaborate scarabs below; however, MMA 27.3.320 from Deposit I has the nomen of the queen and her nephew facing a *nb*-sign below and curls above. The beetle's features here are also generally more elaborate than those catalogued in Ward and Dever (1994: 162–5). However, Jaeger found the features of 144–9 consistent with a Tuthmosis III date (for his references, see 1982: 405 n. 71–6 [based on Hayes 1959b: 125, fig. 66; he did not comment on 150, which Hayes did not illustrate]; 1982: 435 [based on Winlock 1948: pl. 19]). Thick metal fundae appear on Dynasty 17–early Dynasty 18 rings (Hayes 1959b: figs. 2, 102; Hall 1913: pl. opposite xv).

The gold examples 144–5 are the most carefully formed of the series; they and lapis lazuli scarab 146 have orderly inscriptions, while the steatite 148–50 all have many signs freely arranged (the simpler lapis scarab 147 has a few scattered signs). Lapis example 146 has the cartouches of both Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut; steatite scarab 150 has only an invocation. All beetles have a serrated clypeus. Only the lapis scarabs were removed from their mounts for measuring in this study.

The gold scarabs are also the rarest type here. The closest comparison is one published by C. Williams with the name of Horemheb's queen (1924: no. 15); a damaged example was on board the Ulu Burun shipwreck (Weinstein 1989). Less substantial examples have been found in Egyptian private burials (Petrie 1891: 22, pl. 26.9 and Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge 1912: lot 470; Downes 1974: grave 178). Some with little or no provenience have also been noted (Hall 1913: no. 2822; JdE 88461 from Kom el-Hisn; JdE 28612, 39041, and 60655; CG 52232 [Vernier 1907]; Louvre E 4887 and AF 2380; MMA 30.8.414; see also Hornung and Staehelin 1976: 22 and Burlington Club 1895: 125–9, nos. 55, 57, 73, 111, 115).

Scarabs with ruler names were previously found in royal Middle Kingdom female burials (Vernier 1907: CG 52245; Brunton 1920: pl. 7). All here have large shanks; they are too large to have been worn by women in their lifetime.

#### **144** GOLD SCARAB RING

Figs. 178, 184 (top row, center)  
MMA 26.7.763.

SOURCE Carnarvon collection; Purchase, Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1926.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS L between outer ends of funda 2.0, greatest inside Diam of shank 2.0.

MANUFACTURE Scarab assembled from several parts: base plate, legs, and head and wing case of the beetle. Details chased on the surface of beetle, and inscription on base plate. Scarab has square head flanked by eyes; prothorax perimeter is outlined; curl drawn inside perimeter of each wing as well as three lines at suture. Legend well placed within oval line.

Setting made up of a sturdy bezel with a thin collar that encloses the bottom part of the beetle; a tube at each end of the bezel; and a wire shank with a disk at each of its ends, placed next to the tubes. Undoubtedly projecting inward from each disk is a pin running through the mount, in order to attach shank to bezel.

PGE inclusions on shank, bezel, and disks.

INSCRIPTION “(mn-*hpr-r*), the divine leader, is a strong bull” (Ludlow Bull in Winlock 1948: 34).

BIBLIOGRAPHY Carter 1926: 135 no. 767; Lansing 1940: fig. 11 (middle row right); Winlock 1948: pl. 19c; Hayes 1959b: fig. 66 (bottom row, fifth from right); N. Scott 1964: fig. 21; Jaeger 1982: 125 §1017 72, 280 note 34a; Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 352 (upper right).

**145 GOLD SCARAB RING WITH SEMICIRCULAR SHANK**

Figs. 177, 184 (top row, left)

MMA 26.8.762.

SOURCE Carnarvon collection; Purchase, Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1926.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS L between outer ends of funda 1.9, greatest inside Diam of shank 2.1.

MANUFACTURE Constructed as **144** but with larger beetle head, otherwise very similar. Head rectangular, eyes divided into two sections, heart-shaped outlined prothorax, wings with line around perimeter, three lines at suture. Legend nicely placed within double oval line.

PGE inclusions on shank.

INSCRIPTION “Good god (*mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*), given life, praised of the people.”

CONDITION Shank slightly distorted.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Carter 1926: 135 no. 766; Lansing 1940: fig. 11 (middle row left); Winlock 1948: pl. 19b; Hayes 1959b: fig. 66 (bottom row, sixth from right); Jaeger 1982: 61 §240, 125 §1017 71, 280 note 34a; Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 352 (lower right).**146 LAPIS SCARAB RING**

Figs. 179, 184 (top row, right)

MMA 26.7.764.

SOURCE Carnarvon collection; Purchase, Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1926.

MATERIALS Gold, lapis.

DIMENSIONS L between outer edges of funda 2.1, greatest inside Diam of shank 2.0. L of scarab 1.5, W 1.2.

MANUFACTURE The finest of the lapis lazuli scarab rings. Setting as the gold examples’ but this setting neater and more substantial, shank thicker. Scarab solid, no undercutting to form delineation as in gold examples.

Beetle head lunate with semicircle (Ward and Dever 1994: 162f. A8), horn, small eyes. Prothorax and wings as **144**, with addition of two prominent V-shaped ticks and two smaller ticks. Hatched legs undercut. Two-column inscription well placed within oval line.INSCRIPTION “Good god (*mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*), given life; the good god (*m<sup>c</sup>3t-k3-r<sup>c</sup>*), living.”BIBLIOGRAPHY Carter 1926: 135 no. 768; Lansing 1940: fig. 11 (top row right); Winlock 1948: 35, pl. 19d; Hayes 1959b: fig. 66 (bottom row, second from right); Jaeger 1982: 125 §1017 73, 127 §1023 116b; Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 352 (lower left).**147 LARGE LAPIS SCARAB RING**

Figs. 180, 184 (bottom row, left)

MMA 26.7.765.

SOURCE Carnarvon collection; Purchase, Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1926.

MATERIALS Gold, lapis.

DIMENSIONS L between outer edges of funda 2.2, greatest inside Diam of shank 2.2. L of scarab 1.5, W 1.25.

MANUFACTURE Beetle head similar to **146** although more schematic; prothorax and wings as **145**, also more schematic. Heavy drilling on sides between wing case and prothorax. Legs schematic. Hieroglyphs float free within oval line.Setting as **146** except shank thinner, bezel wider, excess gold around collar; scarab flatter and broader.INSCRIPTION “*mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*, ruler of Heliopolis.”CONDITION Bezel more distressed than on **146**; shank bent.BIBLIOGRAPHY Carter 1926: 135 no. 769; Lansing 1940: fig. 11 (top row left); Winlock 1948: 35, pl. 19e; Hayes 1959b: fig. 66 (bottom row, right); Jaeger 1982: 57 §199, 125 §1017 74; Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 352 (upper left).**148 LARGEST STEATITE SCARAB RING**

Figs. 181, 184 (bottom row, second from left)

MMA 26.7.759.

SOURCE Carnarvon collection; Purchase, Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1926.

MATERIALS Gold, glazed steatite.

DIMENSIONS L between outer edges of funda 2.35, greatest inside Diam of shank 2.4.

MANUFACTURE The most substantial of the steatite scarab rings. Shank thick (as **146**), bezel precise.

Beetle’s lunate head flanked by eyes; two knobs at base of clypeus. Small ticks at edge are probably serrations of tibia. Prothorax outlined, broadly heart-shaped. Wings with two curls near each exterior, two lines at suture, a tick at each outer border. Legs hatched and fully undercut. Hieroglyphs freely arranged in oval line.

INSCRIPTION “(*mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*) lord of might, who smote the nine bows and overthrew the Mentiu twice” (Ludlow Bull in Winlock 1948: 35).

CONDITION Some denting of bezel; traces of copper-colored glaze.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Carter 1926: 135 no. 763; Lansing 1940: fig. 11 (center); Winlock 1948: pl. 19f; Hayes 1959b: fig. 66 (bottom row, third from right); Jaeger 1982: 55 §184, 56 §193, 125 §1017 75, 142 §1086 589a, 262 §1576 75 and §1579 75, 305 note 378 589a; Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 352 (center).**149 STEATITE SCARAB RING**

Figs. 182, 184 (bottom row, second from right)

MMA 26.7.760.

SOURCE Carnarvon collection; Purchase, Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1926.

MATERIALS Gold, glazed steatite.

DIMENSIONS L between outer edges of funda 2.1, greatest inside Diam of shank 2.1.

MANUFACTURE Middle in size of the steatite scarab rings; beetle only partially undercut but its quality superior. Back features similar to **148**’s except tibia clearly delineated, prothorax only partially outlined, one set of curls on wings, and single line at suture. Legs heavily undercut. Inscription arranged as **148**.

Shank and bezel of very even workmanship.

INSCRIPTION “*mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>* harpooner of the hippopotamus, strong of arm when he seizes the spear” (Jaeger 1982: 53 §172).

CONDITION Traces of copper-colored glaze.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Carter 1926: 135 no. 764; Lansing 1940: fig. 11 (top row center); Winlock 1948: pl. 19g; Hayes 1959b: fig. 66 (bottom row, fourth from right); Jaeger 1982: 53 §172, 125 §1017 76, 262 §1576 76; Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 352 (center top).

## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

### 150 SMALLEST STEATITE SCARAB RING

Figs. 183, 184 (bottom row, right)

MMA 26.7.761.

SOURCE Carnarvon collection; Purchase, Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1926.

MATERIALS Gold, glazed steatite.

DIMENSIONS L between outer edges of funda 1.7, greatest inside Diam of shank 1.9.

MANUFACTURE The smallest steatite scarab. Back and inscription well made, slight undercutting. Head type as 146. Prothorax only partially outlined. Two curls on

each wing, two V-shaped ticks, two lines at suture. Legs undercut. Legend has freely spaced signs in oval line.

Wire goes through scarab, piercing the disk attached to the shank.

INSCRIPTION "May Amun give life, dominion, and the breath of life to his nose" (see Ludlow Bull in Winlock 1948: 35).

CONDITION Shank somewhat deformed. Traces of copper-colored glaze.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Carter 1926: 135 no. 765; Winlock 1948: pl. 19h; Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 352 (center, bottom).

## LOOSE BEADS

**Two strands of acacia-seed beads (151–2);** see pp. 125, 240, 305

### *Provenance*

Four carnelian and two turquoise glass acacia beads were found by Chaban in the tomb (pp. 29f.); their dimensions, configuration, and material match those catalogued below.

Examples of green felspar and bitumen were found among beads left from the early purchases (pp. 113, 305). An amethyst example appears in a photo with gold acacia seeds alleged to be from the Wady Qurud (Keimer 1949: 137, fig. 1); nothing further is known of this bead.

### *Previous assessment*

These beads were strung in 1936 by the MMA with loop-and-pin clasp 216 and with gold spacers now thought to be modern (311–3). In 1936, reproduction beads of orange, turquoise, and blue were added, and in 1944 yet more reproductions (Winlock 1948: 35f., pl. 20a–b with reproductions). With the purchase of individual gold acacia beads 321 in 1958, all elements were rearranged to make two girdles by using the accommodating clasp 215. The girdle using 215 is illustrated in Aldred (1971: 205, 207, pl. 63) and A. Wilkinson (1971: 135, pl. 47c).

### *Current understanding*

According to comparative data, acacia-seed beads could be used in necklaces, girdles, or armlets of one or two strands, and they appear in various sizes, as pointed out by C. Andrews (1981: Appendix U). The silver bead from MMA Assasif tomb 840 cited there is typical of the large type (1.9 x 1.9), where there is space for only one horizontal string, and the edge is emphasized by an incised line or row of dots (Capel and Markoe 1996: no. 25; Hölzl 2001). The Assasif example was found with other jewels in a disturbed burial; however, sixteen large gold seeds (H 1.7, W 2.2) were scattered around the head area of Hepy at Lisht (Lansing 1934: fig. 39). Three stone seeds were also near the head in a burial at Dendera (Vernier 1925: CG 52758: carnelian, H 1.5 x W 1.6; amethyst, H 2.5 x W 2.8 and H 2.7 x W 3.2), both inscribed, pace A. Wilkinson (1971: 81). The precise find spot of twenty-seven silver examples from Kom el-Hisn is not known (W of each, ca. 1.6; JdE 87404).

Medium-sized seeds were found in Dahshur, Lahun, Saqqara (Vilímkova 1969: pl. 21a), Qau, Haraga, and Lisht burials cited by C. Andrews (loc. cit.), varying from singles to multiples. The MMA has now arranged a number of individual stone Lahun acacias with gold double-acacia spacers and combined them with large gold *Courie*-spacers to form a girdle (Brunton 1920: 33f. [xv], pls. 3 and 7). Acacias and *Courie*-spacers from Dahshur have also been mixed in a girdle. Such a mixture of motifs may not be correct, but the double-seed spacers, at least, suggest a girdle.

Of particular chronological interest here are a gold double-seed spacer found at Mirgissa (Vercoutter 1970: 236 §9c) and ten silver double-seed examples used with silver barrels from an early 18th dynasty MMA tomb in the Assasif (Lansing 1917: fig. 12; Cairo JdE 45666). Found inside the coffin, they were classified by Lansing as a girdle (H of each 1.2, W 0.9).

Tiny acacia seeds and spacers have also been found, notably next to Senebtisy's mummy at Lisht (Mace and Winlock 1916: 68–70, pl. 23). They were reconstructed as a girdle of six strands of colored seeds (each seed: W ca. 0.4, H 0.3) held separate by three pairs of double-seed gold spacers (each spacer: W 0.4, H 0.5) and one central spacer of four acacias fused together with a ring (H 1.5). Similar individual seeds and spacers (three fused seeds) were found at Tell ed-Dabaa, in the head area of a burial (reg.-nr. 2590a, from tomb 3 in field A/II-m/16; M. Bietak communication, 20 May 1987). These have been strung into a necklace with bivalve shells found nearby (Bietak 1996: 45, color pl. 2b; Hein 1994b: no. 169).

## Chapter 5

Lozenge-shaped units, which could be acacias, are shown in an armlet and as hair or wig ornaments in a Middle Kingdom tomb at Qau (Petrie 1930: 14, pl. 24).

For the beads below, use with the loop-and-pin clasps as previously strung is doubtful: although the beads could be threaded into five strands with those clasps, the outer two rows of seeds would extend beyond the bars; furthermore, there is no evidence of acacia seed use in wide armlets. It is also doubtful that those clasps would have been used for a belt or girdle, since their vertical dimension would make movement difficult. Finally, the girdles of Petrie's Qurna woman, Kha's wife Meret, and perhaps Meryetamun had string ties rather than clasps (p. 175), no doubt a practical feature.

There are fifty acacia beads associated with the Wady Qurud: thirty-four carnelian (four Cairo, thirty MMA) and sixteen glass (two Cairo, fourteen MMA). It is likely that there were an equal number of carnelian and turquoise glass beads, therefore at least sixty originally, divided into two rows of thirty. These would work well with spacers, but no spacers are extant. The gold acacia-seed spacers **311–3**, as well as individual gold acacia beads **321–2** previously strung with the carnelian and glass beads, are now considered modern.

### **151 THIRTY ACACIA-SEED BEADS**

Figs. 911, 185 (left), 232 (sixth from top)  
MMA 26.8.118d (P 136), including selective 1982.137.4  
(two), 1988.25.1 (six), and 1988.25.2 (seven).

SOURCE Purchases: Fletcher Fund, 1921; Lila Acheson  
Wallace Gifts, 1982 and 1988.

MATERIAL Carnelian.

DIMENSIONS L of string 21.0; individual bead H 1.0, W 1.3.

MANUFACTURE On many, a transversal ridge from hole to  
hole.

CONDITION Several have chips.

### **152 FOURTEEN ACACIA-SEED BEADS**

Figs. 185 (right), 232 (fifth from top)  
MMA 26.8.118e (P 136; nine), incorporating selective  
1982.137.4 (four), unaccessioned 58.153 (one-half a  
bead).

SOURCE Purchases: Fletcher Fund, 1921; Frederick P.  
Huntley Bequest, 1958; Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1982.

MATERIAL Turquoise glass.

DIMENSIONS L of string 16.2; individual bead H 1.0, W 1.3.

MANUFACTURE Molded.

CONDITION Beads discolored and occasionally broken from  
weathering.

## **Beads and spacers of melon and ball shape (153); see pp. 125, 240, 305**

### *Provenance*

Carter found at least one lapis lazuli melon bead in the tomb (p. 47), and the MMA found one in the Pit at the wady head (p. 110).

The turquoise melon and ball beads are made of the copper-colored glass known from items found by Chaban: drop element inlay, and beads of barrel, cylinder, and acacia shape (p. 45, Fig. 17d–e, i–j).

### *Previous assessment*

Melon and ball beads were originally strung with drum beads **199** and *Conus*-shell beads **197** as a necklace, without the two incomplete spacers drawn in Fig. 186, top. Later, the beads were grouped with those spacers and buckle **315**, being understood as part of a girdle or necklace (Winlock 1948: 37; see also Hayes 1959b: 135, fig. 73; Kayser 1969: fig. 210). In 1959, Scott removed buckle **315** and placed it with recently purchased gold melon beads as a girdle, and the drum, *Conus*, and colored melons and balls were strung as a necklace.

### *Current understanding*

Melon beads are known from the Middle Kingdom (Vernier 1925: CG 52865; Bisson 1950: CG 70723) and New Kingdom (Carnarvon and Carter 1912: pls. 46.2 no. a, 73.13), and may be represented in a broad collar of round beads in Kenamun's tomb (N. G. Davies 1930[1]: 27 no. 33, pl. 15 [rows of gold beads with parallel black lines alternating with rows of blue beads]). Small ball beads of gold and glass were strung in four rows near Tutankhamun's neck, in what Carter described as "a small sort of dog-collar" (Carter 256mmmm; Carter 1927: 118, pl. 77b). Rekhmira's tomb has three-strand jewels that N. G. Davies considered collars (1943: 38 no. 14, pl. 37). The incomplete gold spacers here—with a ball bead on the outside and a melon within (one is drawn completely at the bottom of Fig. 186)—have no known Egyptian parallel. In an assemblage from the East cemetery at Deir el Medina, three rows of glass drops, barrels, and balls are separated by spacers shaped as gilded, wooden ball beads (IFAO and Musée du Louvre 1981: no. 251ab, Louvre E 14005–6); the gold spacers in Tutankhamun's "stole" are shaped more as articulated plates than fused individual beads (Carter 2690; Carter 1933: 79, pl. 20b). However, in the Near East there appear to be fused gold melons at late Middle Bronze-age Ebla (Matthiae 1979: 160, fig. 74).

## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

They also exist in the Old Babylonian unprovenanced “Dilbat Hoard” (Lilyquist 1994a: 33 a-5-a-7, fig. 12). For side-by-side faience melons (rather than one above the other), see Petrie (1891: 23 §45, Ashmolean 1890.786). Because of the two spacers, each composed of at least three beads, the various ball and melon beads of gold, lapis lazuli, and turquoise glass associated with the Wady Qurud have been gathered into a three-strand assemblage. To these could be added: nineteen ball beads (gold, six; lapis, seven; turquoise glass, six) and eighteen melon beads (gold, six; lapis, six; turquoise glass, six) in the British Museum (162). “Many more” lapis and turquoise melon beads from an original dealer have been reported.

The use of such an arrangement is not known, however. Representations of three-strand girdles made of round beads occur on figures, but the beads could have been flat rather than round.

### 153 THREE-STRAND ASSEMBLAGE

Figs. 91k and n, 186

MMA 26.8.63a, incorporating 58.153.19, .21, .22 (one gold ball, one gold melon, one glass ball), 1982.137.6 (five gold, five glass, and five lapis melons) and selective 1988.17 (six gold, eleven glass, eight lapis balls; seven gold, two glass, five lapis melons).

SOURCE One lapis melon found in tomb chamber by Carter, p. 47. Purchases: Fletcher Fund, 1919 (P 55, gold ball beads) and 1920 (P 101, gold and “stone” beads); Frederick P. Huntley Bequest, 1958; Lila Acheson Wallace Gifts, 1982, 1988.

MATERIALS Gold (twenty-three balls, thirty-three melons, two spacers each preserving one melon and one ball), lapis lazuli (eleven balls, twelve melons), turquoise glass (twelve balls, nine melons), felspar (four balls).

DIMENSIONS L as strung 21.8.

MANUFACTURE There are currently 105 individual beads.

The gold balls and melons were each made in hemispheres joined around the circumference, and the glass and stone examples have ridges incised between the holes. The ends of the individual gold beads are sometimes flattened, the holes are generally punched inward. Rarely, however, the edge of the hole projects outward.

There are also two incomplete gold spacers where the outer surface of each ball has a drum-like projection, and the outer surface of the melon has a void that indicates that it was once fused to a third item, presumably another ball (Fig. 186 (below) for one spacer). Two individual gold melon beads with losses indicate that they too were joined to another element (Fig. 186 [top]).

CONDITION Normal wear and aging.

### Eight groups of granular beads (154–61); see pp. 241f.

#### *Provenance*

According to Winlock (1948: 23), “Carter’s careful sifting of the rubbish on the spot produced a few [of these beads].” These are not recorded on Carter’s tomb cards (pp. 46f.). On the other hand, only one of the three types Carter does record are cited by Winlock, while Winlock adds the information that Carter found eleven of the lenticular beads (1948: 24).

Further, the bead type was apparently unknown previously, and it is certain that Winlock understood this. Most were purchased by Lily Place in Cairo, apparently in 1919 (Doc. 26), and both there and in Luxor the bead type was given the provenance of Wady Qurud.

#### *Previous assessment*

The granular beads acquired in the early part of the century are published in Winlock (1948: 23, pls. 14a, 42a), Hayes (1959b: 133), Aldred (1971: 215, pl. 86), and Reeves (2000: 150). They include P 88 and 101 (Fletcher Fund, 1920), and P 182 (Rogers Fund, 1921).

#### *Current understanding*

All the gold granular beads below are five-lobed, and intermesh to give the appearance of a rope. There are differences in size and—according to appearance—alloy. The MMA beads acquired from Lily Place and published by Winlock are now divided into three strings according to bead diameter (156, 158–9). In recent years, examples have been acquired that match the size of previously acquired examples (157), in one instance acquired with stone multi-foil beads (160).

Technologically, the gold granular beads are of interest. Although the type appears much earlier in the Near East (Lilyquist 1993b: 33), the examples below are believed to be the first examples in Egypt. Granular beads occur on an object assigned to the reign of Amenhotep III (Hayes 1959b: fig. 161) and are common in Tutankhamun’s tomb. They are not an Egyptian type.

Other examples have been noted in the Cairo Museum, of different sizes and number of granules: 22/11/21/6 (six granules each), JdE 39875 (two sizes, from the Bubastis treasure), JdE 86971.



## Chapter 5

### **154 PLACE GRANULAR BEADS**

Fig. 188

Formerly Lily Place, Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Blumka Gallery New York City; present location unknown.

**MATERIAL** Gold.

**DIMENSIONS** L of string ca. 38.0, Diam of beads 0.2 (Minneapolis).

**MANUFACTURE** Strung with garnet ball and barrel shapes in Minneapolis.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY** Documents 26, 32–3 (pp. 38, 43); Winlock 1948: 23 note 21.

### **155 CAIRO PLACE GRANULAR BEADS**

Fig. 187

Cairo JdE 46435, SR 6960.

**SOURCE** Gift of Lily Place, 26 June 1919.

**MATERIAL** Gold.

**DIMENSIONS** L of string 19.1, Diam of bead 0.2.

**MANUFACTURE** Very evenly matched in size, with the exception of one darker and larger bead.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY** Document 26 (p. 38); Winlock 1948: 23 note 21.

### **156 MMA PLACE GRANULAR BEADS**

Fig. 189 (left)

MMA 26.8.62a (mostly P 88, 1.41 m; P 182, 21.2 cm).

**SOURCE** Fletcher Fund, 1920; Rogers Fund, 1921.

**MATERIAL** Gold.

**DIMENSIONS** L of string 1.57 m, Diam of bead 0.2.

**MANUFACTURE** Gold is grayish.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY** Document 26 (p. 38); Winlock 1948: 23, pls. 14a, 42a.

### **157 MMA RECENT-PURCHASE GRANULAR BEADS**

Fig. 190 (left)

MMA 1988.25.3b.

**SOURCE** Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1988.

**MATERIAL** Gold.

**DIMENSIONS** L of string 67.3, Diam of bead 0.2.

**MANUFACTURE** Similar in size and character to **156** except gold is more yellow.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY** Lilyquist 1988a.

### **158 MMA MEDIUM PLACE GRANULAR BEADS**

Fig. 189 (right circle)

MMA 26.8.62b; mostly formerly 21.6.1.

**SOURCE** Gift of Lily Place, 1921.

**MATERIAL** Gold.

**DIMENSIONS** L of string 19.3, Diam of bead 0.175.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY** Document 26 (p. 38); Winlock 1948: 23, pls. 14a, 42a.

### **159 MMA SMALL PLACE GRANULAR BEADS**

Fig. 189 (right strand)

MMA 26.8.62c; mostly formerly MMA 21.6.1.

**SOURCE** Gift of Lily Place, 1921.

**MATERIAL** Gold.

**DIMENSIONS** L of string 3.1, Diam of bead 0.1.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY** Document 26 (p. 38); Winlock 1948: 23, pls. 14a, 42a.

### **160 MMA RECENT-PURCHASE GRANULAR AND MULTIFOIL BEADS**

Fig. 191

MMA 1987.399.2d (incorporating selective 1988.25.1, .2).

**SOURCE** Purchases, Lila Acheson Wallace Gifts, 1987 and 1988.

**MATERIALS** Gold, carnelian, jasper, lapis, turquoise; one garnet.

**DIMENSIONS** L of string 0.51, Diam of gold bead 0.1.

**MANUFACTURE** Gold beads size of **159**. Stone multifoil beads vary in thickness and diameter but are all larger than the gold examples and are variously fluted.

**CONDITION** Resin on several stone beads.

### **161 MMA RECENT-PURCHASE LARGE GRANULAR BEADS**

Fig. 190 (right)

MMA 1988.25.3a.

**SOURCE** Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1988.

**MATERIAL** Gold.

**DIMENSIONS** L of string 73.6, Diam of bead 0.3.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY** Lilyquist 1988a.

## **MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS**

### **Inlaid elements and beads (162); see p. 233**

#### *Provenance*

The objects were acquired by 1931, when they were exhibited in London.

Exact parallels for the following were found in the tomb (pp. 29–31): carnelian and turquoise glass barrel beads; gold, lapis, and turquoise glass ball beads; gold, lapis, and turquoise glass melon beads; and inlays for a drop-shaped element.

### **162 INLAID ELEMENTS AND ASSORTED BEADS**

Fig. 166

BM 66827.

**SOURCE** Capt. Edward George Spencer Churchill; acquired by the British Museum 1966.

**MATERIALS**

*barrel beads* Carnelian and jasper, sixteen thin, two short; turquoise glass, eight.

*biconical bead* Carnelian, one.

*ring beads* Gold, fifty-five of **211** size; gold, lapis, carnelian of **209–10** size.

*ball beads* Gold, six; lapis, seven; turquoise glass, six; jasper, four small.

*melon beads* Gold, six; lapis, six; turquoise glass, six.

*drop-shaped element* Gold, jasper, turquoise glass, transparent crizzled glass.

*nefer elements* Gold: three with solid backs, seven with open, of which six have Egyptian blue.

## Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

**DIMENSIONS** L of outer row 65.5.

**MANUFACTURE** Drop-shaped element has five notches on upper left edge of back plate.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY** Egypt Exploration Society 1931: 42 no. 127; Tait 1976: 57, pl. 7; Tait 1986: 44f. no. 79; C. Andrews 1990: fig. 17; Reeves and Taylor 1992: 129; Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 345.

**Ornament (163);** see p. 148

### *Provenance*

Seen and drawn by Carter on October 11, 1916 (p. 48).

### *Current understanding*

General configuration similar to tube pendants 182–5, but lack of suspension ring and horizontal placement in drawing suggest this is not such an object.

### **163 BEADS AND (TUBES)**

Fig. 20

Location unknown.

**MATERIALS** Gold, garnet.

**DIMENSIONS** L as drawn 2.8.

**MANUFACTURE** Two gold end-pieces frame four garnet balls separated by three gold beads; items connected (Carter).

## OBJECTS OF UNDETERMINED FUNCTION

### **MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS**

**Duck head (164);** see p. 244

### *Provenance*

Carter saw and drew a duck head “of exceedingly fine work” at Jusef Hassan’s on October 11, 1916, without scale (p. 48). Its neck curves backward and is broken along the bottom. A silver duck head owned by Hoffman Philip was auctioned in 1964, said to be 1½" high; Philip had other items believed to be from Wady DI (Doc. 22, p. 37). The bottom neck edge of Philip’s duck curves forward; thus if the two items are the same, some of the bottom edge must have broken off by 1964.

### *Current understanding*

Backward-turned duck heads—that form the terminals of ointment spoons in the late Middle Kingdom at Kahun (Petrie 1890: 29, pl. 8.17), Haraga (Bourriau 1988: no. 153) and Byblos (Montet 1928: no. 706)—are also known in the New Kingdom (Wallert 1967: pl. 10; N. G. Davies 1930[1]: pl. 18). The motif also occurs on ivory cosmetic dishes (Lilyquist 1998b: 27). Forward-looking ducks are known in Egypt too, notably on ointment dishes of stone (Brunton and Engelbach 1927: pl. 21.45), ivory, and wood (Wallert 1967: pl. 12). If such a dish were made in silver, however, the form would require joining a number of parts, probably an unlikely use for the material.

### **164 DUCK HEAD**

Fig. 193

**SOURCE** [Former collection Hoffman Philip]; London dealer Herman Baer when auctioned in 1964; present location unknown.

**MATERIAL** Silver.

**DIMENSIONS** H 1½" (Sotheby’s).

**MANUFACTURE** “Head realistically worked with three incised slashes on the head” (Sotheby’s).

**BIBLIOGRAPHY** Sotheby & Co. 1964: lot 63.

## Chapter 5

**Silver fragments (165);** see p. 244

### *Provenance*

A fragment of sheet silver was among Chaban's objects, 1.9 long, 0.28 thick (p. 31); one of those edges appears chisel cut and one surface is more oxidized than the other.

Eleven fragments and eight small bits of silver are described here, seemingly acquired with the silver vessels **100** and **105**. The fragments were found wrapped in tissue inside **105** in 1982 and were accessioned in 1983.

### *Previous assessment*

When Carter turned over his excavation notes on Wady D1 to the MMA, he indicated that he considered these fragments part of a third vessel. No record exists of them entering the MMA, but in 1921 they appear on a list with the silver vessels to be shipped to Leon André in Paris for treatment ("5 fragments de bandeaux en argent"), see p. 127 and **105**.

### *Current understanding*

Two of the original strips were added to the jar **105**. It is difficult to see how the three long strips here could be used for a vessel, however.

### **165** STRIPS AND FRAGMENTS

Fig. 192, as specified below

MMA 18.8.25a–e.

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1918.

MATERIAL Silver.

DIMENSIONS Th 0.28.

a (left) = L 13.0, W 2.6.

b (second from left) = L 11.4, W 2.5.

c (third from left) = L 9.2, W 2.5.

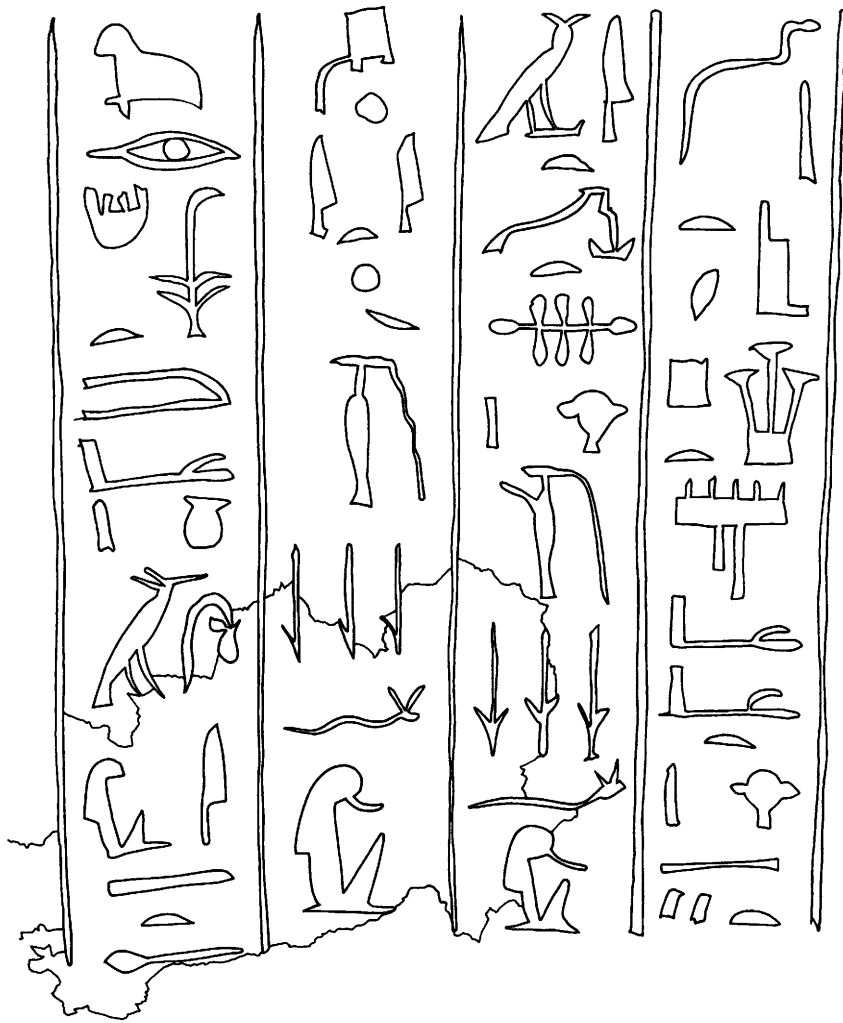
d (lower right) = L 2.7, W 2.0.

e (upper right) = 3.5 x 2.5 x 1.6.

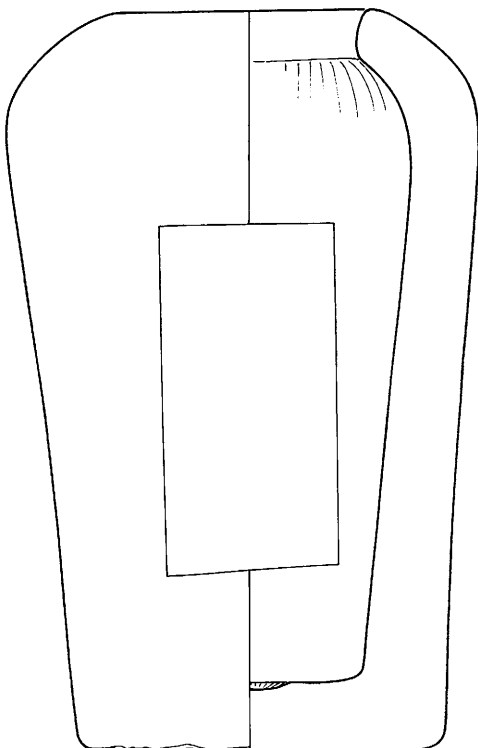
MANUFACTURE The rounded fragment "d" is noticeably hammered and has a rolled edge; the thicker triangular fragment "e" could be from a vessel.

CONDITION Not cleaned.

CATALOGUE PART A  
FUNERARY ITEMS



a. Inscription (left) and profile (above)  
of Cat. 3 jar



b. Profile (above) and inscription  
(right) of Cat. 2 jar

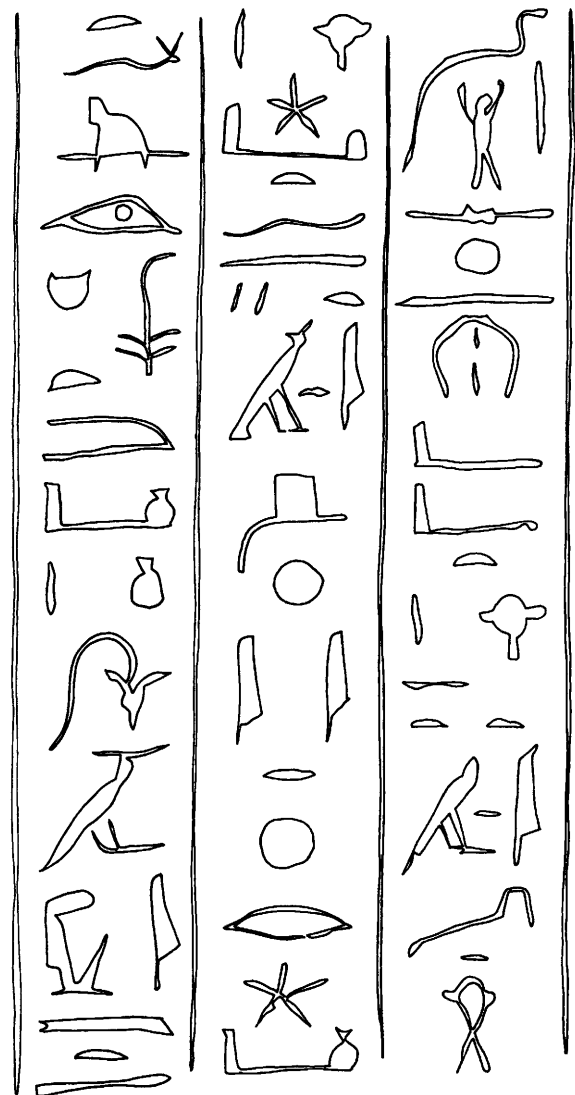


Fig. 94a–b. Two of Manuwai's four limestone canopic jars. Inscriptions, 1:1; profiles, 1:3



a. Base of canopic jar, Cat. 3



b. Stopper for same jar



c. Left to right: Cats. 4, 2, 1, 3

Fig. 95a–c. Manuwai's complete set of canopic jars with details of one



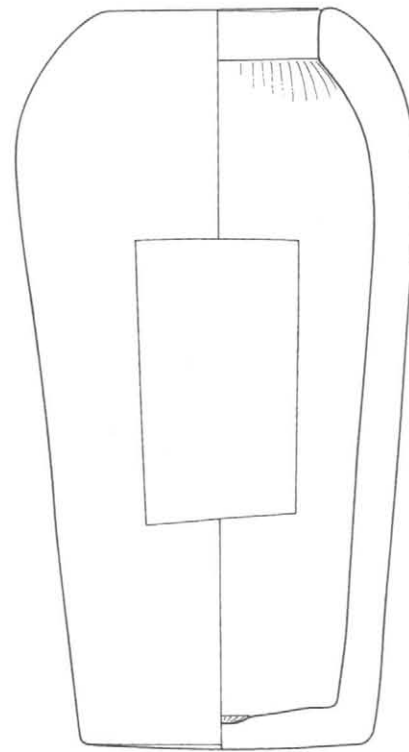
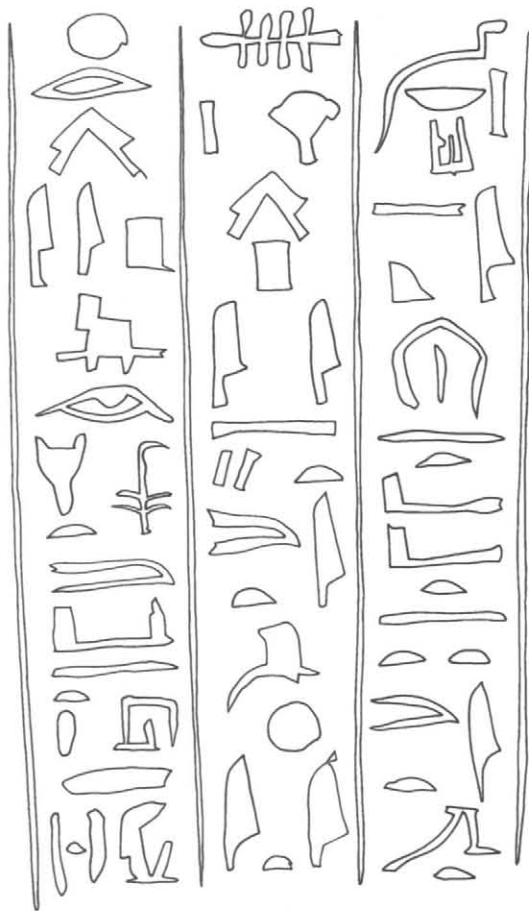
a. Left to right: Cats. 5, 7, 8, 6



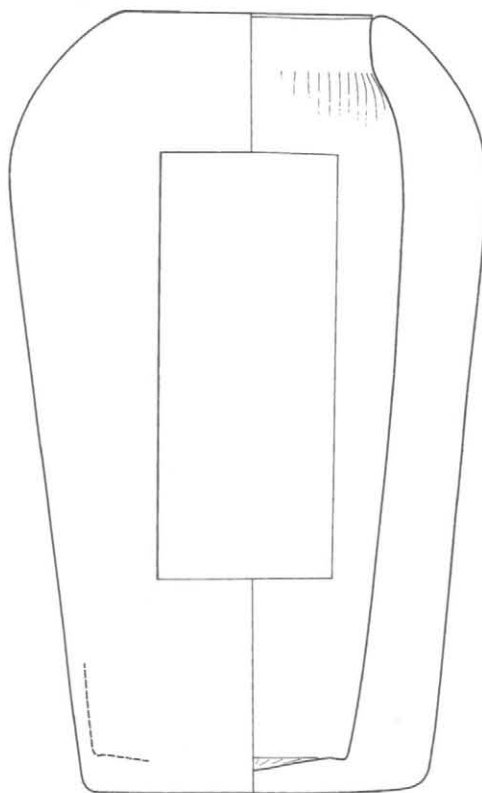
b. Front of Cat. 6 stopper (above); bottom of Cat. 8 stopper (right)

Fig. 96a–b. Manhata's complete set of limestone canopic jars with details of two stoppers





a. Inscription (above) and profile (above right) of Cat. 6 jar



b. Profile (above) and inscription (right) of Cat. 8 jar

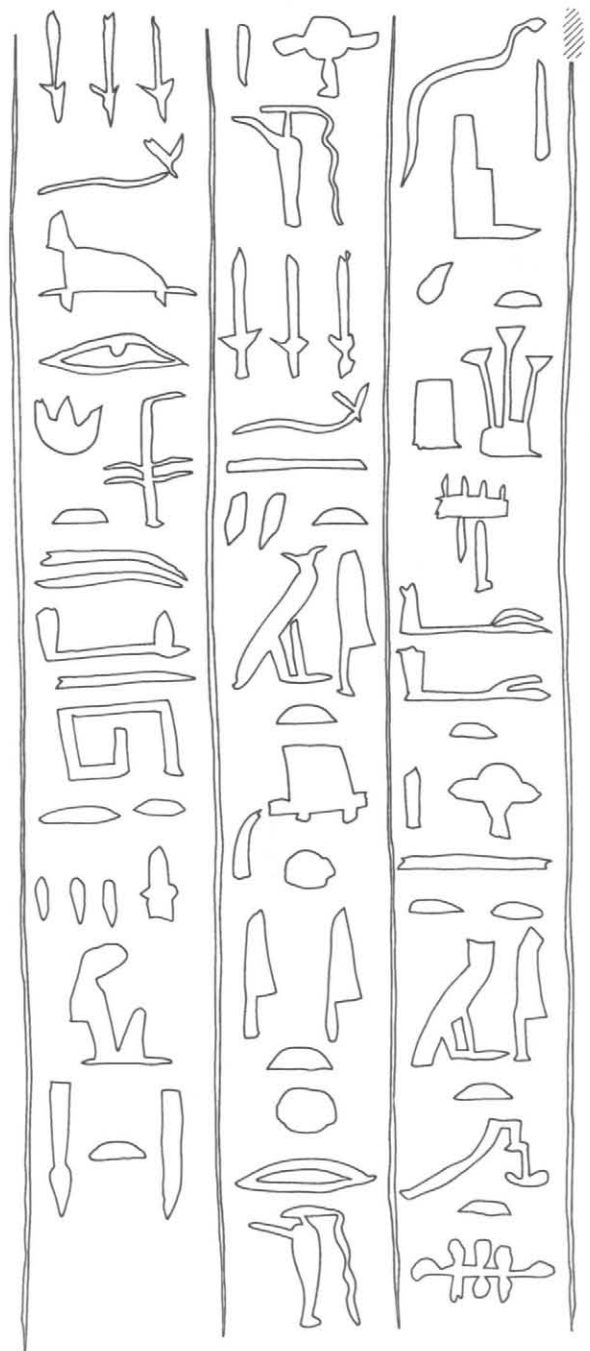


Fig. 97a–b. Two of Manhata's four limestone canopic jars. Inscriptions, 1:1; profiles, 1:3



a. Left to right: Cats. 9, 10, 12, 11



b. Stopper for Cat. 11

Fig. 98a–b. Maruta's complete set of limestone canopic jars and detail of one stopper

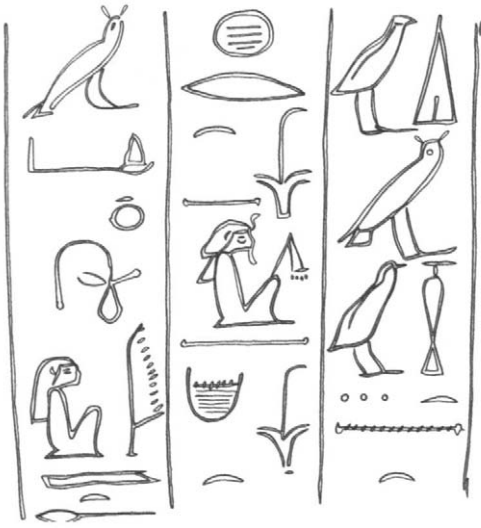


Fig. 100. Silver libation vessels as acquired. Left to right, Cats. 13, 14, 15

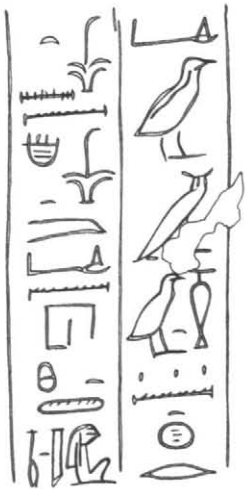


Fig. 101. Libation vessels as restored. Left to right, Cats. 13, 15, 14

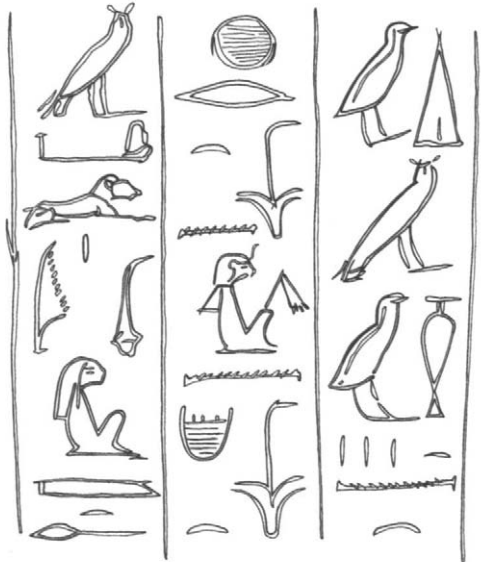


Fig. 99. Inscriptions on libation vases for Manuwai (top, Cat. 13), Manhata (center, Cat. 14), Maruta (bottom, Cat. 15). 1:1

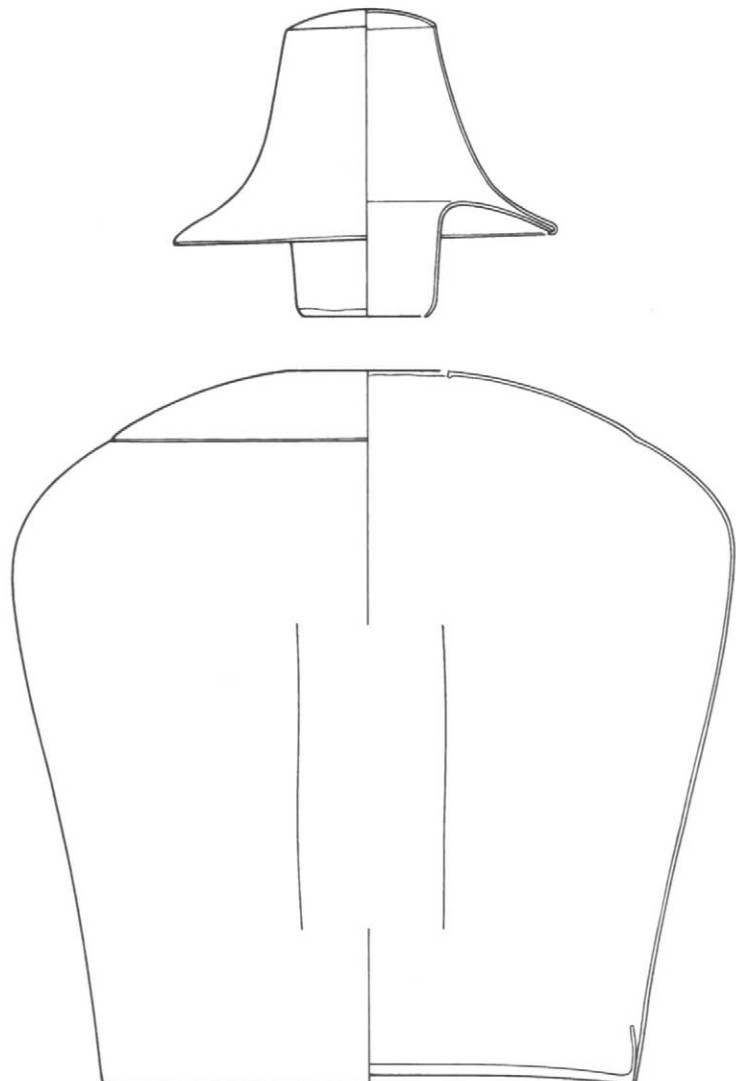


Fig. 102. Profile of Manhata's vessel, Cat. 14. 2:3

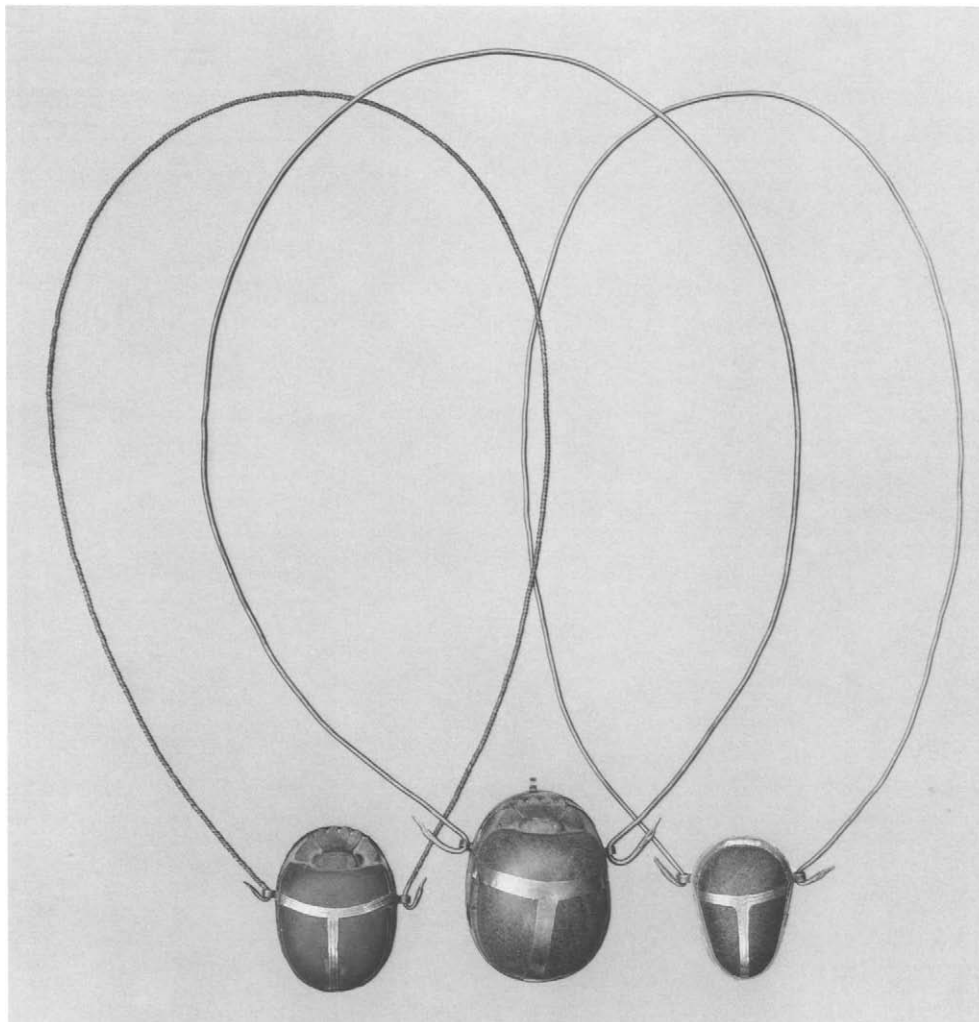


Fig. 103. Gold and stone heart scarab necklaces for Manuwai (left, Cat. 16), Maruta (center, Cat. 18), Manhata (right, Cat. 17). 1:3

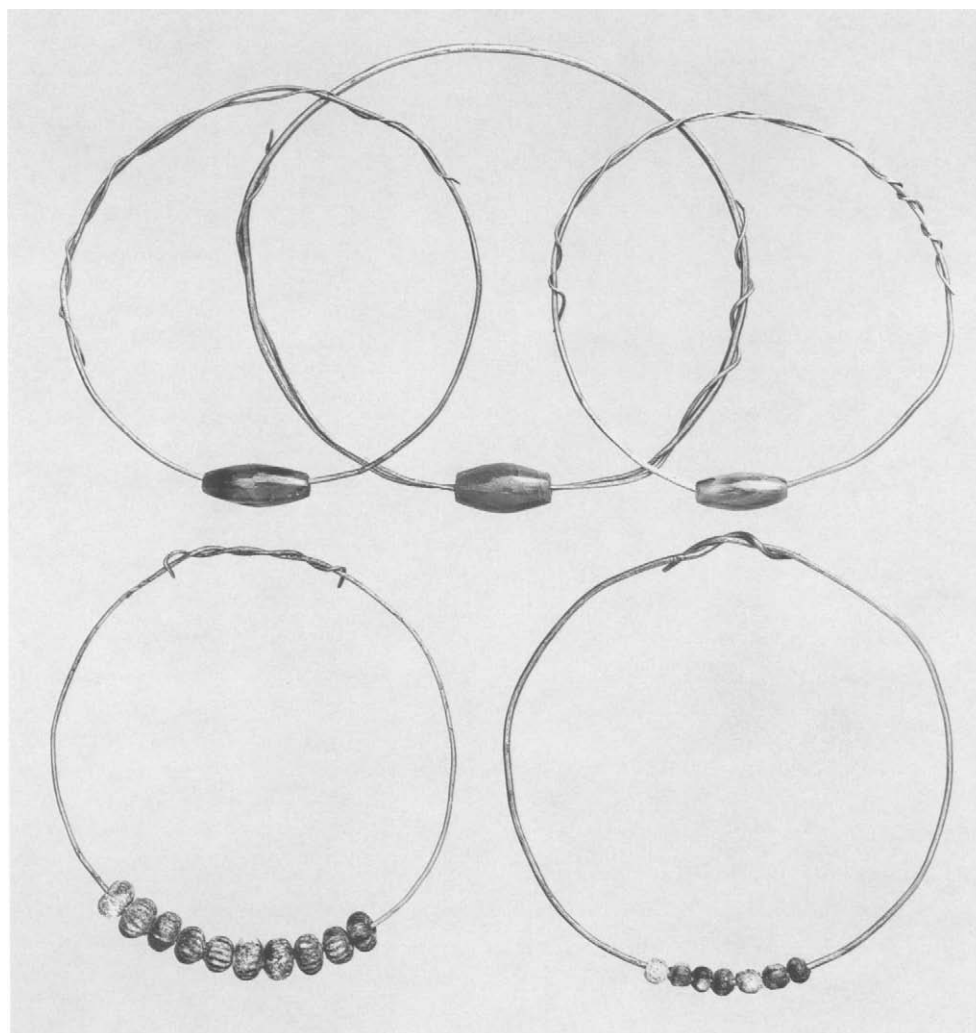


Fig. 104. Left to right and top to bottom: carnelian seweret necklets, Cats. 21, 20, 19; necklets with faience melon beads, Cats. 23, 22. 2:3

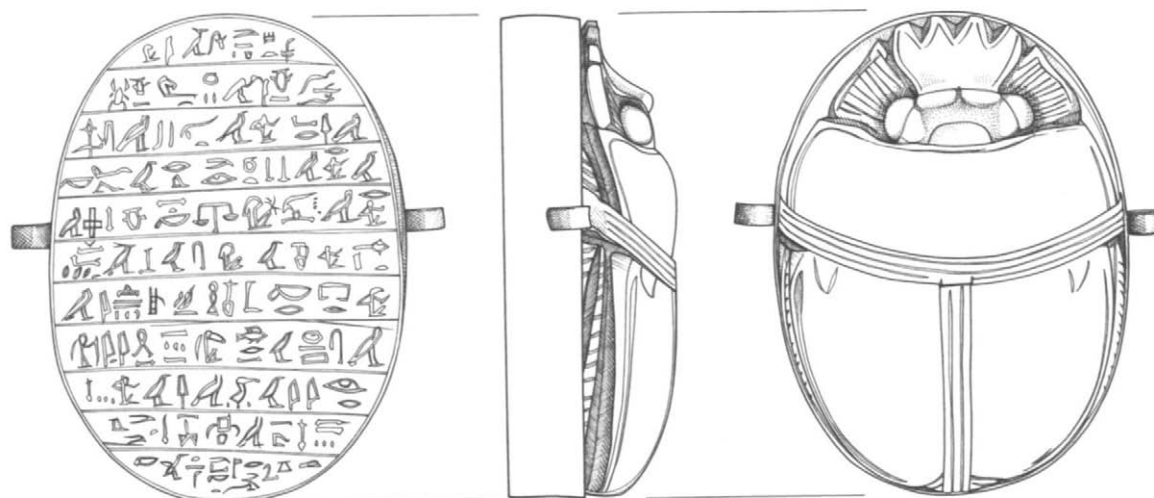


Fig. 105. Heart scarab of Manuwai, probably graywacke, Cat. 16. 1:1

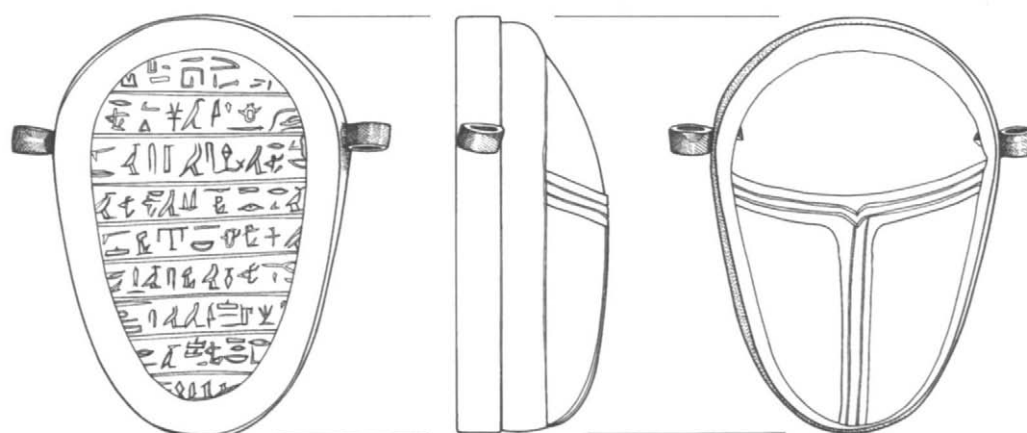


Fig. 106. Heart scarab of Manhata, greenschist, Cat. 17. 1:1

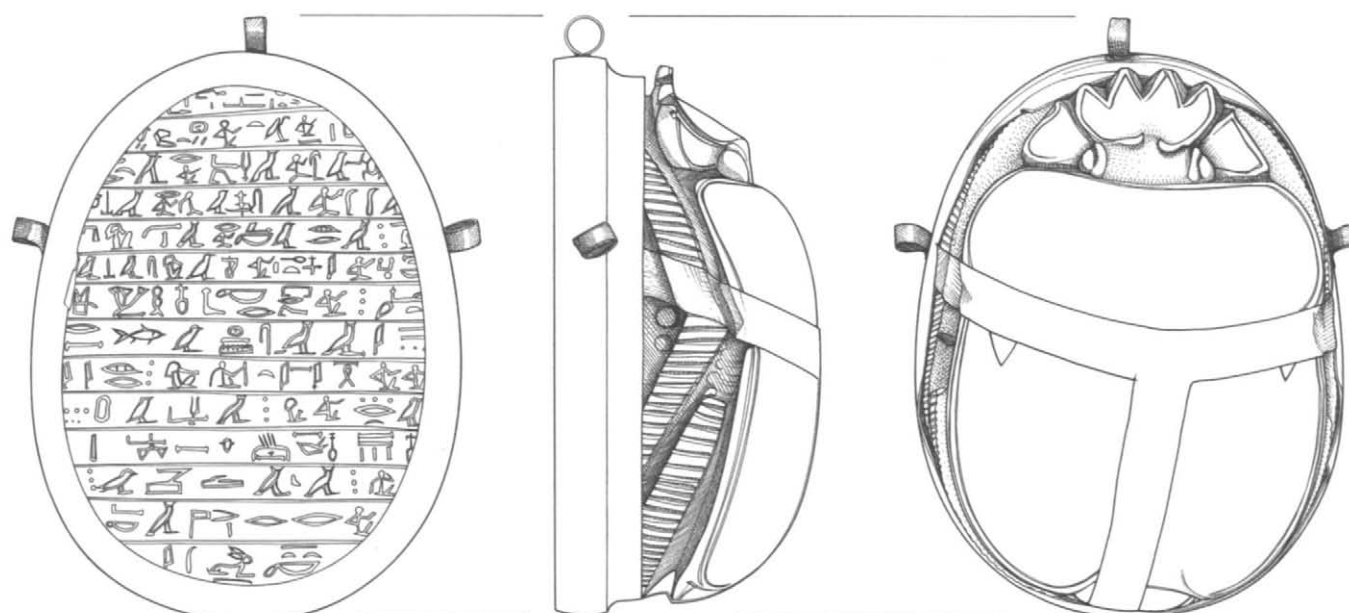


Fig. 107. Heart scarab of Maruta, greenschist, Cat. 18. 1:1



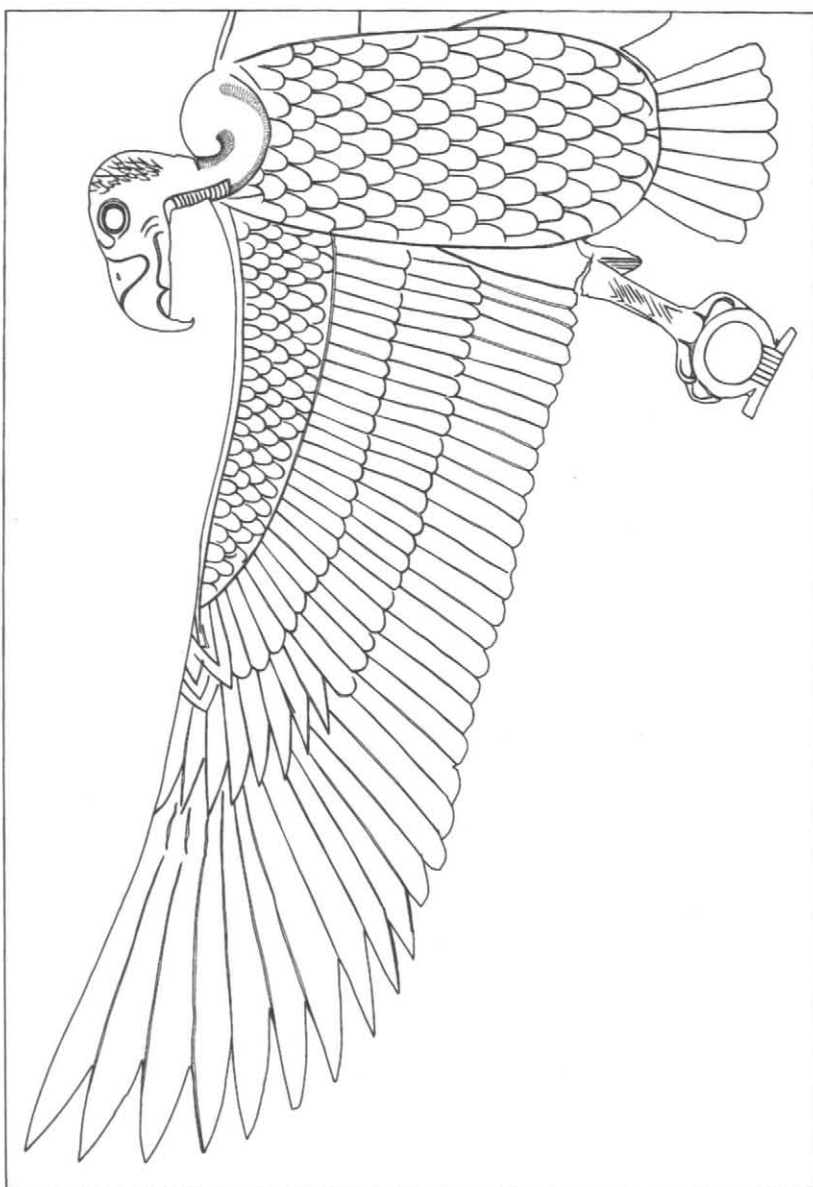


Fig. 108. Drawing (above, 2:3) and photo (below, 1:3) of gold vulture breastplate, Cat. 25

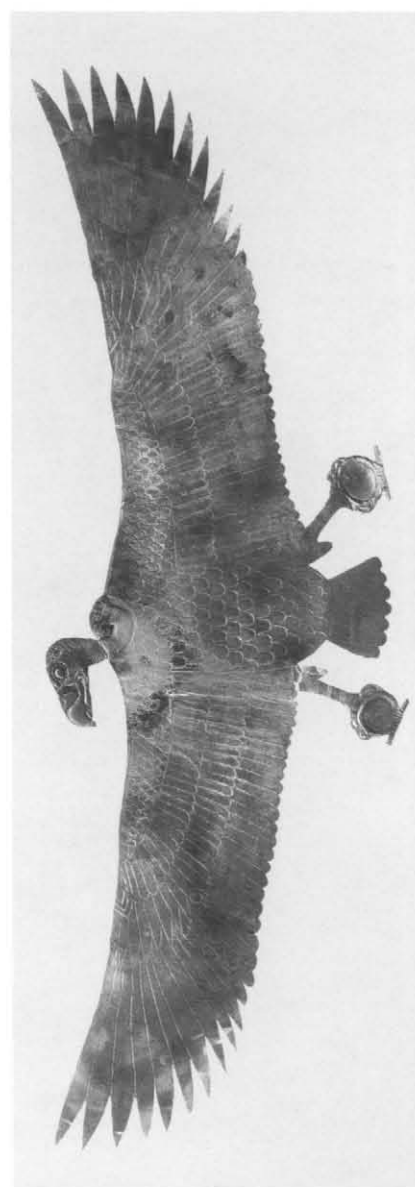
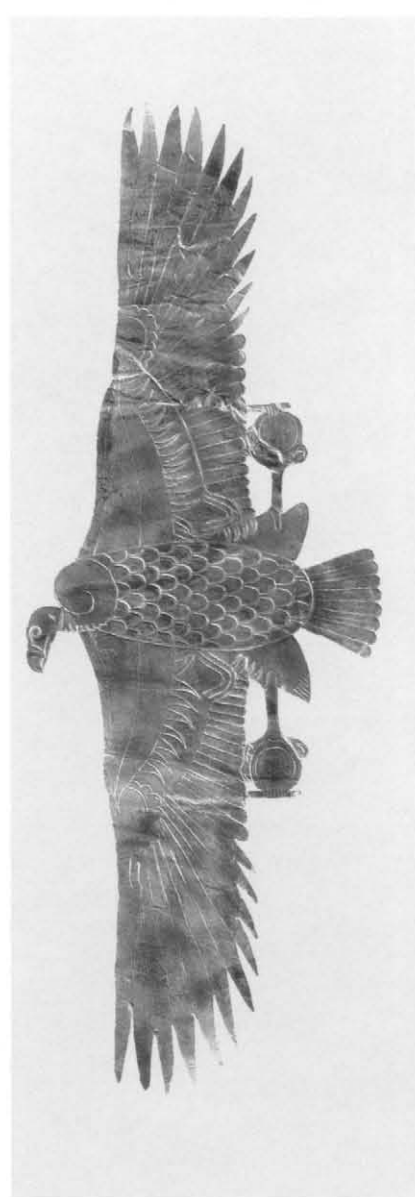


Fig. 109. Drawing (above, 2:3) and photo (below, 1:3) of gold vulture breastplate, Cat. 28



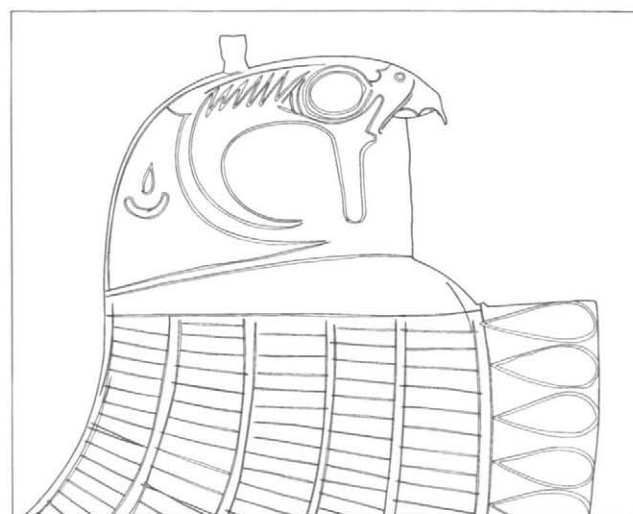
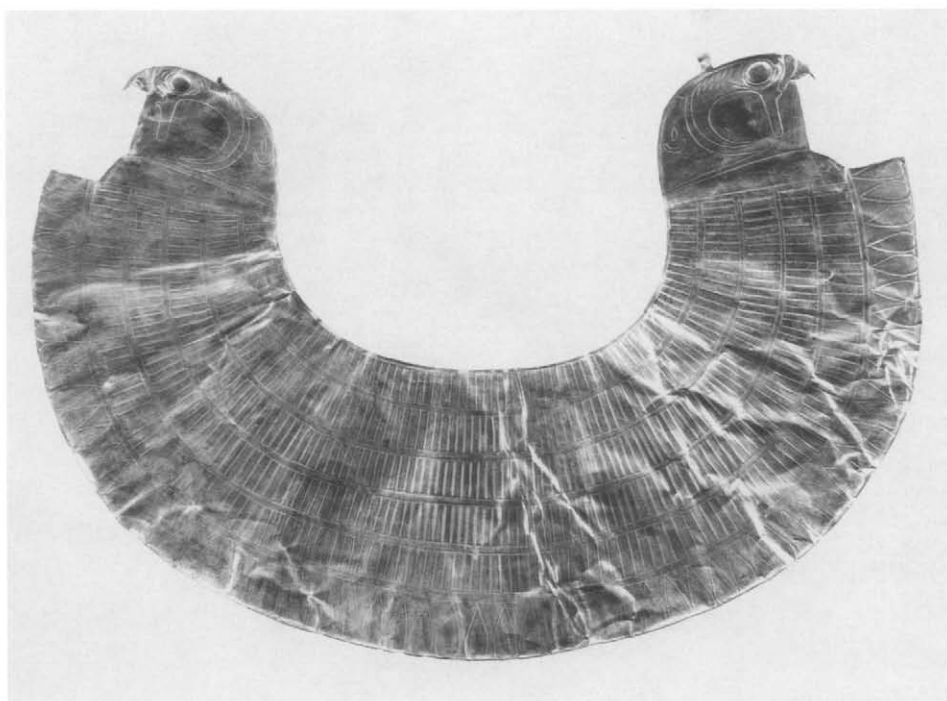


Fig. 110. Photo (left, 1:3) and drawing (right, 2:3) of gold falcon collar, Cat. **24**

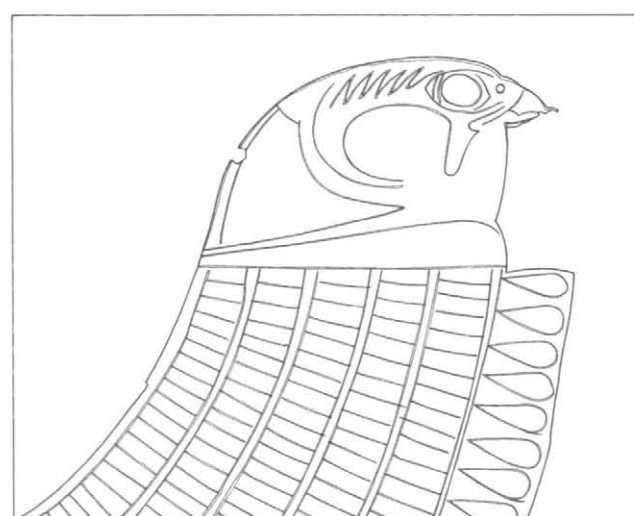
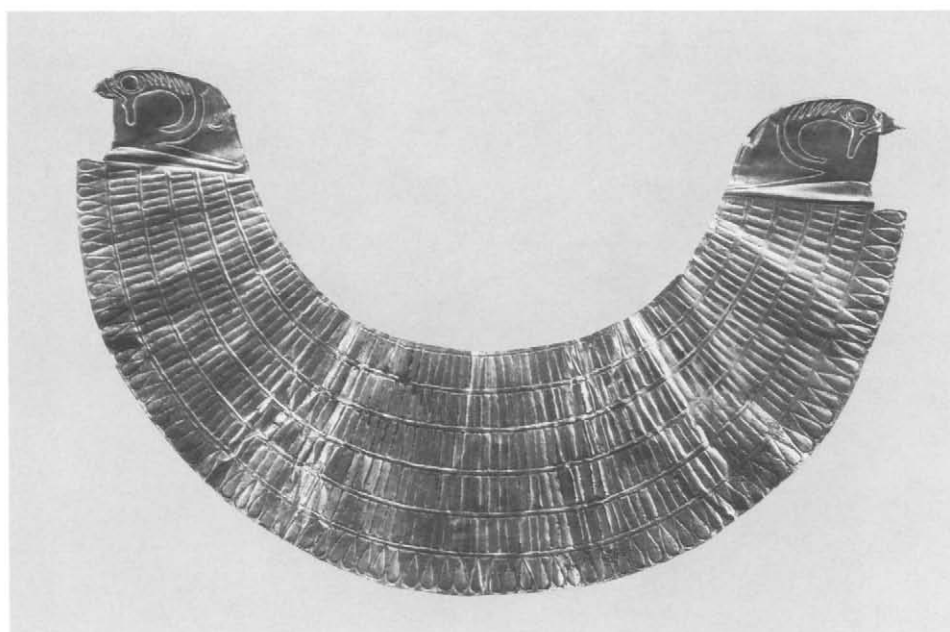


Fig. 111. Photo (left, 1:3) and drawing (right, 2:3) of gold falcon collar, Cat. **27**



Fig. 112. Gold bandage amulets, Cats. **26** (left) and **29** (right). 1:3

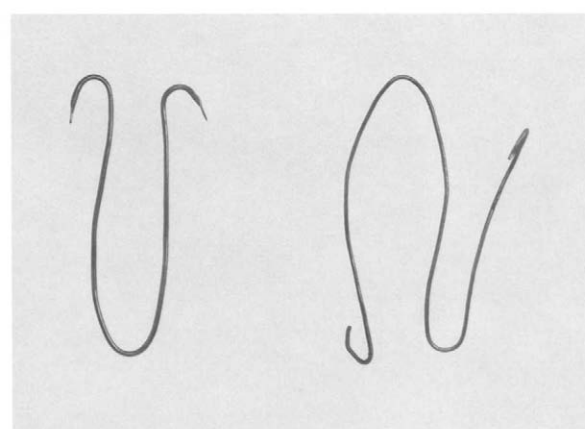


Fig. 113. Gold wires for collar attachment, Cats. **30** (left) and **31** (right). 1:3





Fig. 114. Rounded delineated finger and toe stalls, Cat. 35. Gold; 2:3



Fig. 115. Square-ended finger and toe stalls, Cat. 36. Gold; 2:3



Fig. 116. Finger and toe stalls with little delineation, Cat 37. Gold; 2:3

# Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

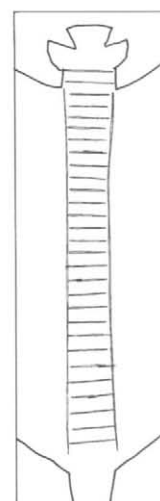
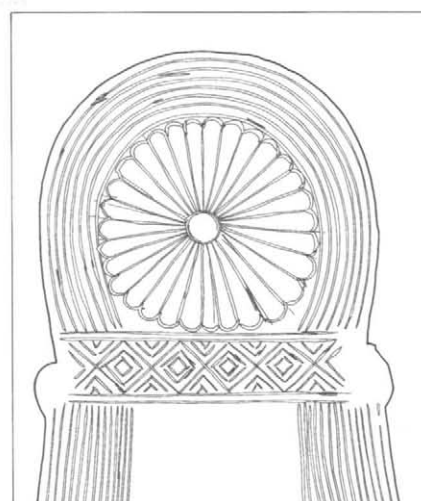


Fig. 117. Gold sandals with “tie” detail, Cat. 32. Heel and instep drawings (right), 2:3

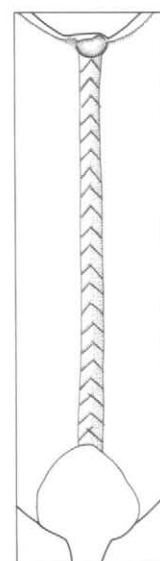
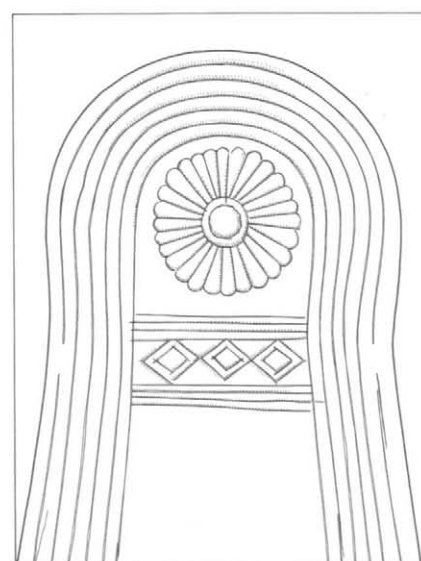


Fig. 118. Gold sandals with repoussé details, Cat. 33. Heel and instep drawings (right), 2:3

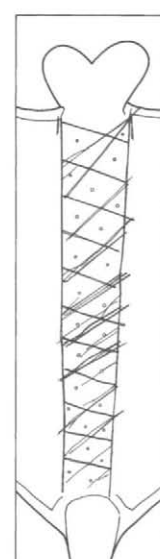
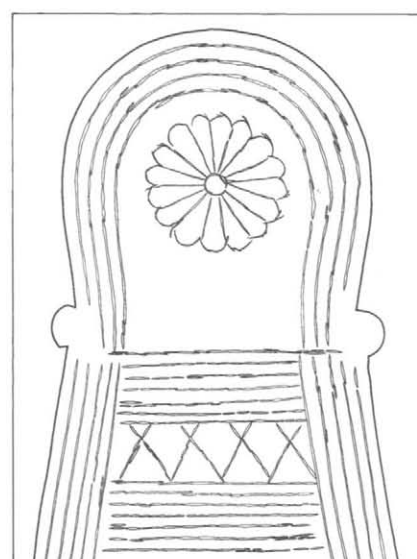
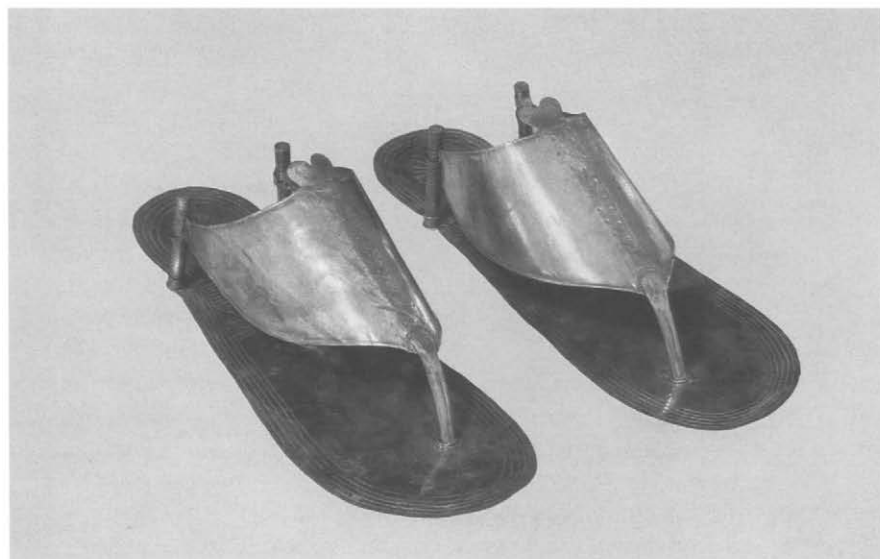


Fig. 119. Gold sandals with heart-shaped tab, Cat. 34. Heel and instep drawings (right), 2:3

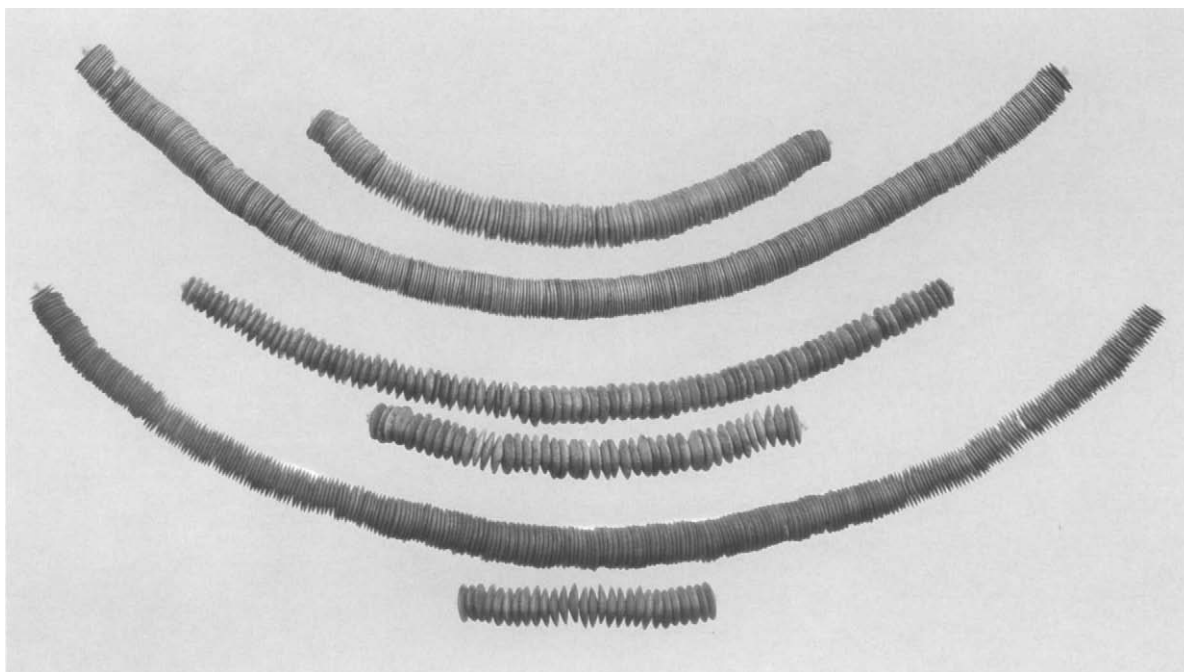


Fig. 120. Lentoid beads of faience and Egyptian blue, top to bottom: Cats. 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43. 1:3

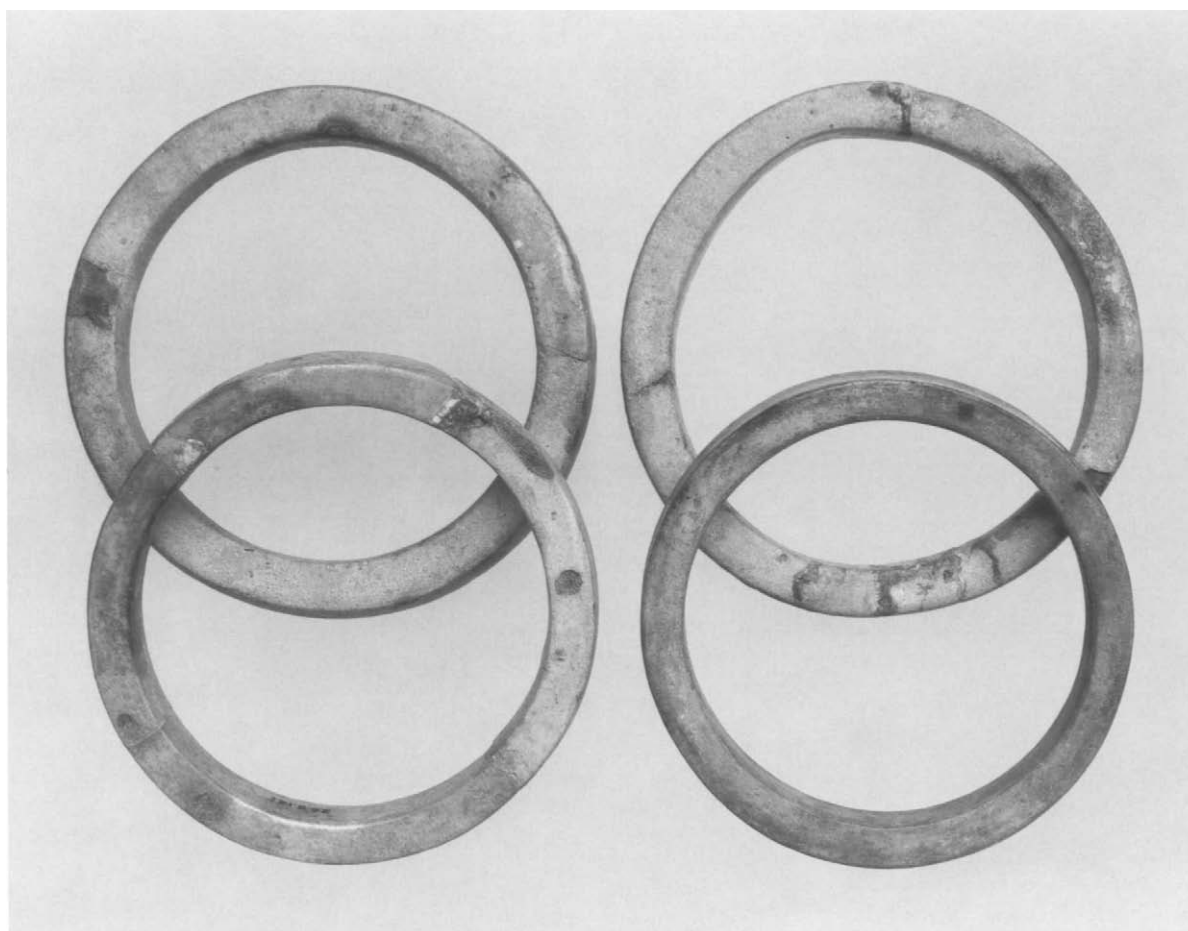


Fig. 121. Faience bangles: Cats. 47 (upper left), 45 (lower left), 46 (upper right). Egyptian blue bangle: Cat. 44 (lower right). 2:3

CATALOGUE PART A  
VESSELS AND LIDS  
OINTMENT STORAGE VESSELS

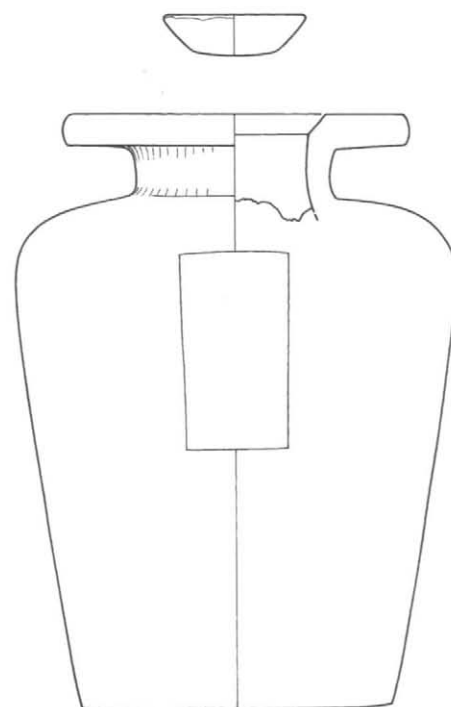
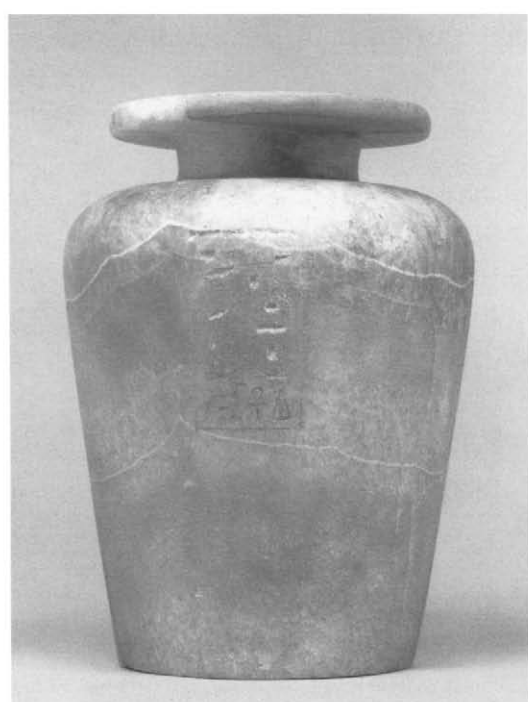
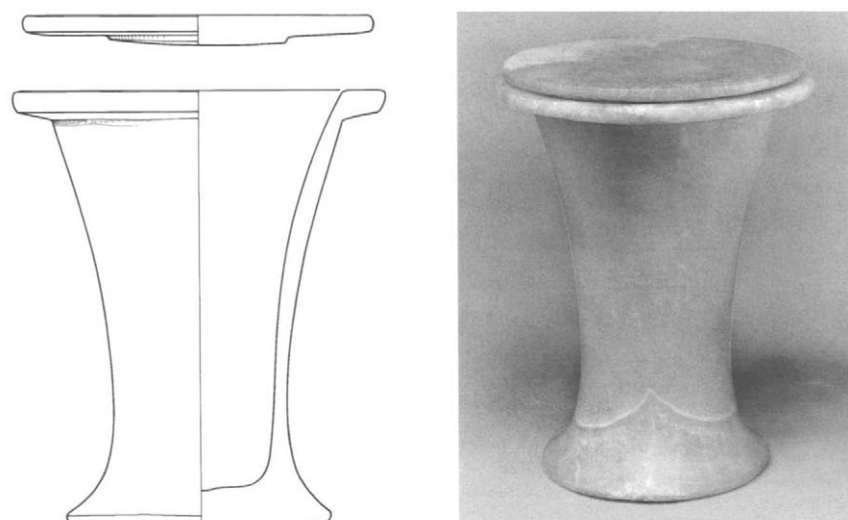


Fig. 123. Photo, inscription naming Tuthmosis III, and profile of travertine shoulder jar, Cat. 49. Profile, 1:3; inscription, 1:1

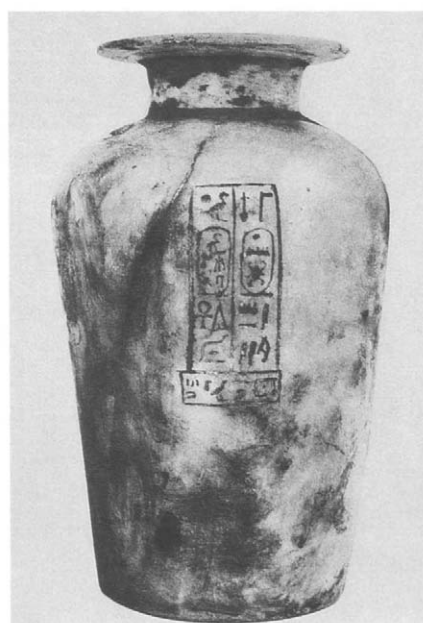


Fig. 124. Travertine shoulder jar naming Tuthmosis III with indication of capacity, Cat. 52

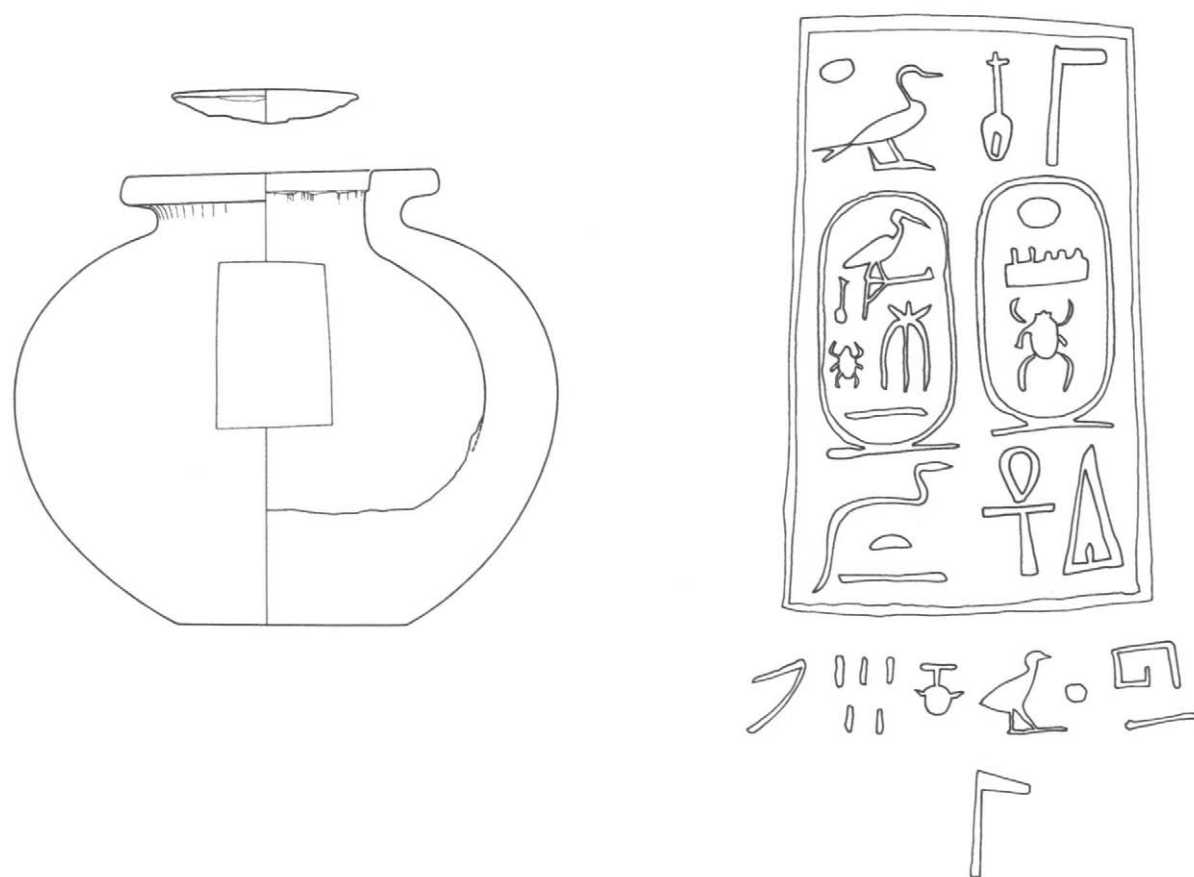


Fig. 125. Travertine globular jar naming Tuthmosis III with indication of capacity, Cat. 53. Profile, 1:3; inscription, 1:1

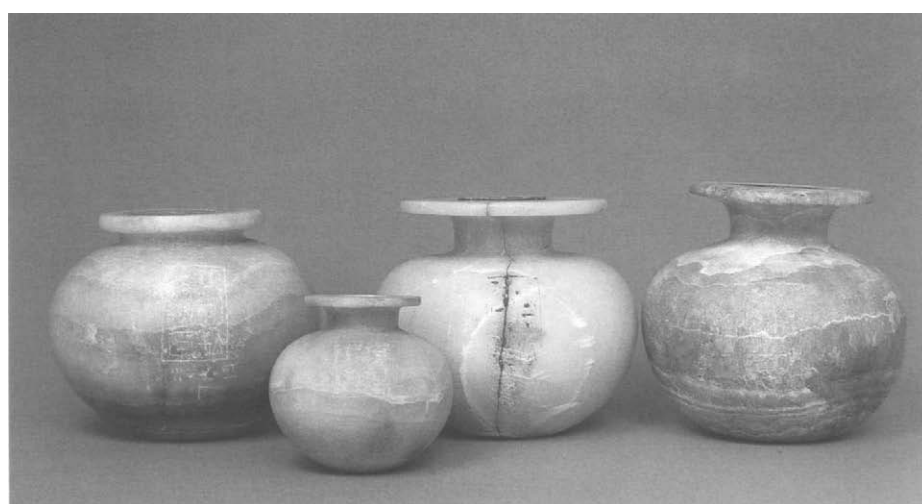
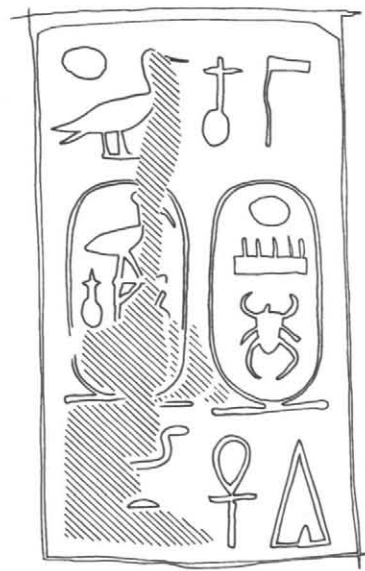
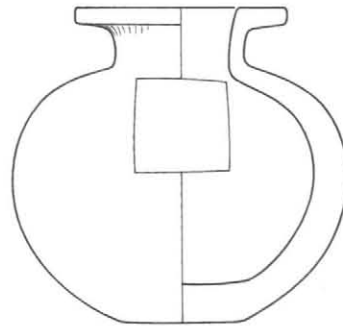


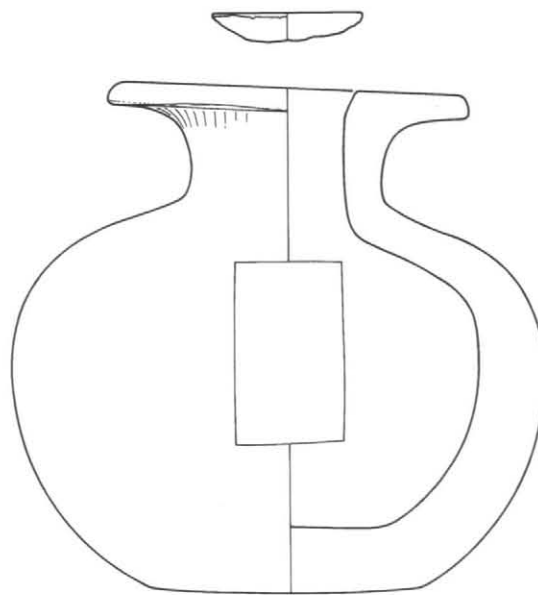
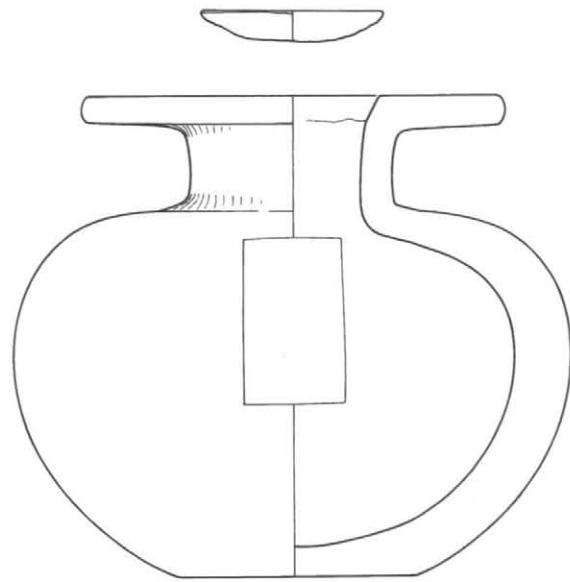
Fig. 126. Four globular jars with royal inscriptions; travertine. Left to right: Cats. 53, 54, 55, 56



a. Cat. 54, naming Hatshepsut



b. Cat. 55, naming Tuthmosis III



c. Cat 56, naming Tuthmosis III

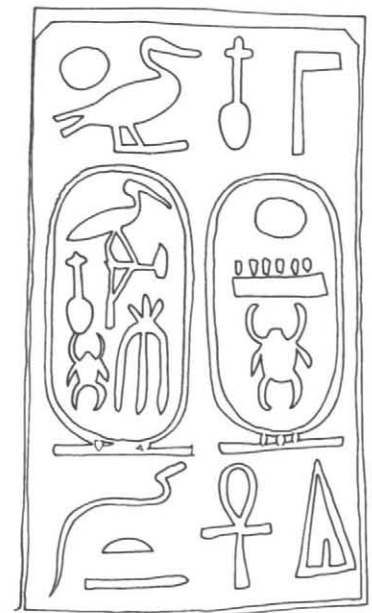
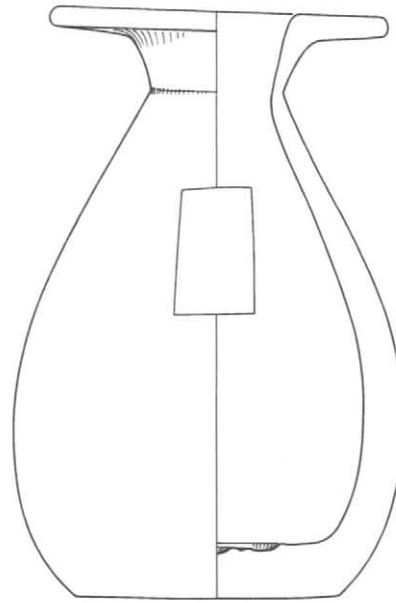
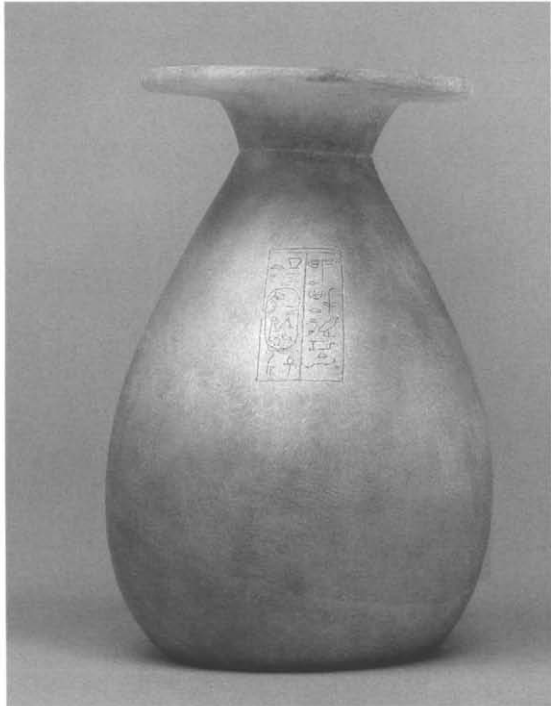


Fig. 127a–c. Inscribed globular storage jars, travertine. Profiles, 1:3; inscriptions, 1:1



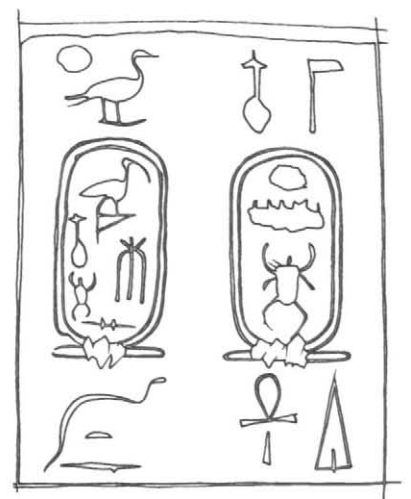
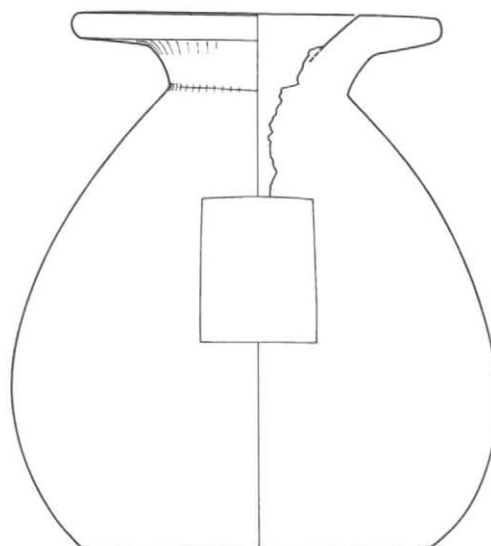
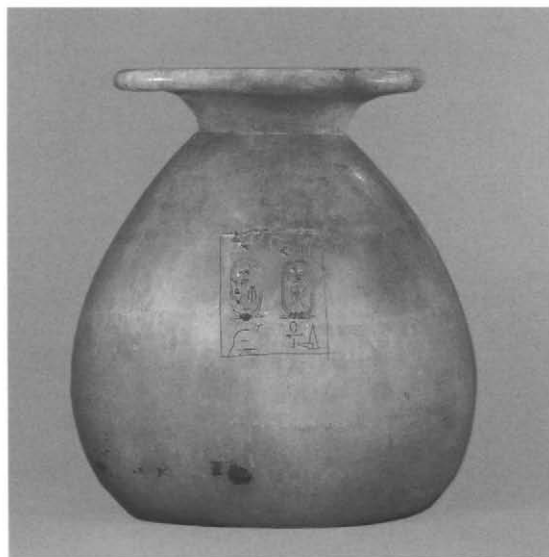
Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects



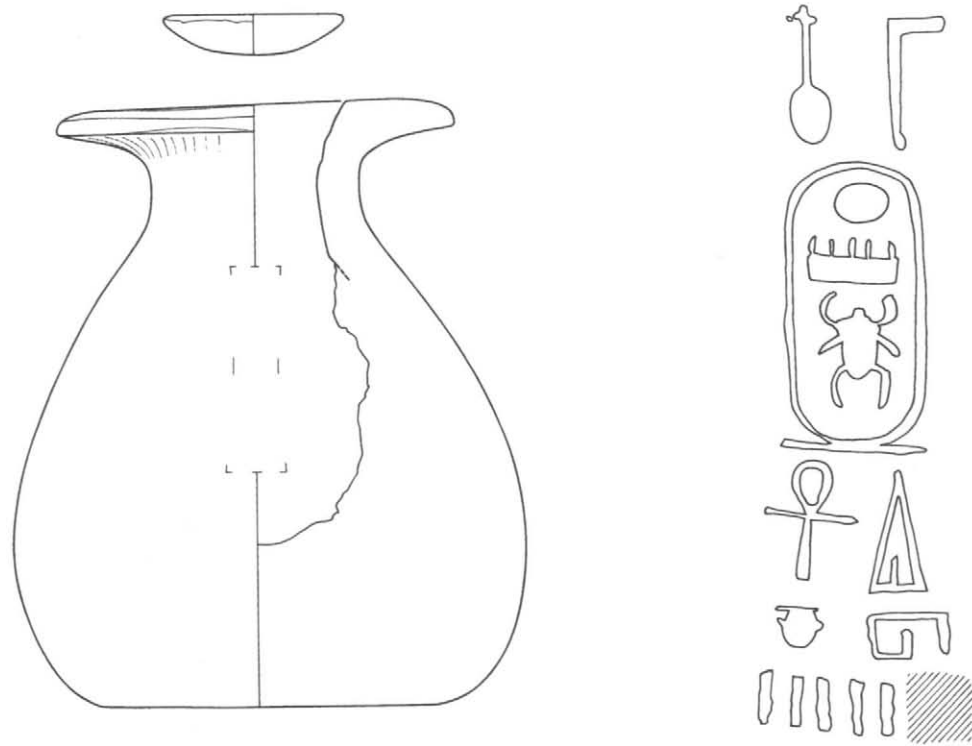
a. Photo, profile, and inscription of Cat 57, naming Hatshepsut



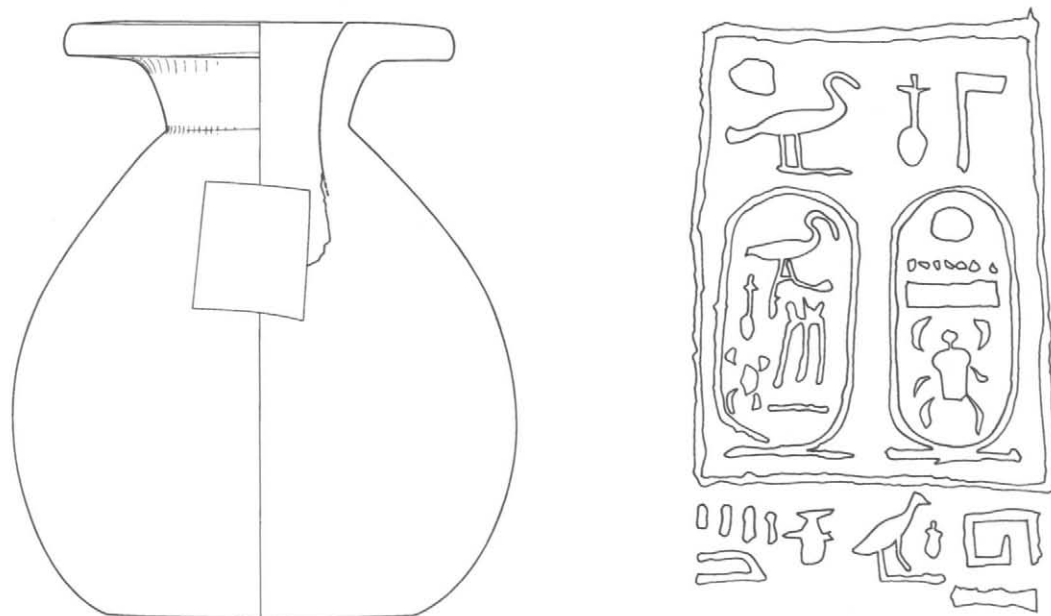
b. Cat. 58, naming Tuthmosis III



c. Photo, profile, and inscription of Cat. 59 naming Tuthmosis III

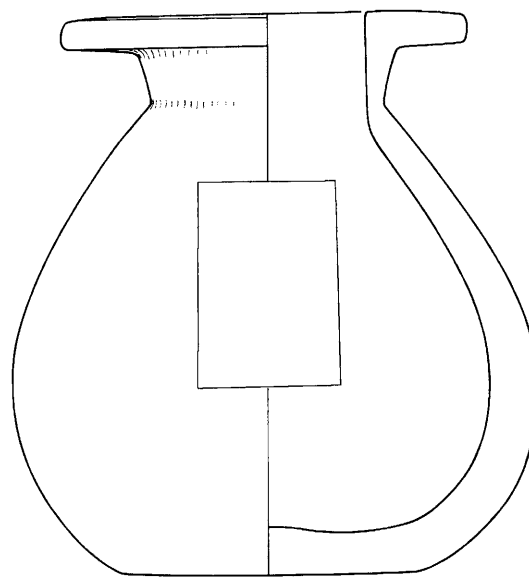


a. Profile and inscription of Cat. 61

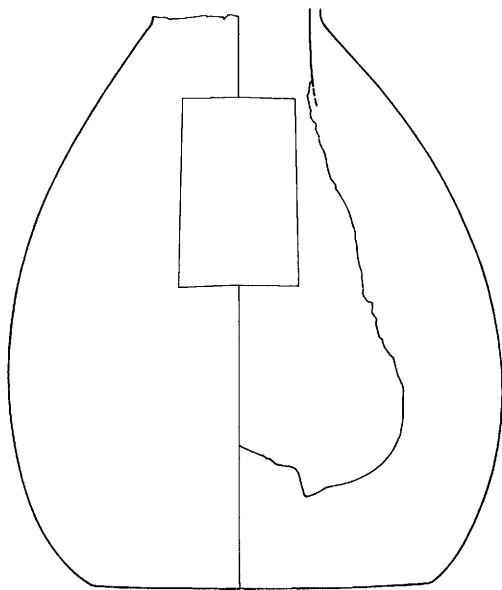
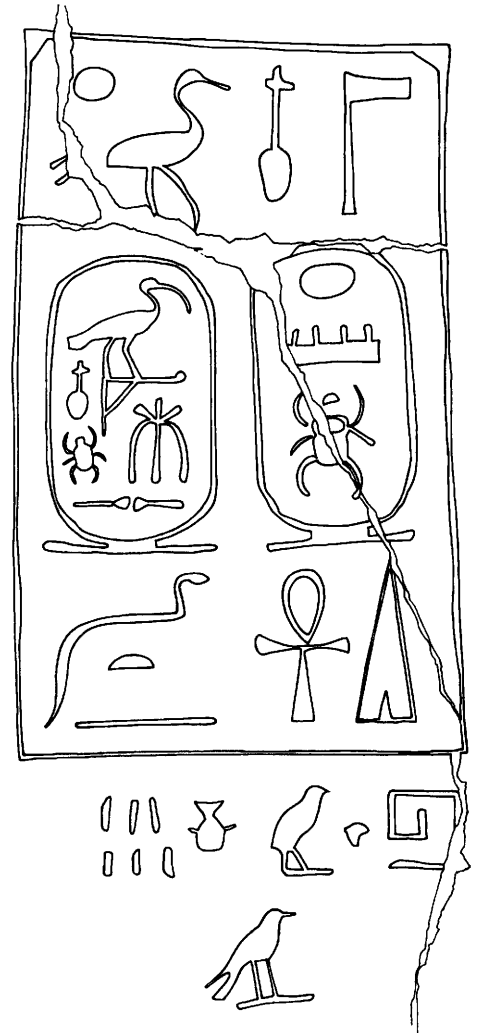


b. Profile and inscription of Cat. 62

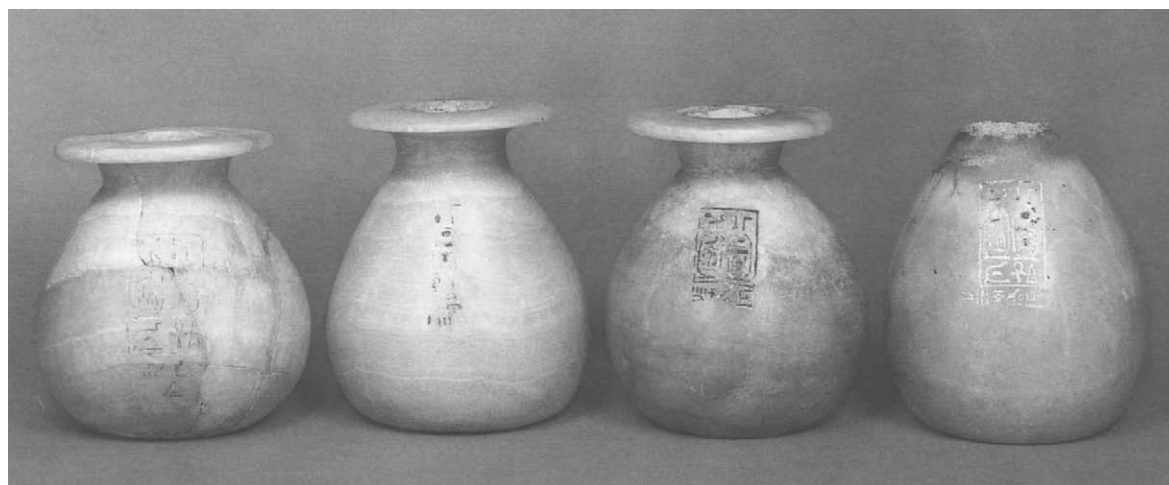
Fig. 129a–b. Piriform storage jars naming Tuthmosis III, with indications of capacity; travertine. Profiles, 1:3; inscriptions, 1:1



a. Profile (above) and inscription (right) of Cat. 63



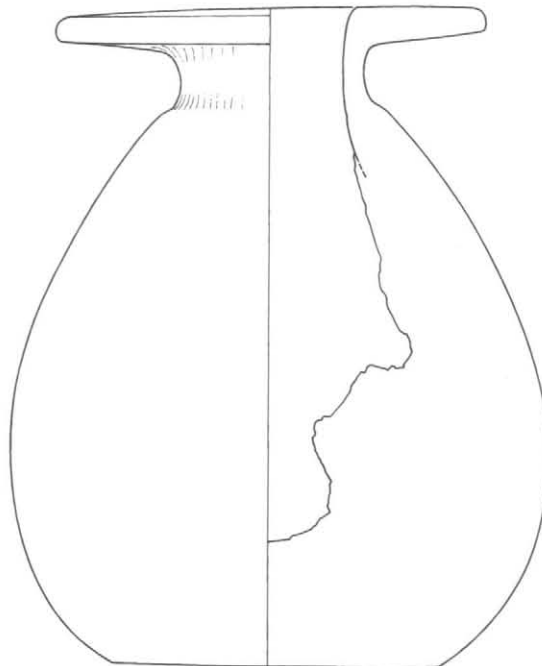
b. Profile (above) and inscription (right) of Cat. 64



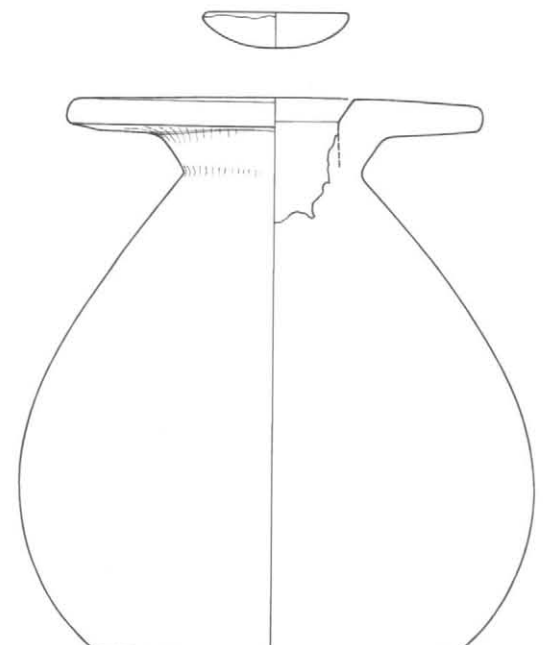
c. Left to right: Cats. 63, 61, 62, 64



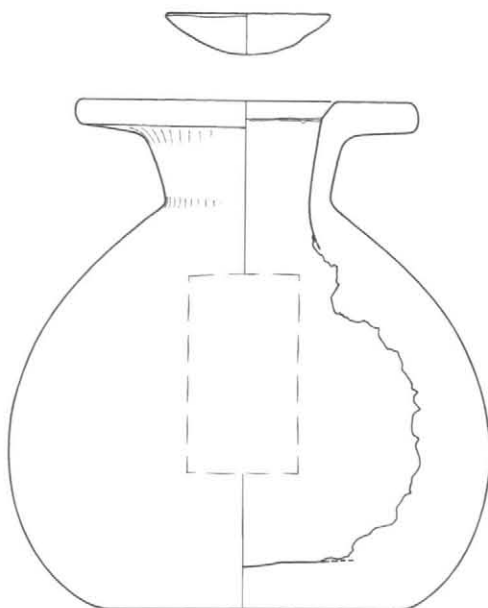
a. Cat. 67



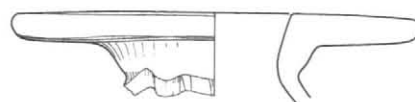
b. Cat. 66



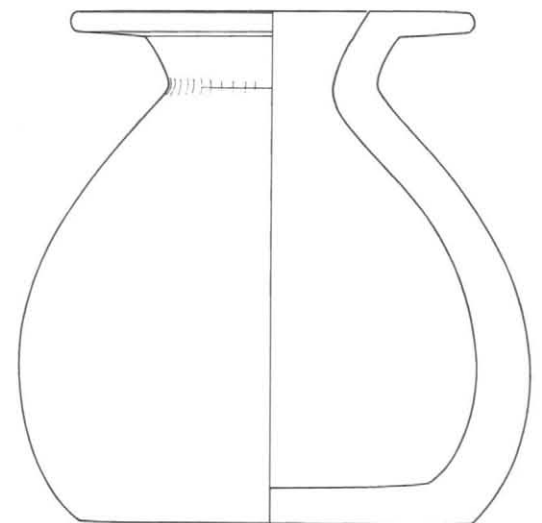
c. Cat. 65



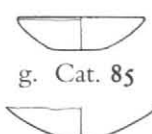
d. Cat. 69



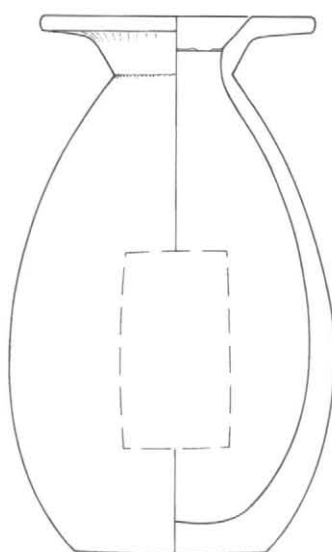
e. Cat. 70



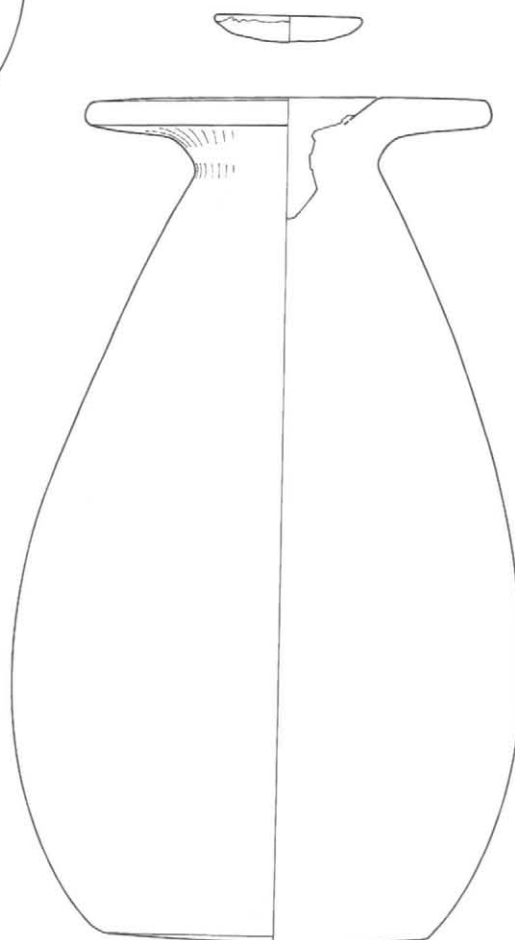
f. Cat. 68



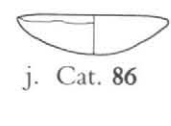
g. Cat. 85



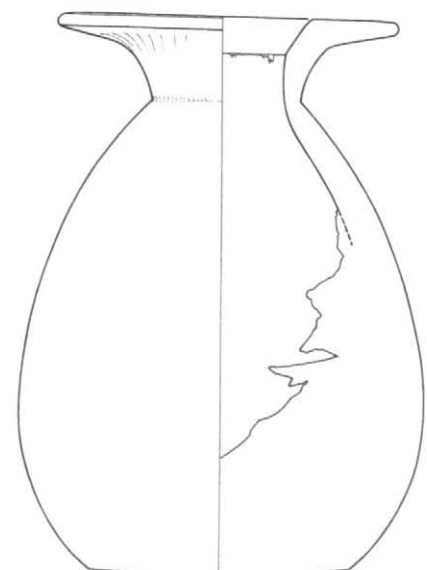
h. Cat. 71



i. Cat. 72



j. Cat. 86



k. Cat. 73

Fig. 131a-k. Uninscribed piriform storage jars and assorted parts; travertine. Profiles, 1:3

# Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects

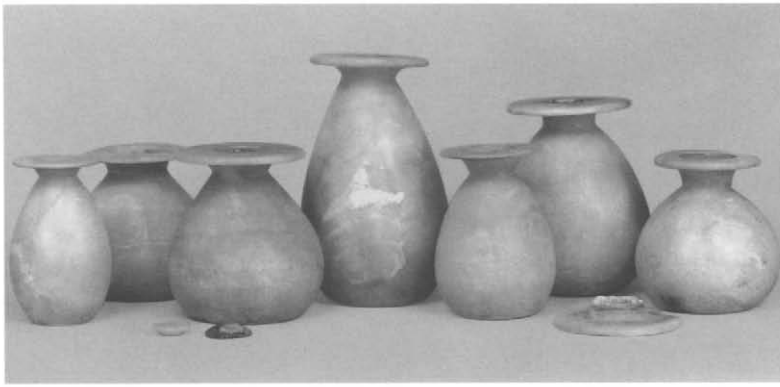


Fig. 132. Travertine piriform jars and parts of other vessels. Left to right: jars, Cats. 71, 68, 65, 72, 73, 66, 69; stoppers, Cats. 85–6; rim, Cat. 70



Fig. 133. Serpentinite storage jars. Left to right: Cats. 74, 75, 78, 77, 76

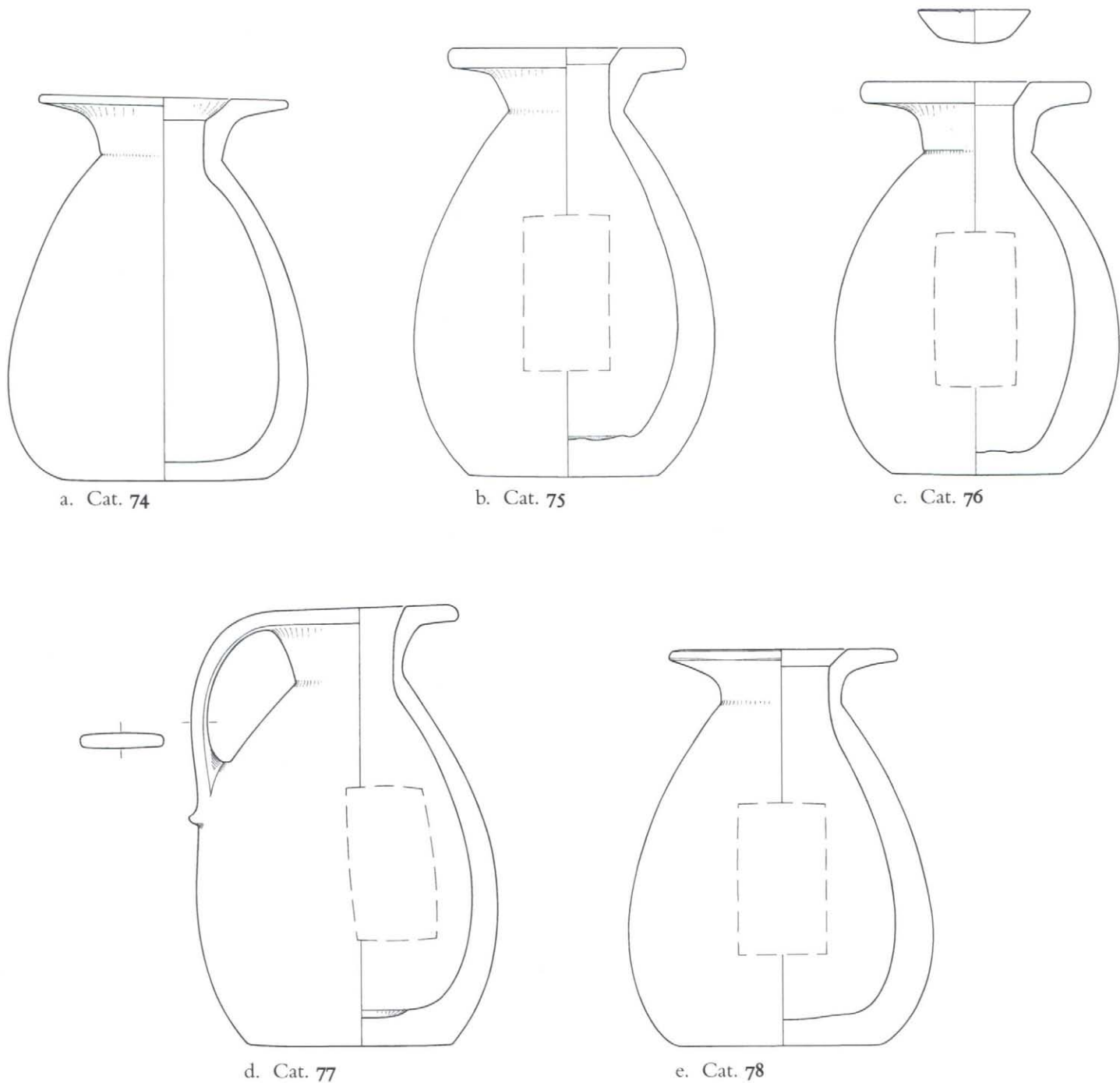
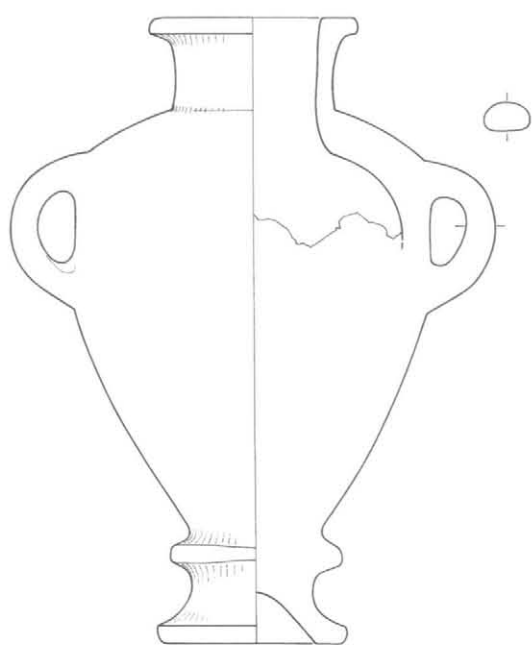
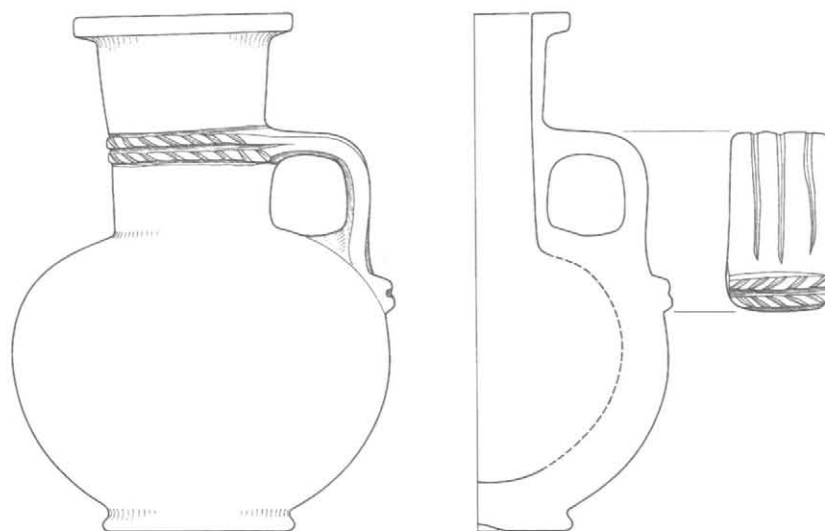


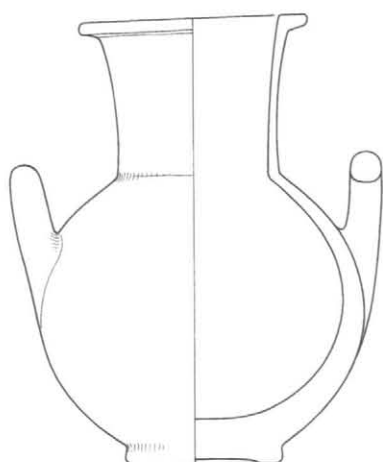
Fig. 134a–e. Profiles of uninscribed serpentinite piriform jars and a jug. 1:3



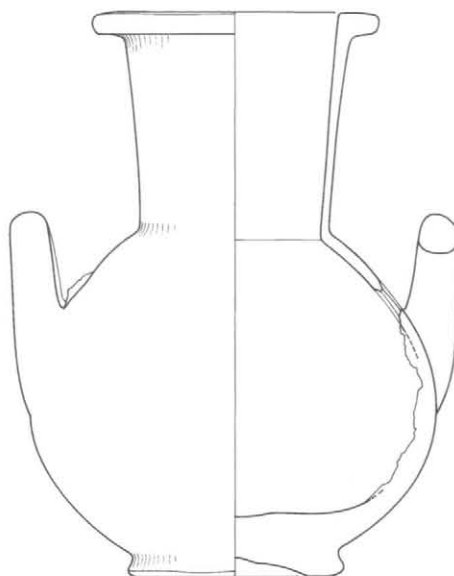
a. Cat. 79



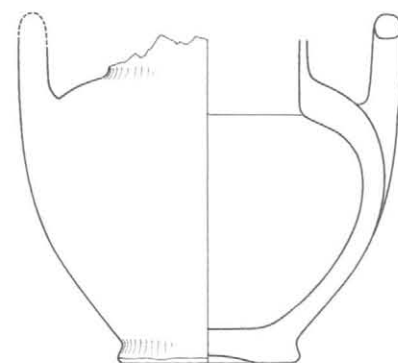
b. Profile, section, and handle detail of Cat. 83



c. Cat. 80



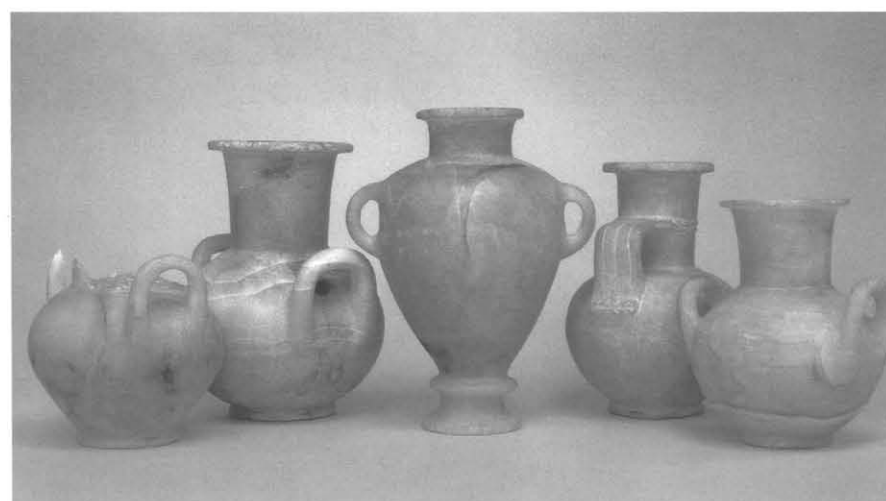
d. Cat. 81



e. Cat. 82



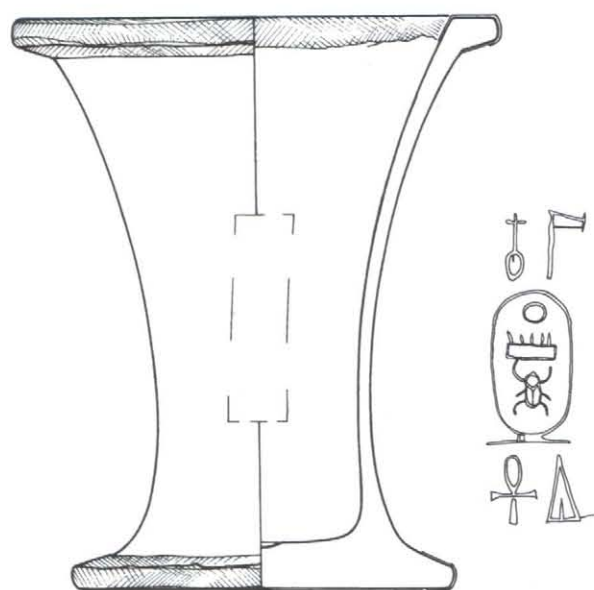
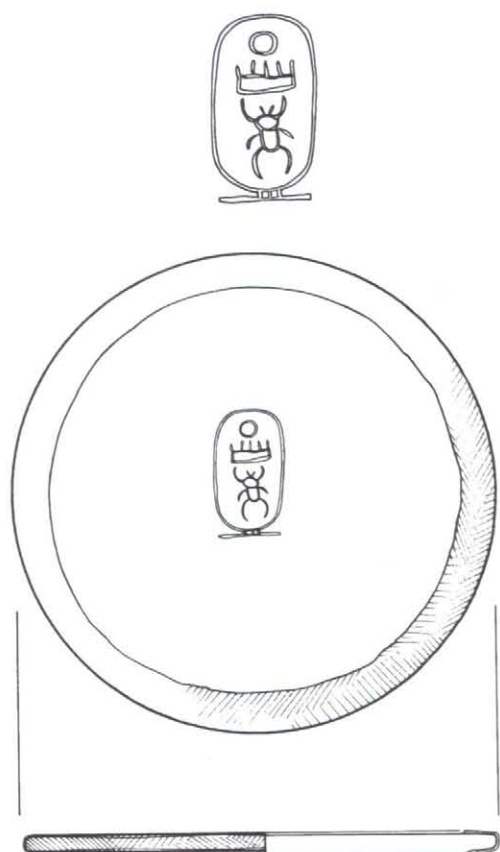
f. Two views of Cat. 84



g. Left to right: Cats. 82, 81, 79, 83, 80

CATALOGUE PART A  
VESSELS AND LIDS  
PRECIOUS VESSELS

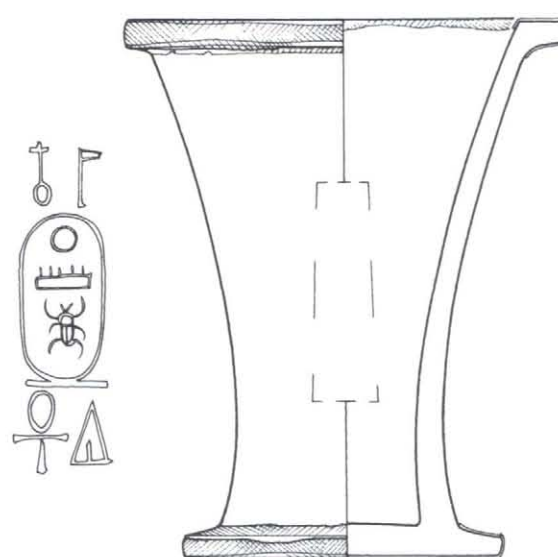
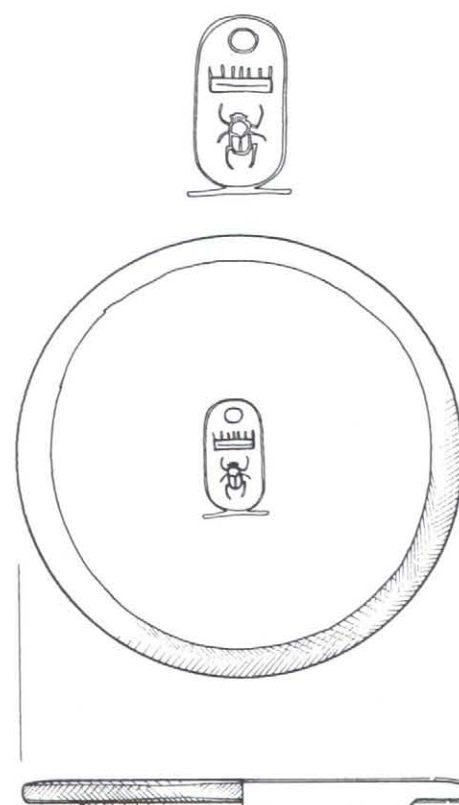




a. Cat. 87, travertine.

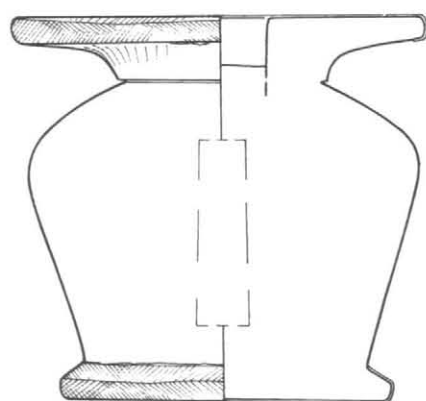
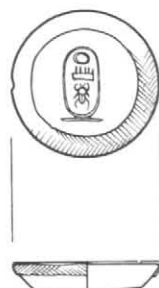
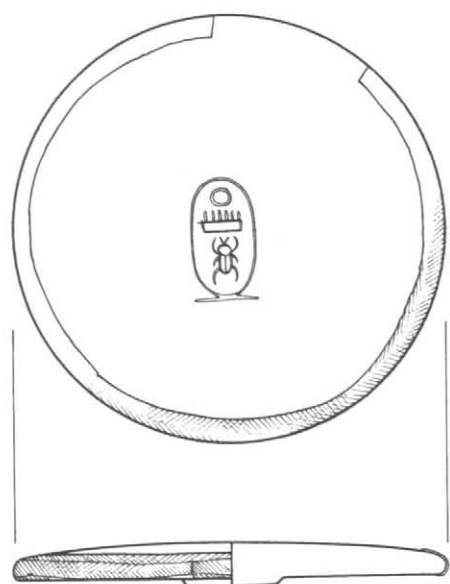


b. Cats. 87 (left), 88 (right)

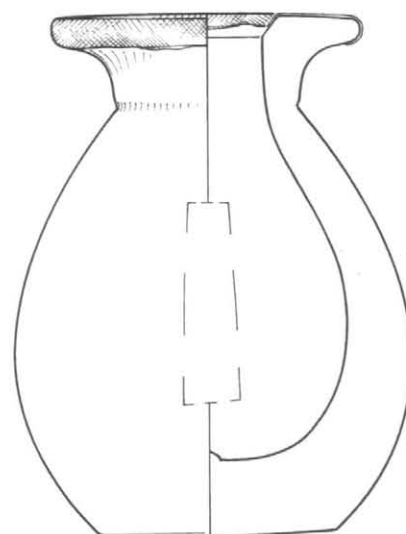


c. Cat. 88, serpentinite

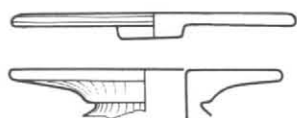
Catalogue Part A, Assigned Objects



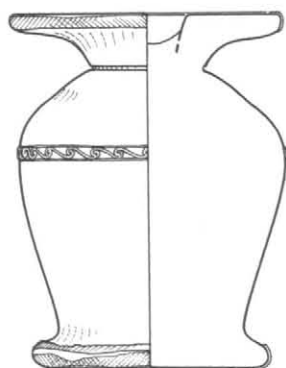
a. Cat. 89 naming Tuthmosis III, probably diorite; gold trim



b. Cat. 92 naming Tuthmosis III, probably diorite; gold trim



c. Cat. 90, green marble



d. Cat. 91, goethite with gold trim



e. Left to right: lid and rim, Cat. 90; jars, Cats. 89, 91, 92

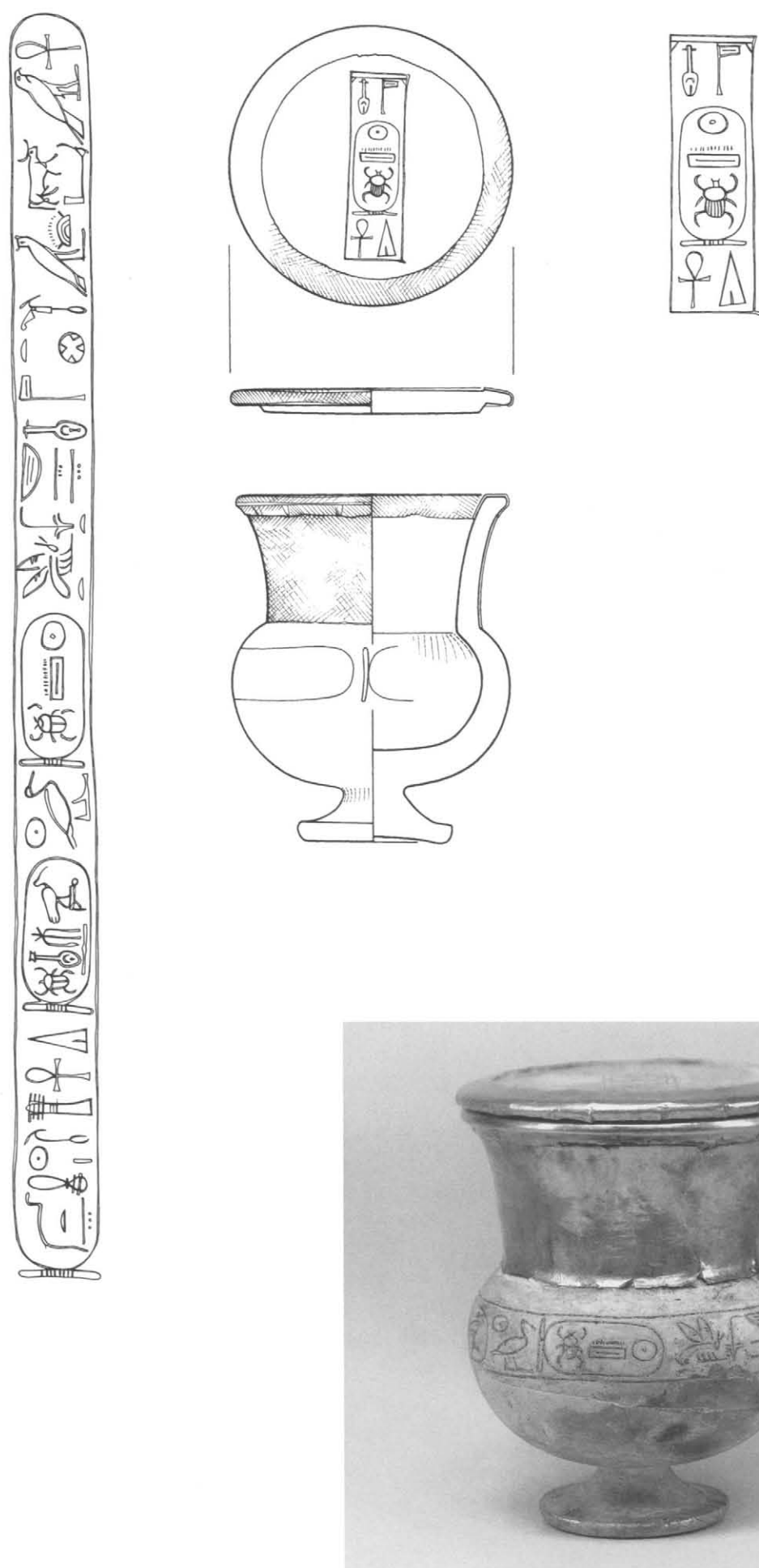


Fig. 138. Vitreous wide-necked jar naming Tuthmosis III, with gold trim, Cat. 93. Profiles, 2:3; inscriptions, 1:1

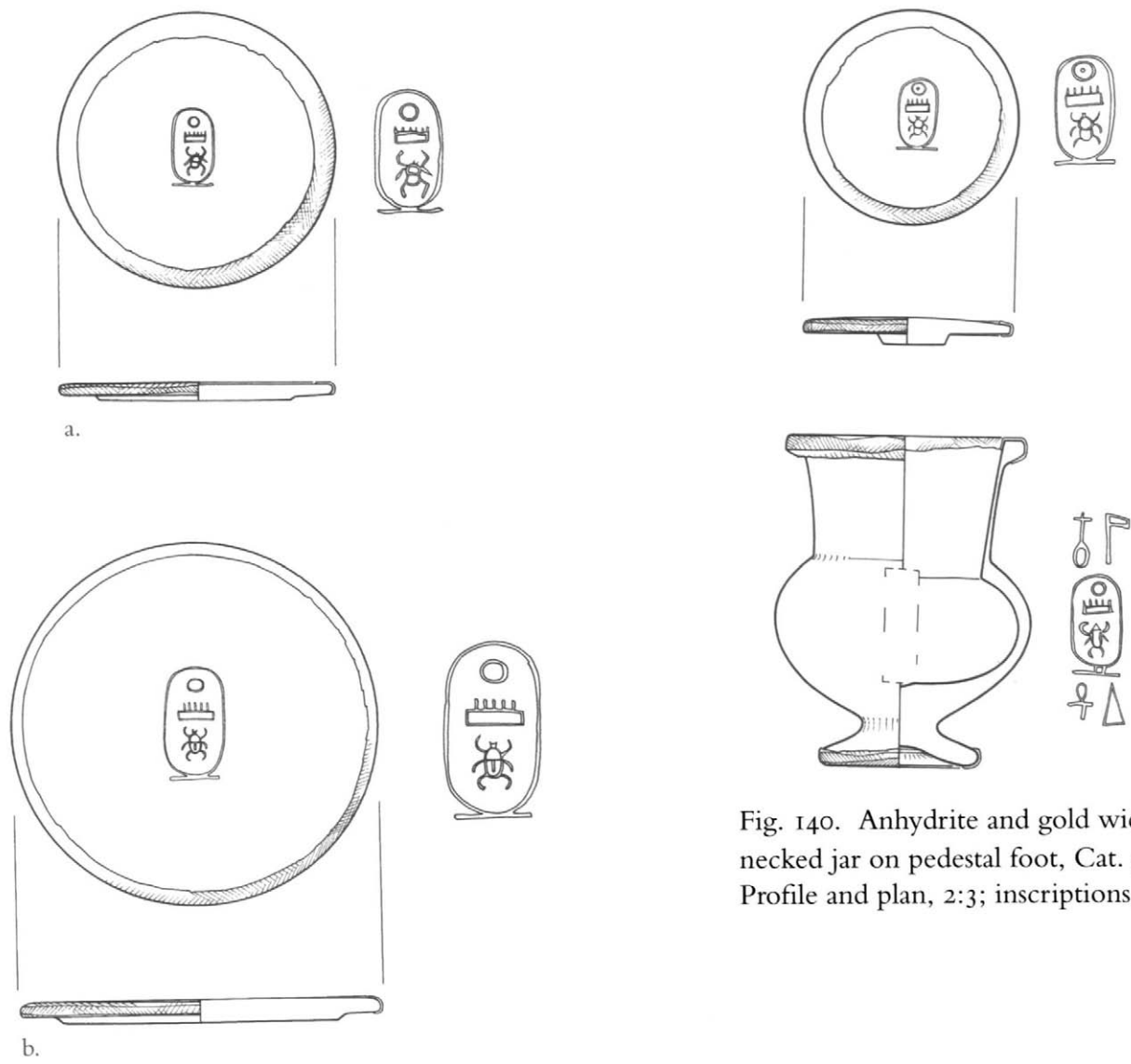


Fig. 140. Anhydrite and gold wide-necked jar on pedestal foot, Cat. 94. Profile and plan, 2:3; inscriptions, 1:1

Fig. 139a–b. Two gold-trimmed travertine lids naming Tuthmosis III: a. Cat. 99; b. Cat. 98. Profiles and plans, 2:3; inscriptions, 1:1



Fig. 141. Left to right: lids, Cats. 98–9; jar, Cat. 94

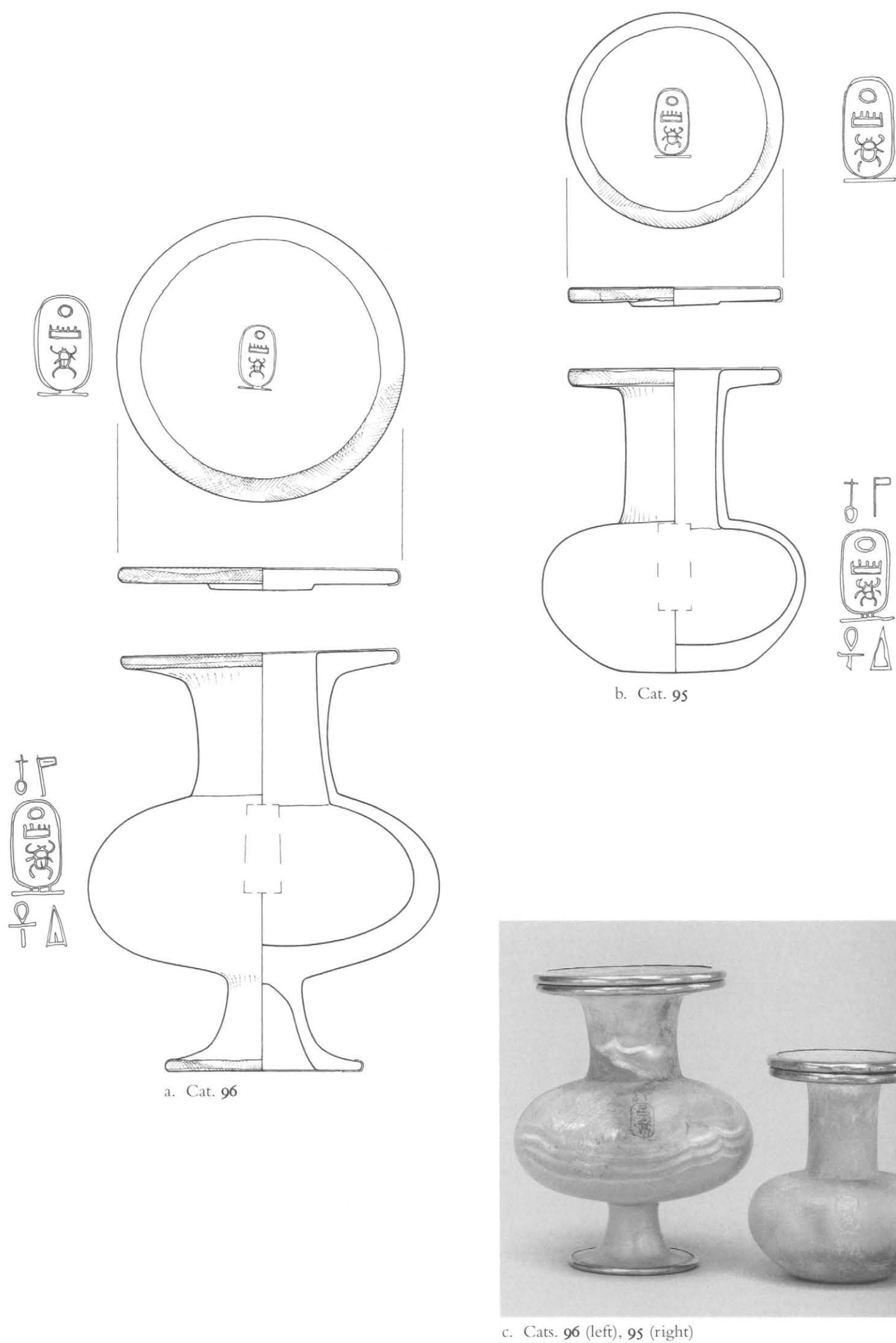


Fig. 142a–c. Fancy-form precious vessels naming Tuthmosis III, gold-trimmed travertine. Profiles, 2:3; inscriptions, 1:1

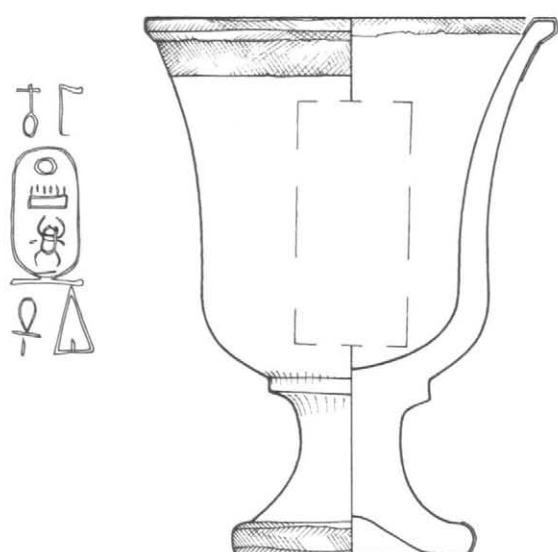


Fig. 143. Travertine and gold lotiform vessel naming Tuthmosis III, Cat. **97**. Profile, 2:3; inscription, 1:1

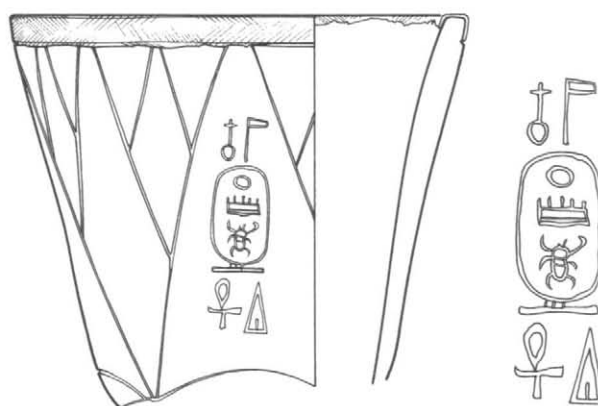


Fig. 144. Glass lotiform vessel naming Tuthmosis III, Cat. **103**. Profile, 2:3; inscription, 1:1



Fig. 145. Lotiform vessels naming Tuthmosis III, with gold trim: Cats. **97** (left) and **103** (right)



Fig. 146. Green marble carinated bowls, Cats. **101** (left) and **102** (right)

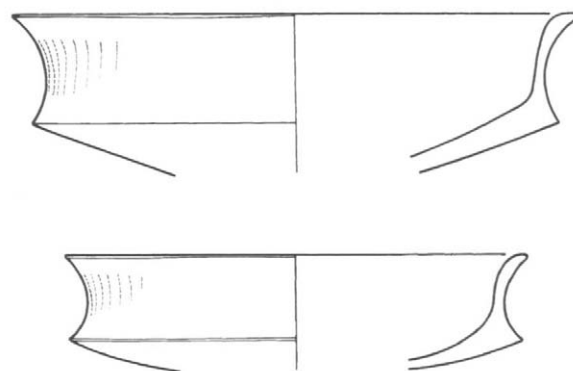
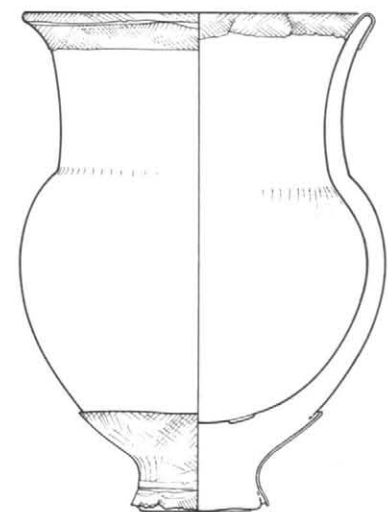


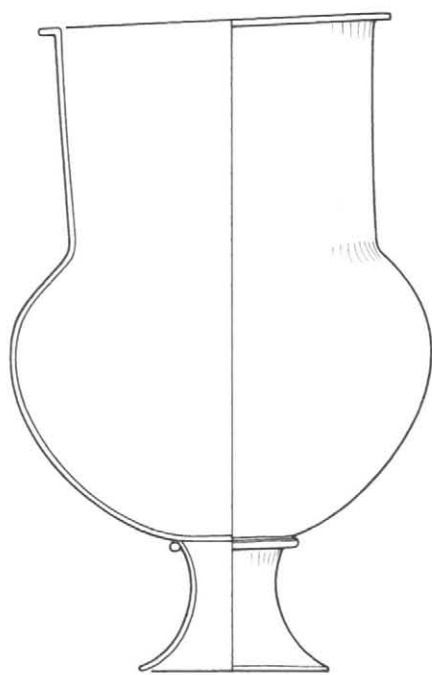
Fig. 147. Profiles of bowls to left: top, Cat. **101**; bottom, Cat. **102**. 2:3

Figs. 143-7. Precious vessels, some of unknown use

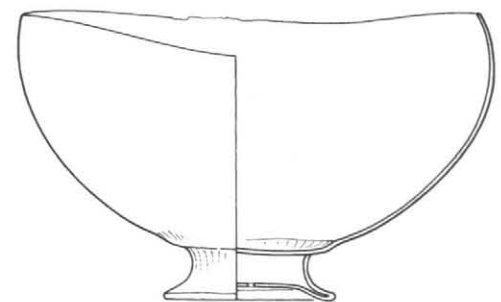
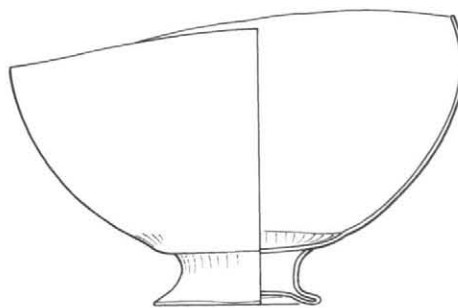




a. Profile of glassy faience jar with gold trim and button base, Cat. 104



b. Profile of silver wide-necked jar, Cat. 105



c. Two profiles of silver footed bowl, Cat. 100



d. Silver jar, Cat. 105 (left), and footed bowl, Cat. 100 (right)



CATALOGUE PART A  
TOILET IMPLEMENTS



Fig. 149. Cat. **106**, mirror with silver disk and inscribed gold foil handle. 1:2



Fig. 150. Cat. **107**, silver disk with gold foil handle. 1:2

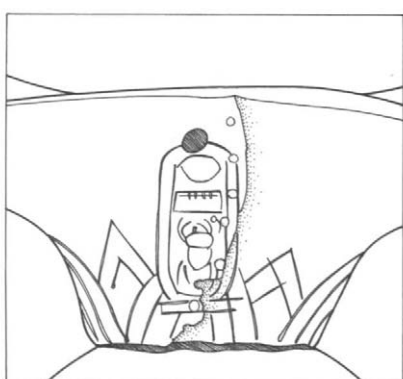
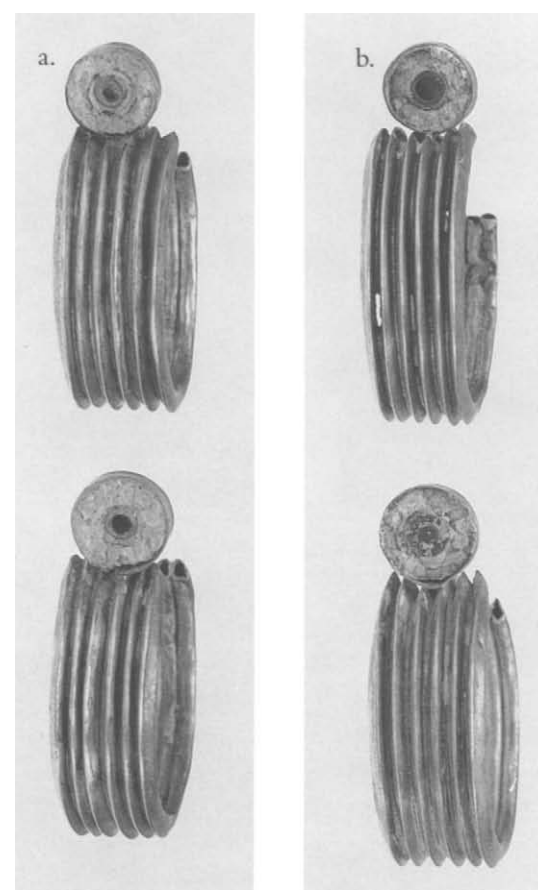


Fig. 151. Inscription naming  
Tuthmosis III on Cat. **106**.  
1.5:1

CATALOGUE PART A  
JEWELRY

Fig. 152a–b. Two pairs of glass-inlaid earrings, 1:1. a. Top and bottom, Cat. 109. b. Top and bottom, Cat. 110



Figs. 153a–b. Two pairs of earrings once probably inlaid with Egyptian blue, 1:1. a. Top and bottom, Cat. 112. b. Top and bottom, Cat. 111

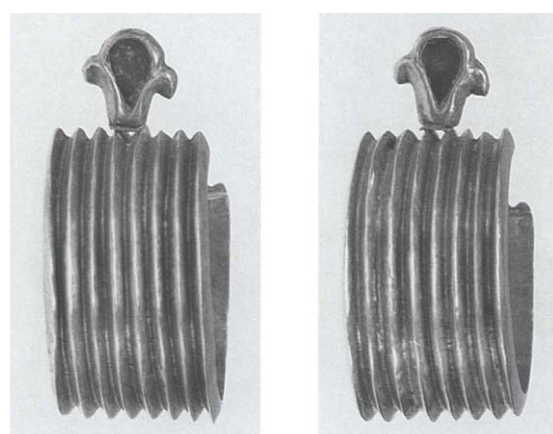
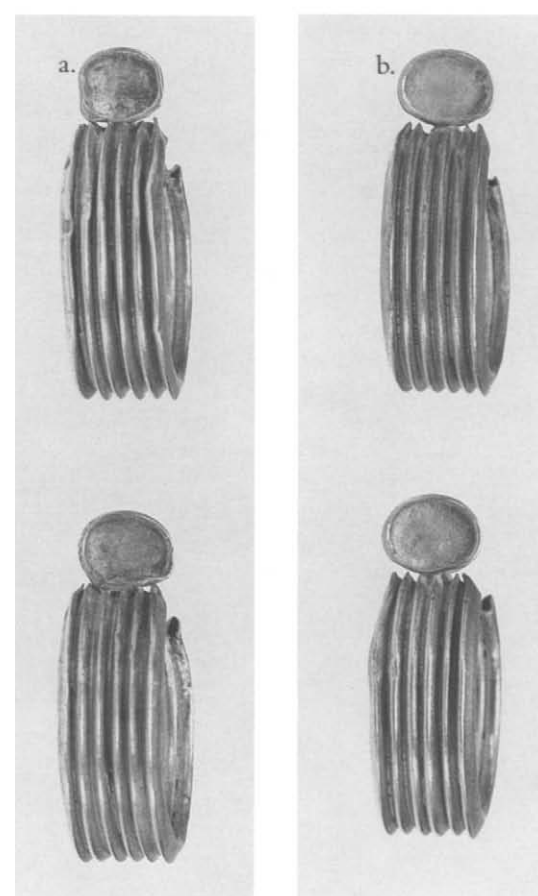


Fig. 154. Pair of sedge earrings, once inlaid, Cat. 113. 1:1



Fig. 155. Inlaid gazelle diadem, Cat. 108. Above, from side; below, detail of back

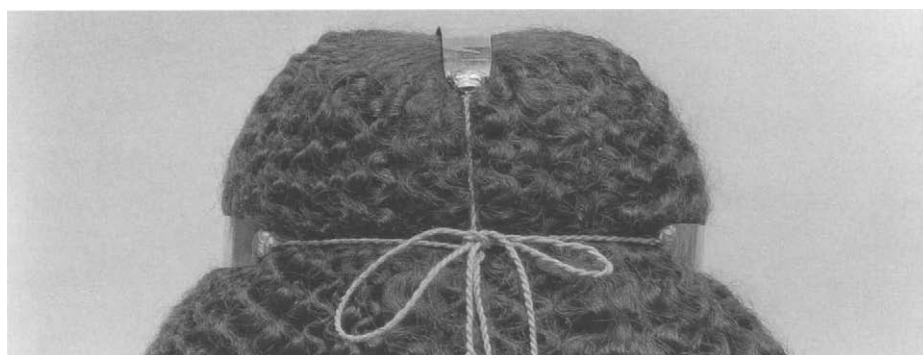




Fig. 156. Back (left) and front (right) of Great Headdress as strung by Herbert Winlock; see Cat. 114

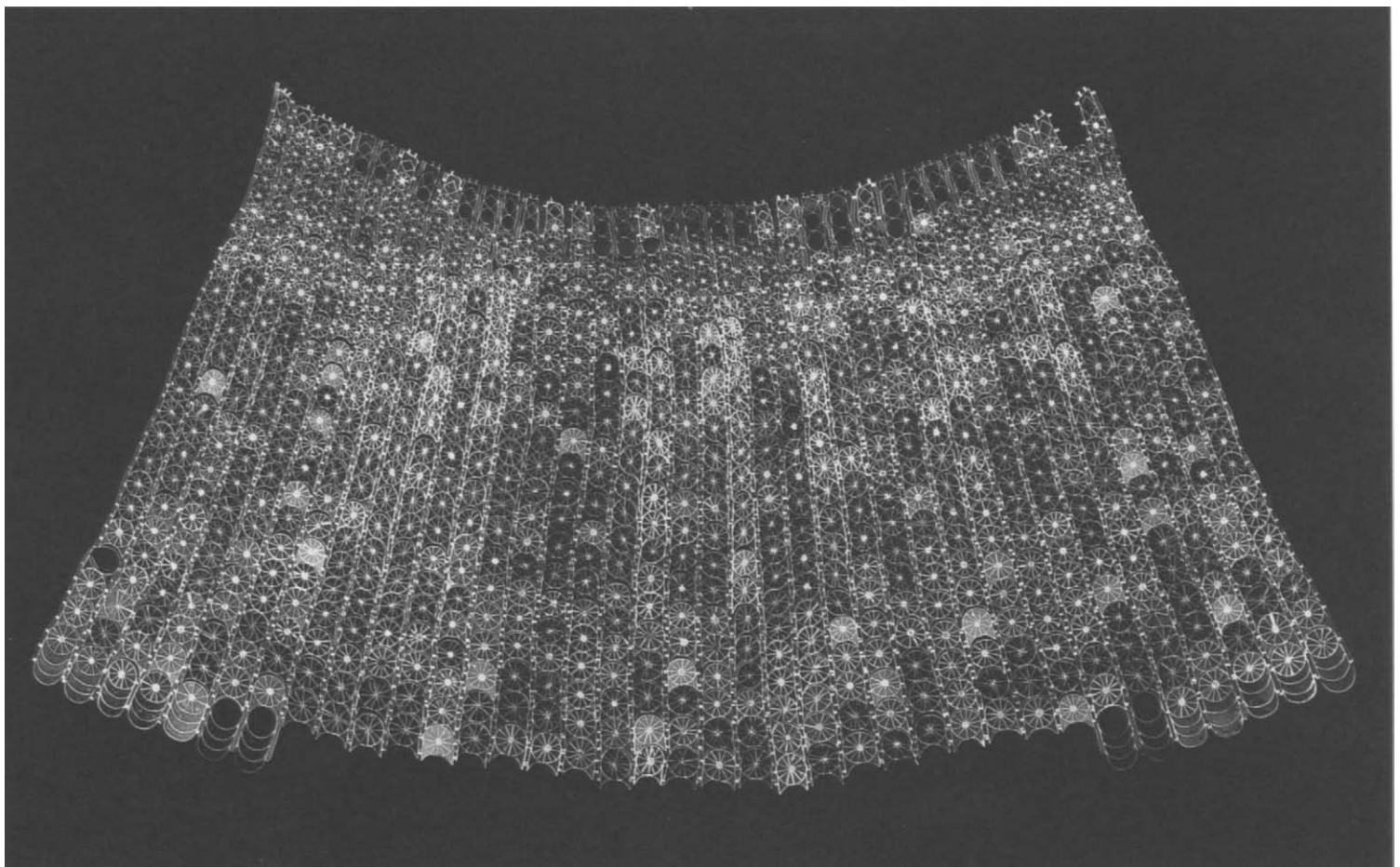


Fig. 157. X ray of Great Headdress, showing basic groups of elements: ancient (light), modern (dark), reproductions (black)





Fig. 158. Inlaid wig covering Cat. **II4** on modern wig

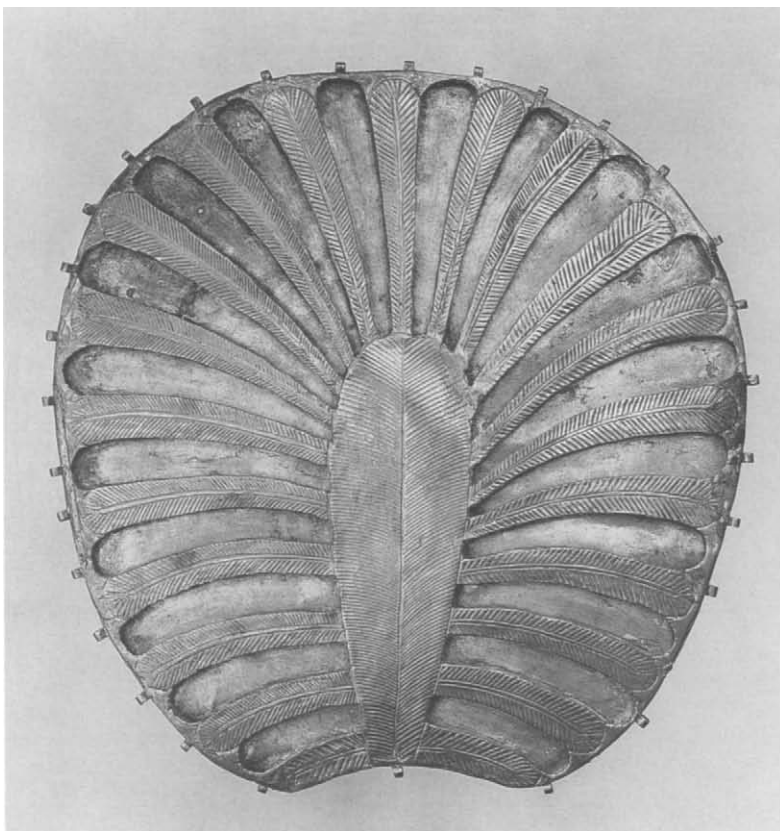
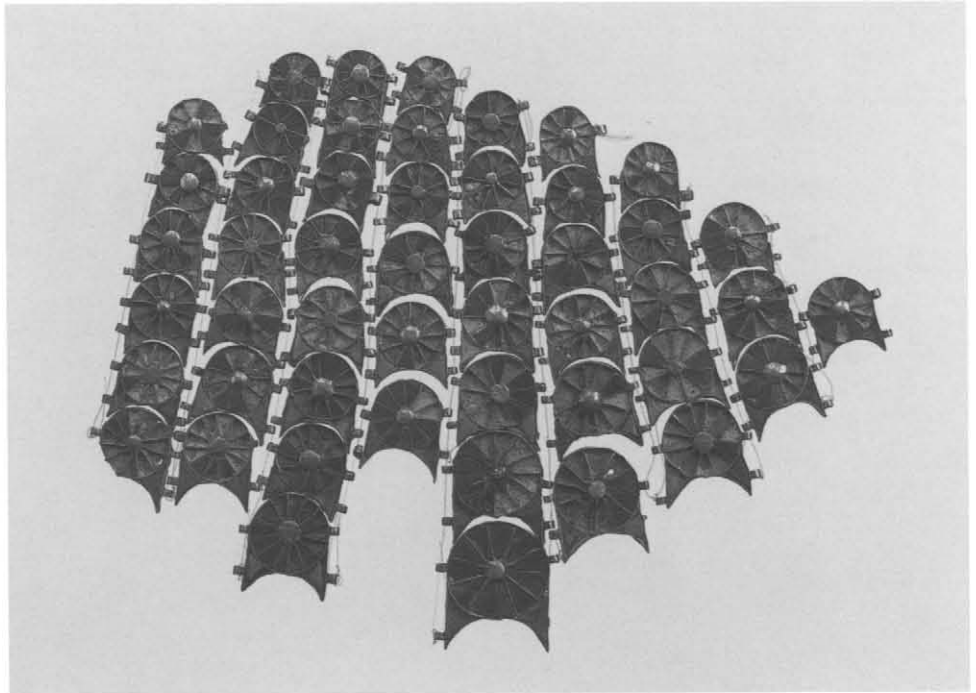
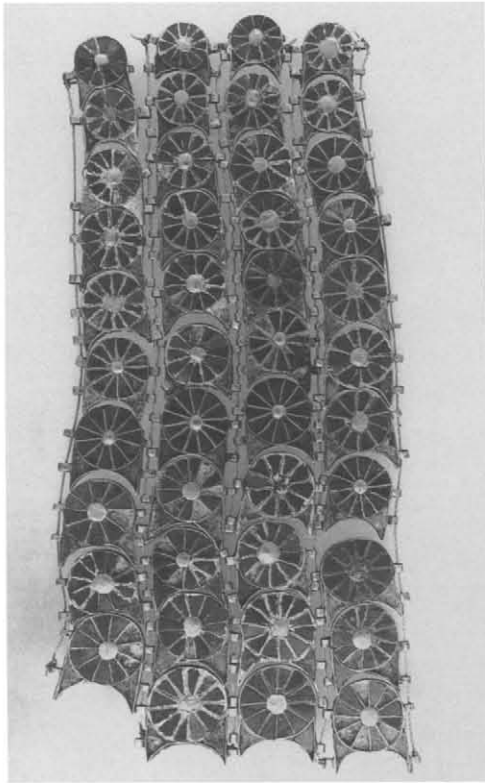
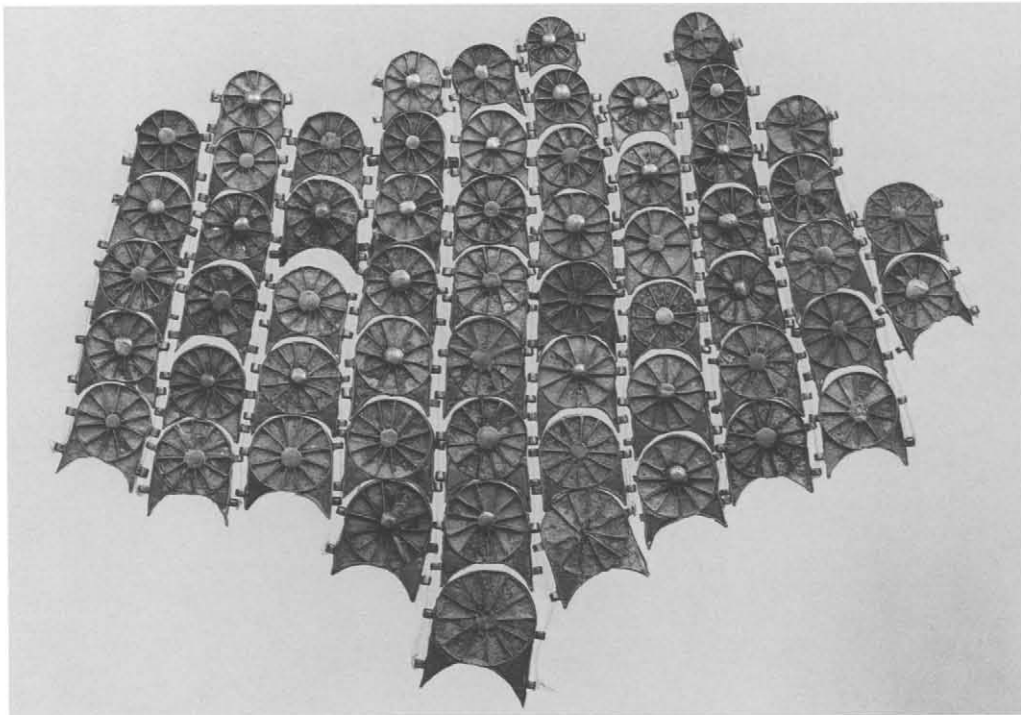


Fig. 159. Head plate of wig covering Cat. **II4** from above (left) and below (right). 2:3

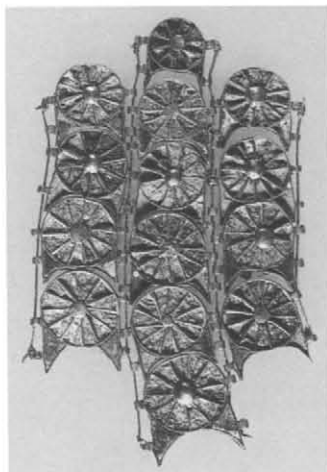




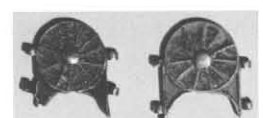
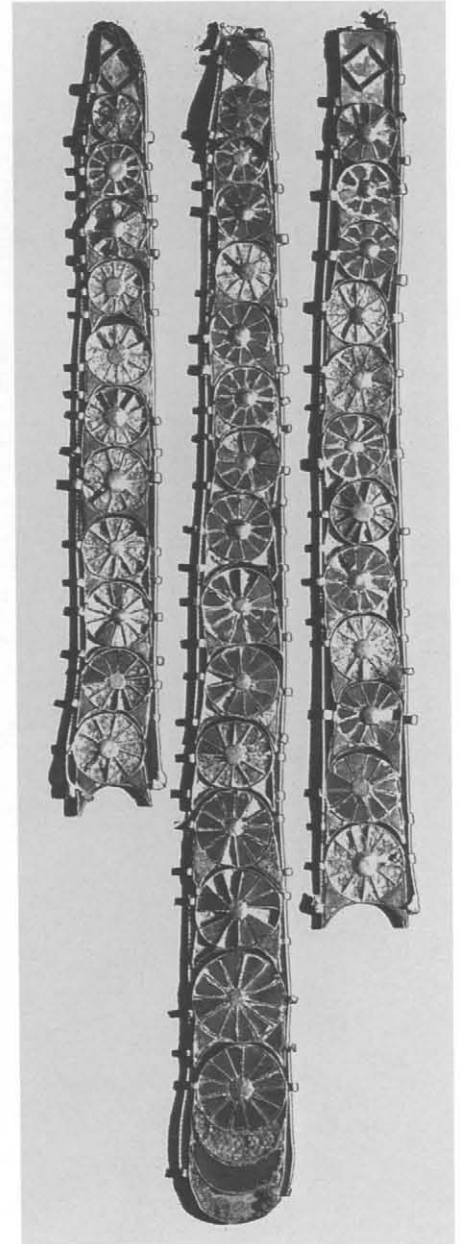
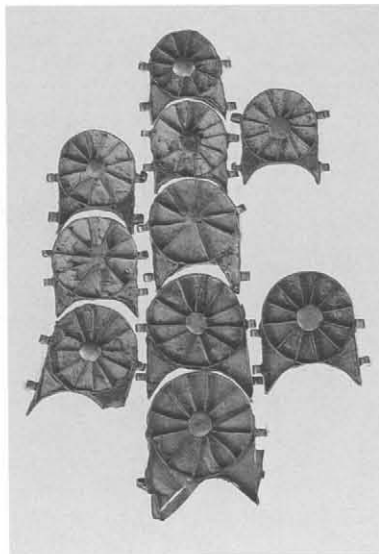
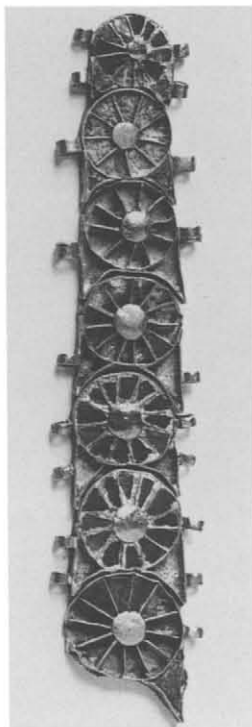
a. Left, Cat. 116; above, Cat. 120



b. Above, Cat. 121; right, Cat. 117



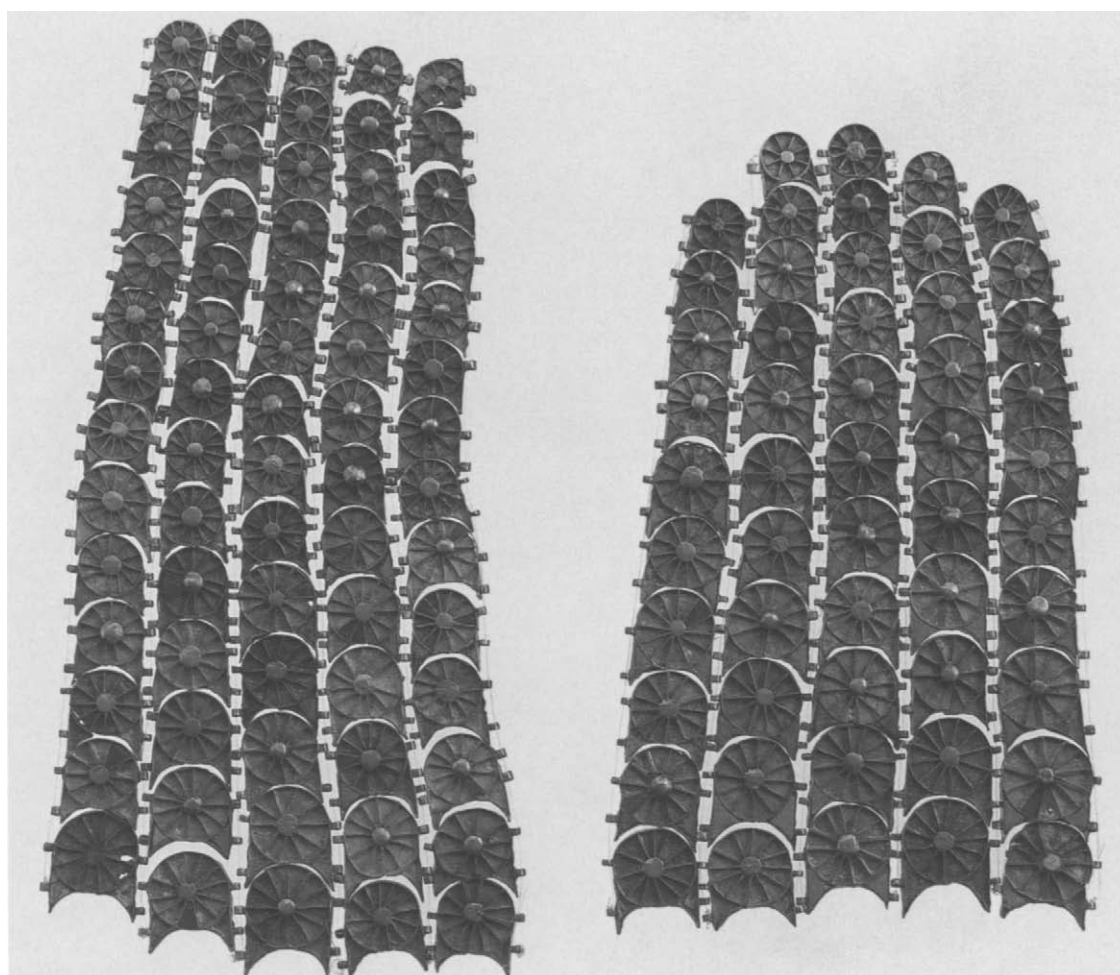
c. Left to right: Cats. 115, 118, 122



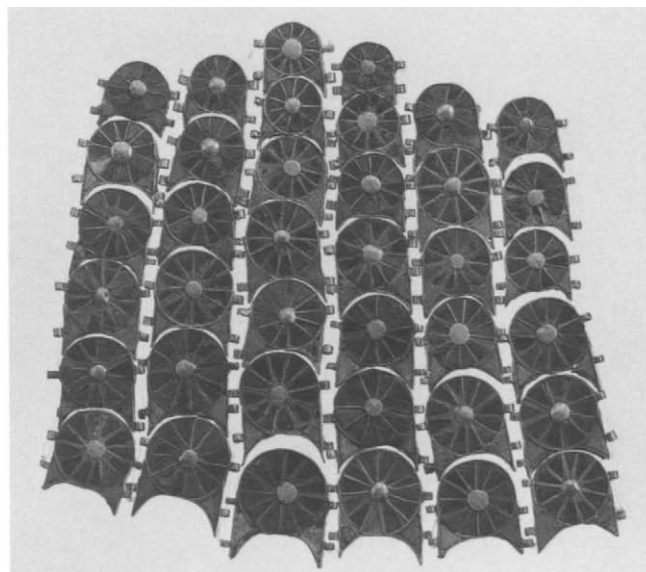
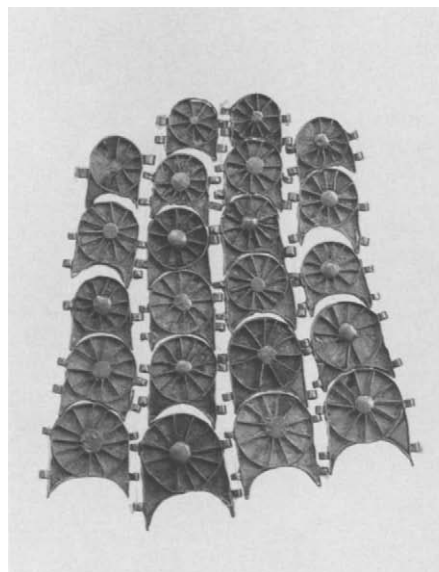
d. Cat. 119

Fig. 160a-d. Eight groups of rosette elements. 2:3

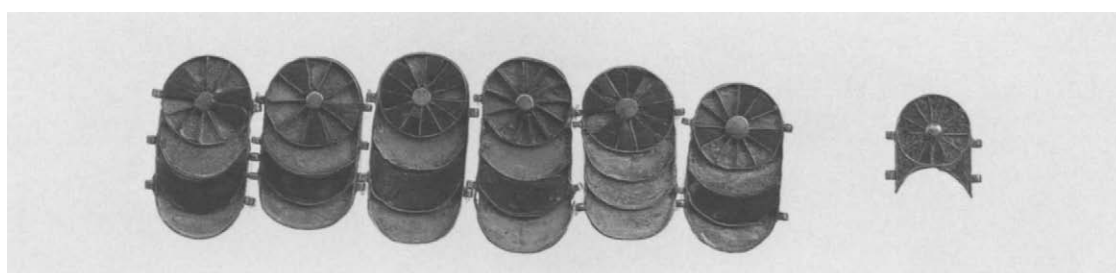
# Catalogue Part A: Assigned Objects



a. Left, Cat. **127**; right, Cat. **128**



b. Left, Cat. **126**; right, Cat. **123**



c. Left, Cat. **124**; right, Cat. **125**

Fig. 161a–c. Six groups of rosette elements. 2:3

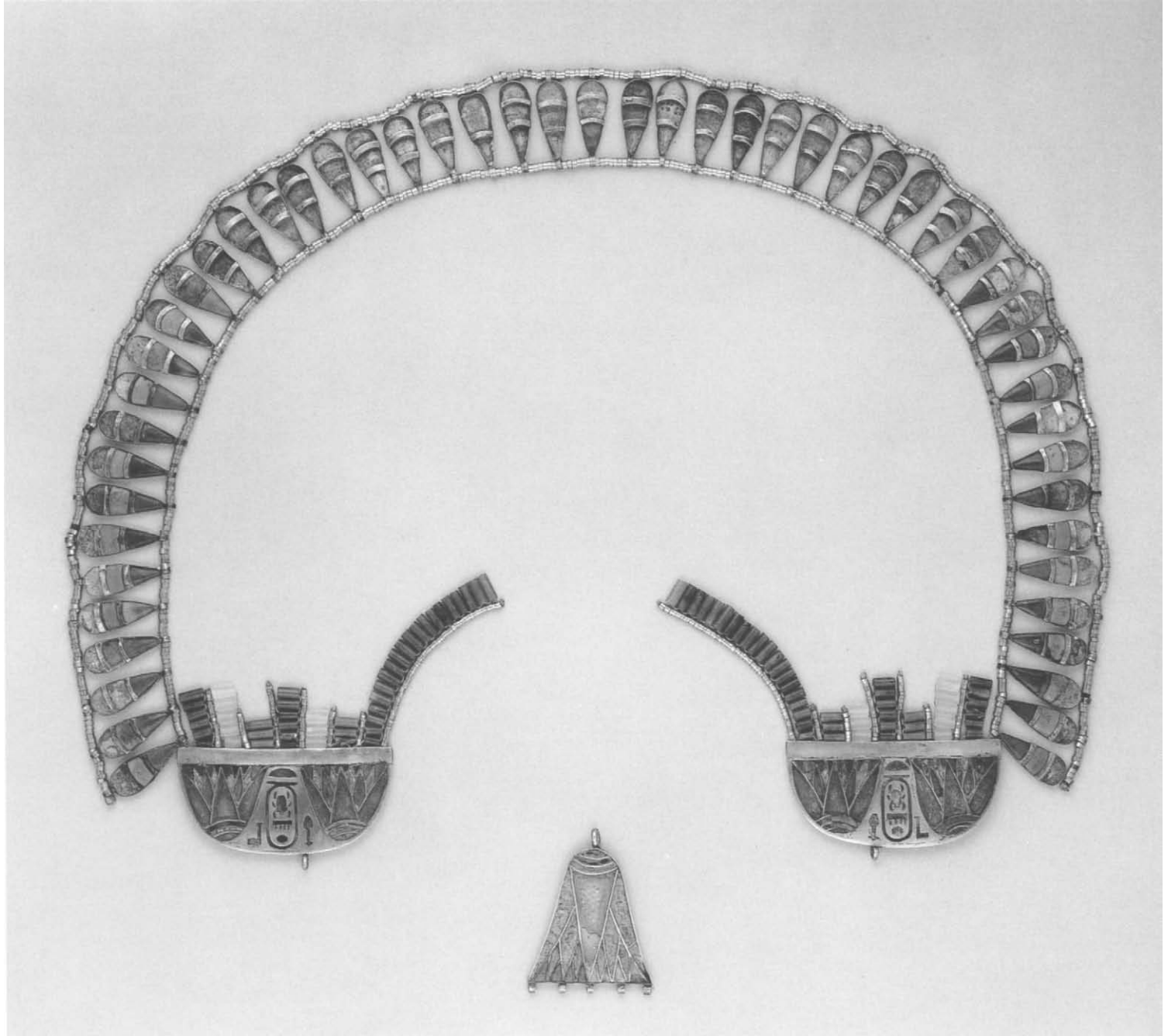
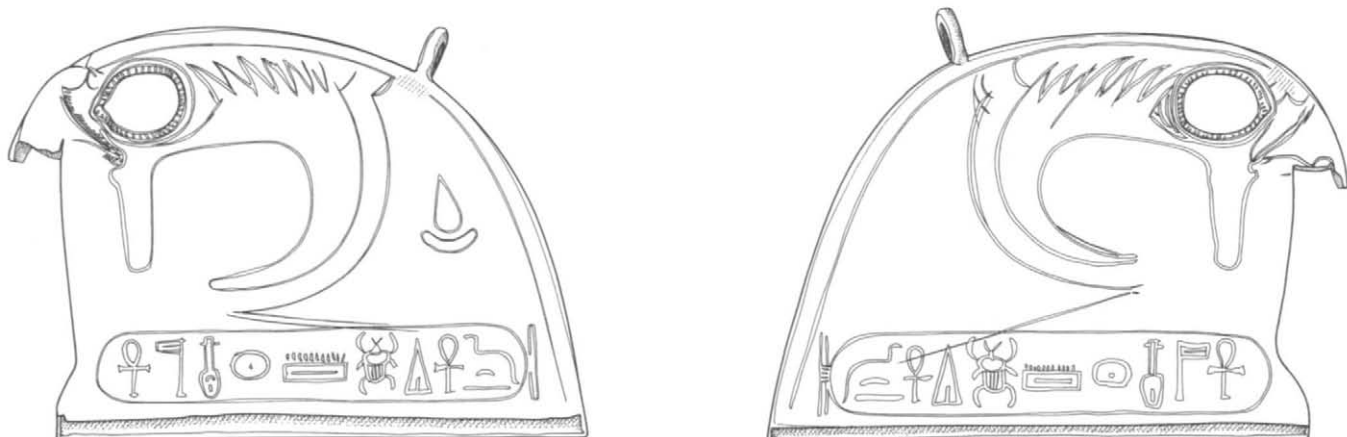


Fig. 162. Inlaid lotus collar and counterpoise, Cats. 130–1



Fig. 163. Inlaid falcon collar Cat. 129 (above); chased details on back of terminals (below). Drawings, 1:1





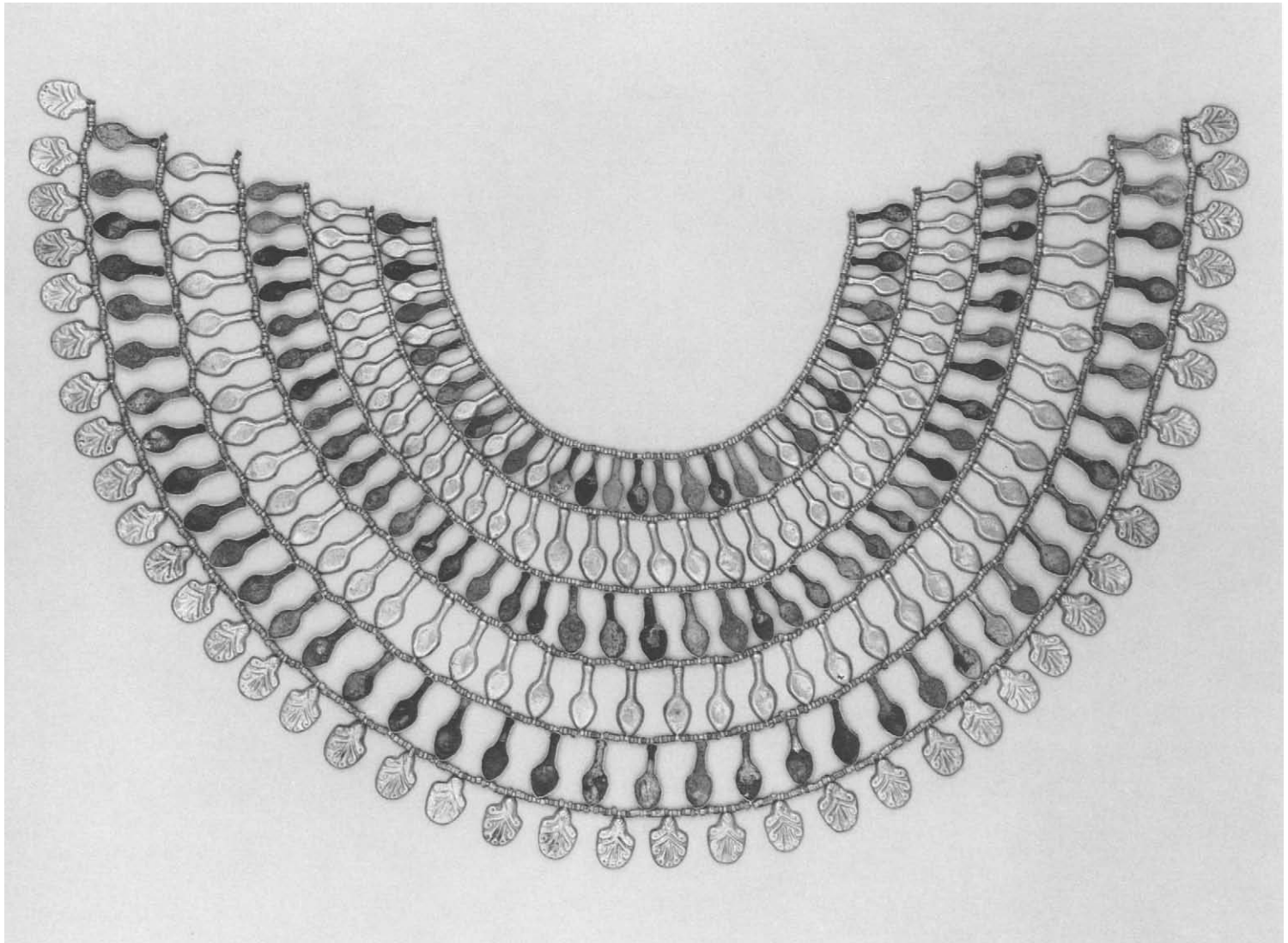


Fig. 164. Inlaid *nefer*-collar Cat. 132; gold inlaid with Egyptian blue

Catalogue Part A: Assigned Objects

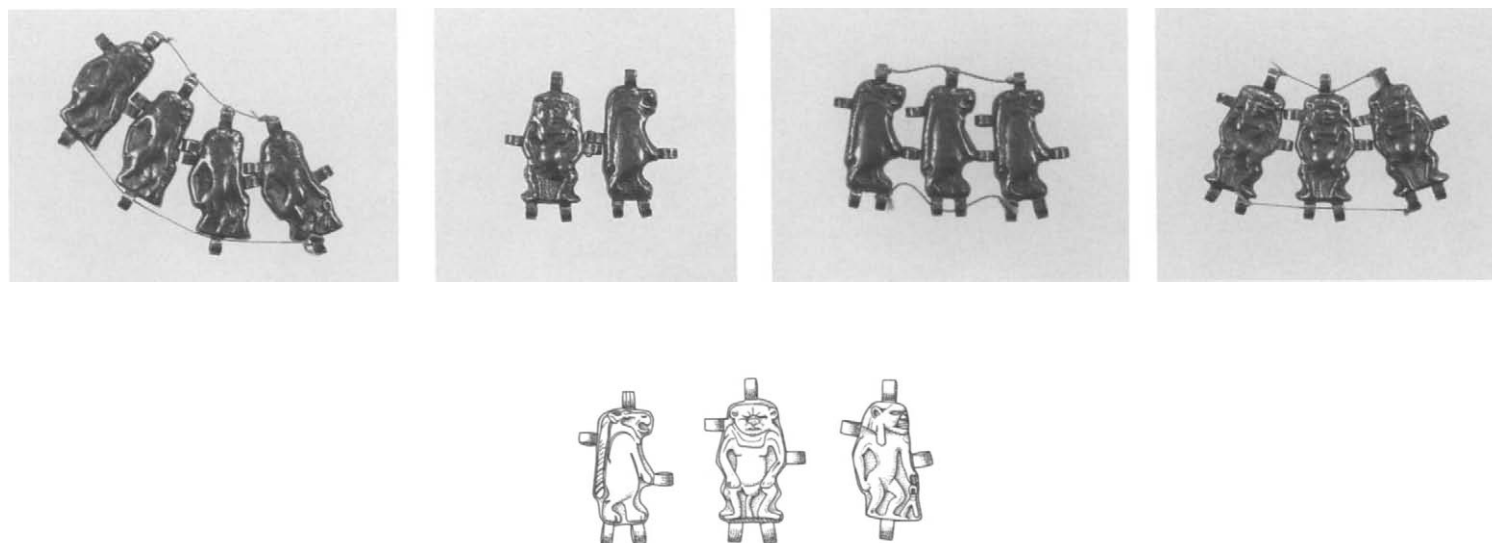


Fig. 165. Twelve gold Bes and Taweret elements, Cat. **134**. Photos, 1:1; drawings, 1.5:1

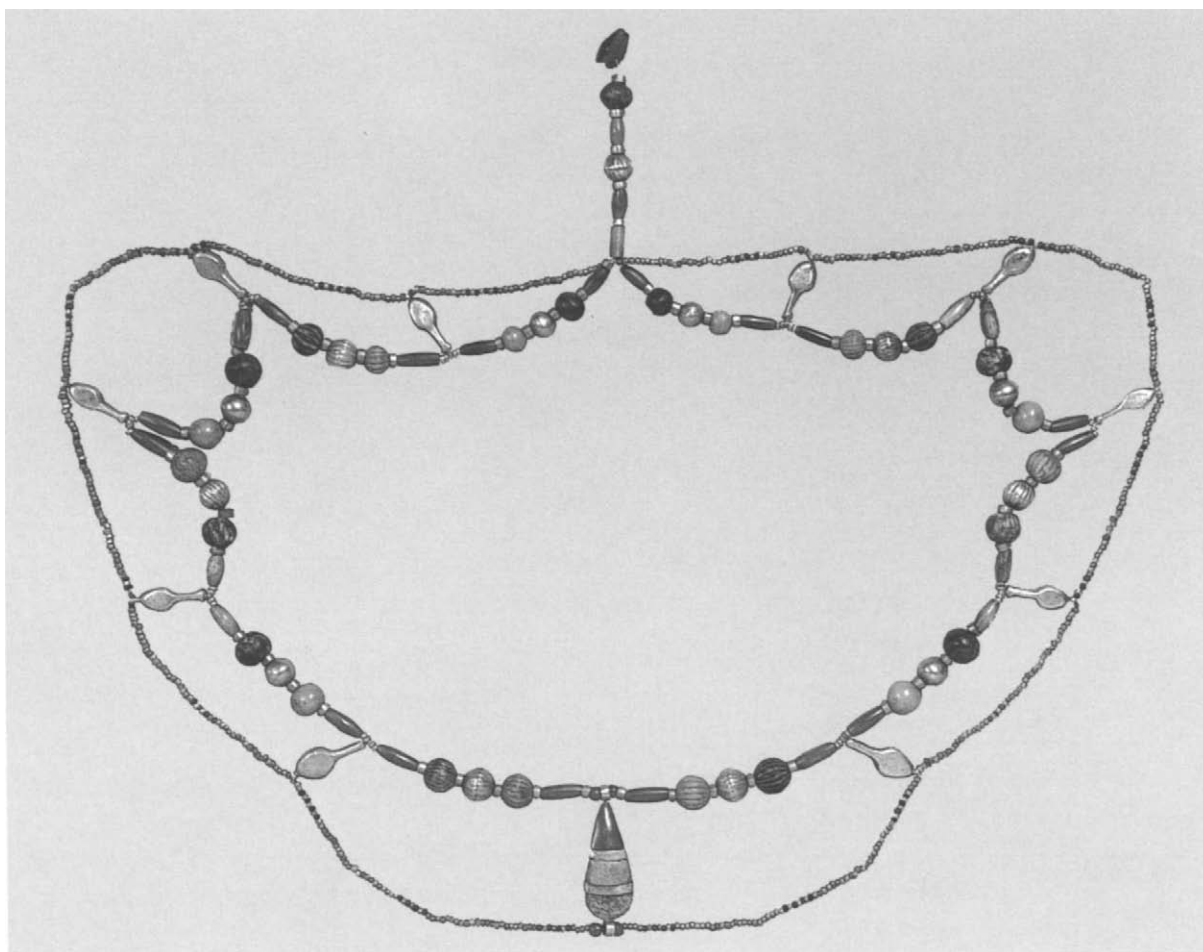


Fig. 166. Inlaid elements and assorted beads, Cat. **162**

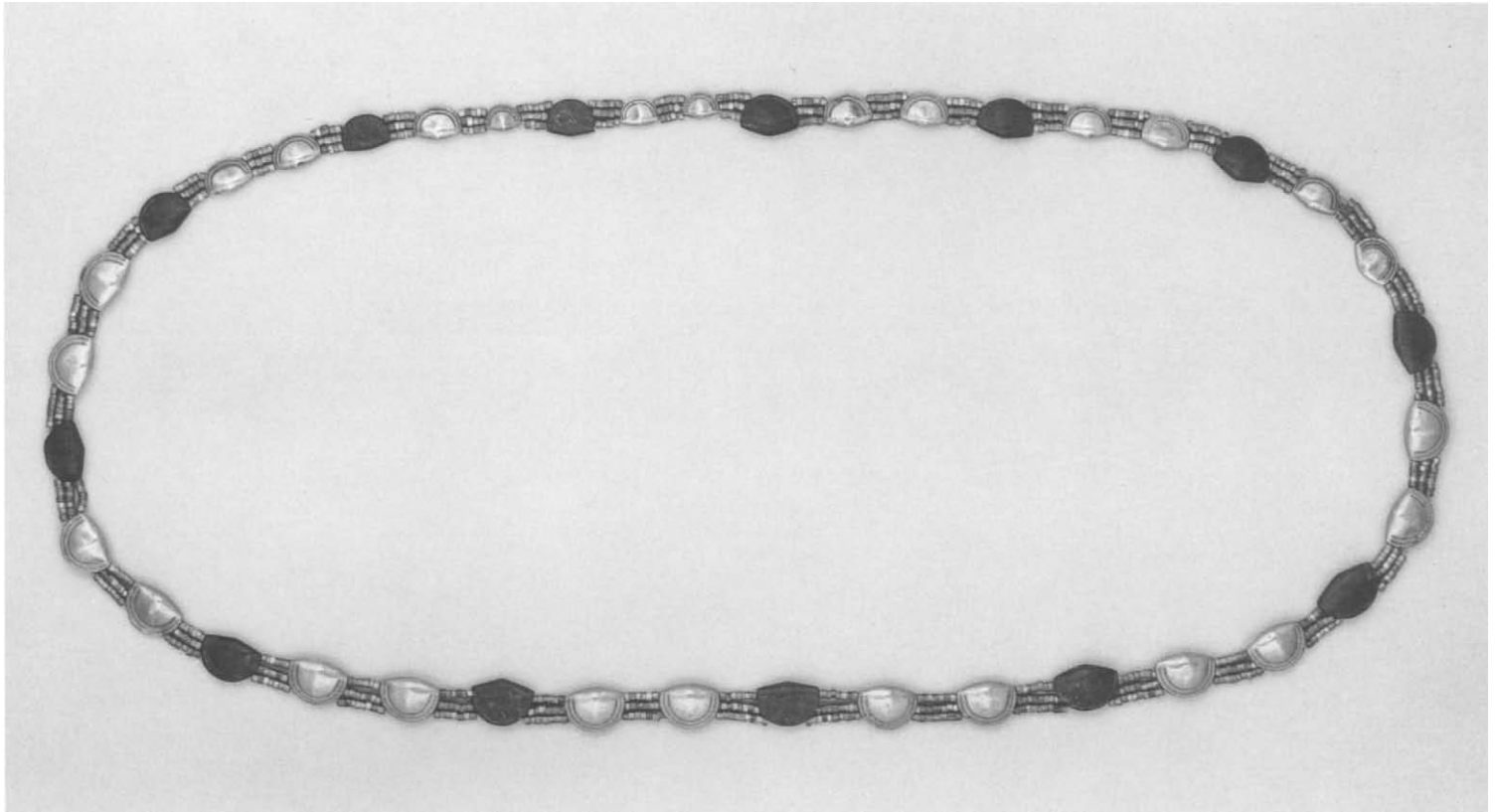


Fig. 167. Gold and lapis lazuli wallet spacer girdle, Cat. 135

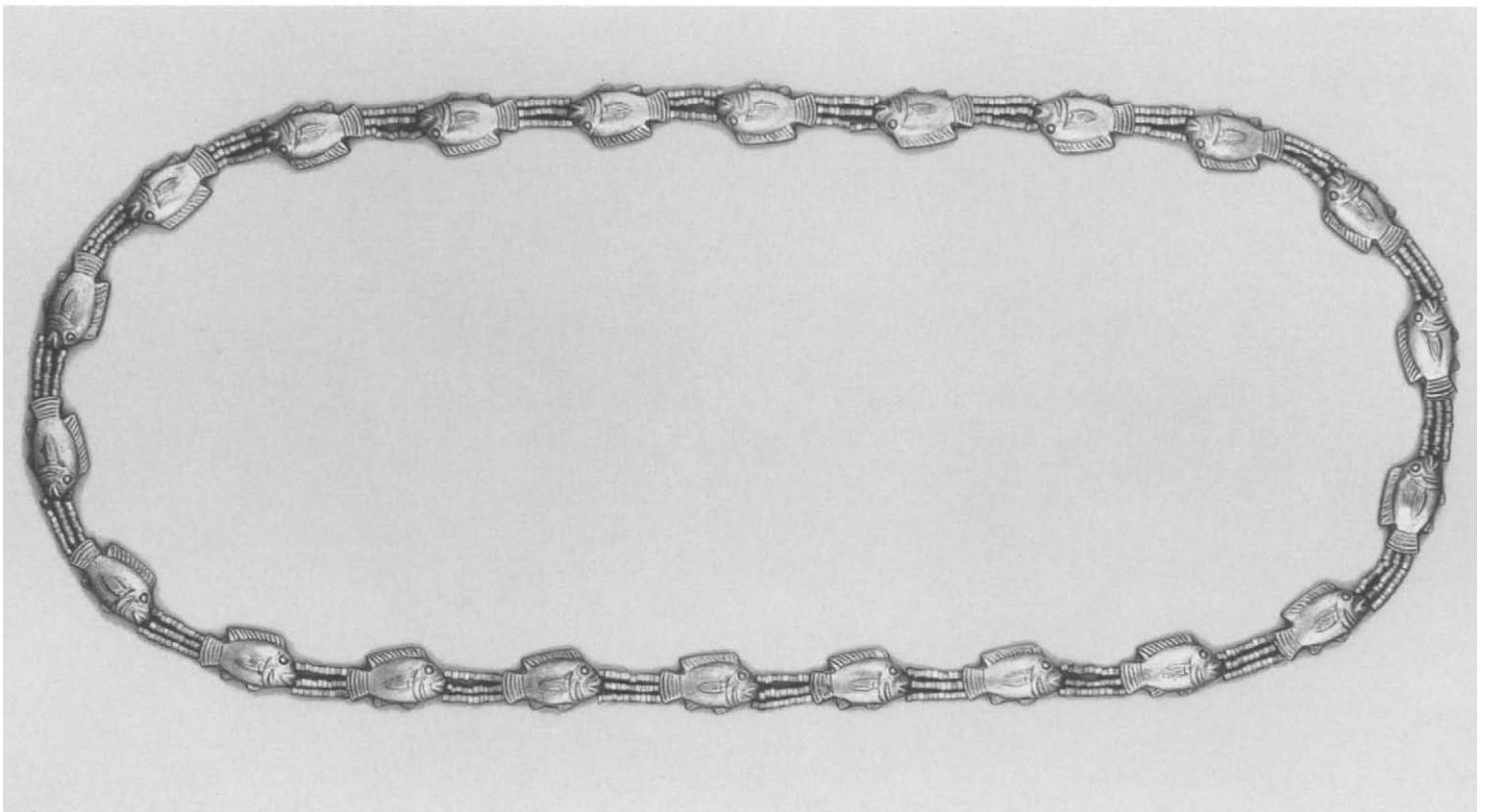


Fig. 168. Gold *Tilapia*-spacer girdle, Cat. 136. Drawing of fish spacer, 1:1





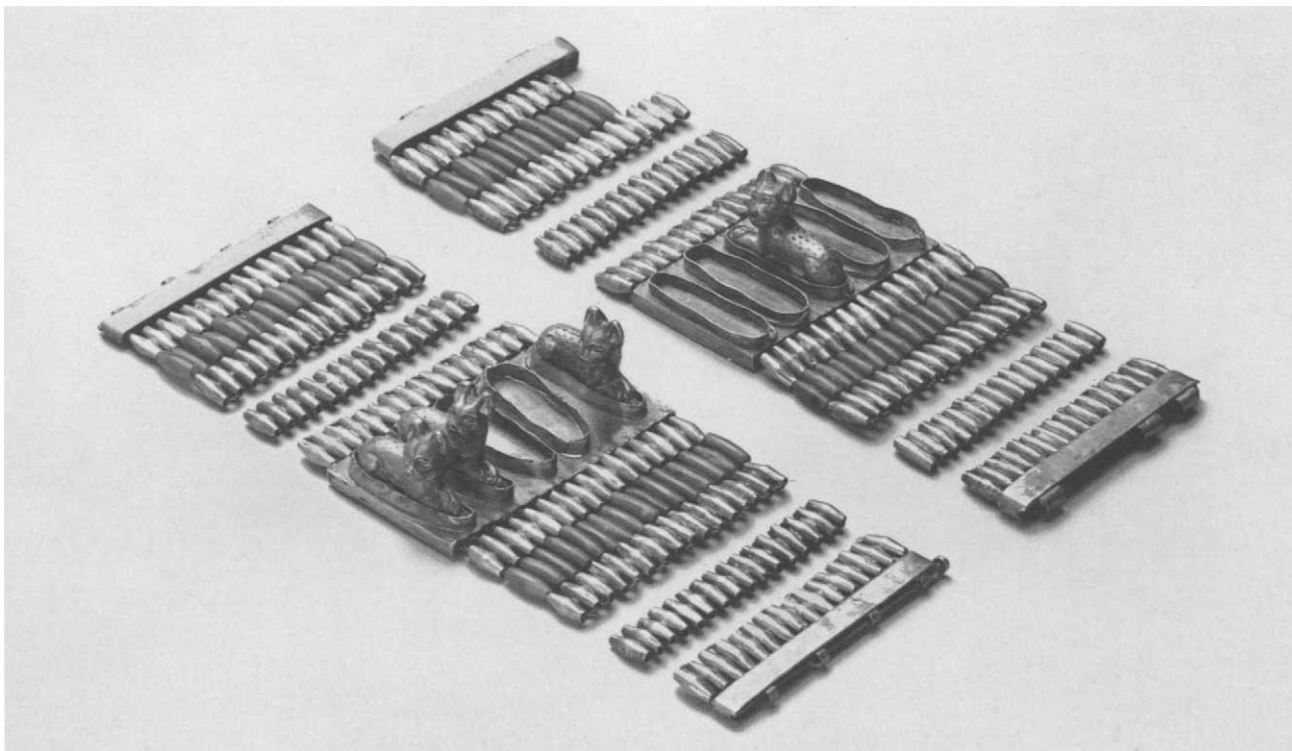


Fig. 169. Armlets with lion spacers, Cat. 138

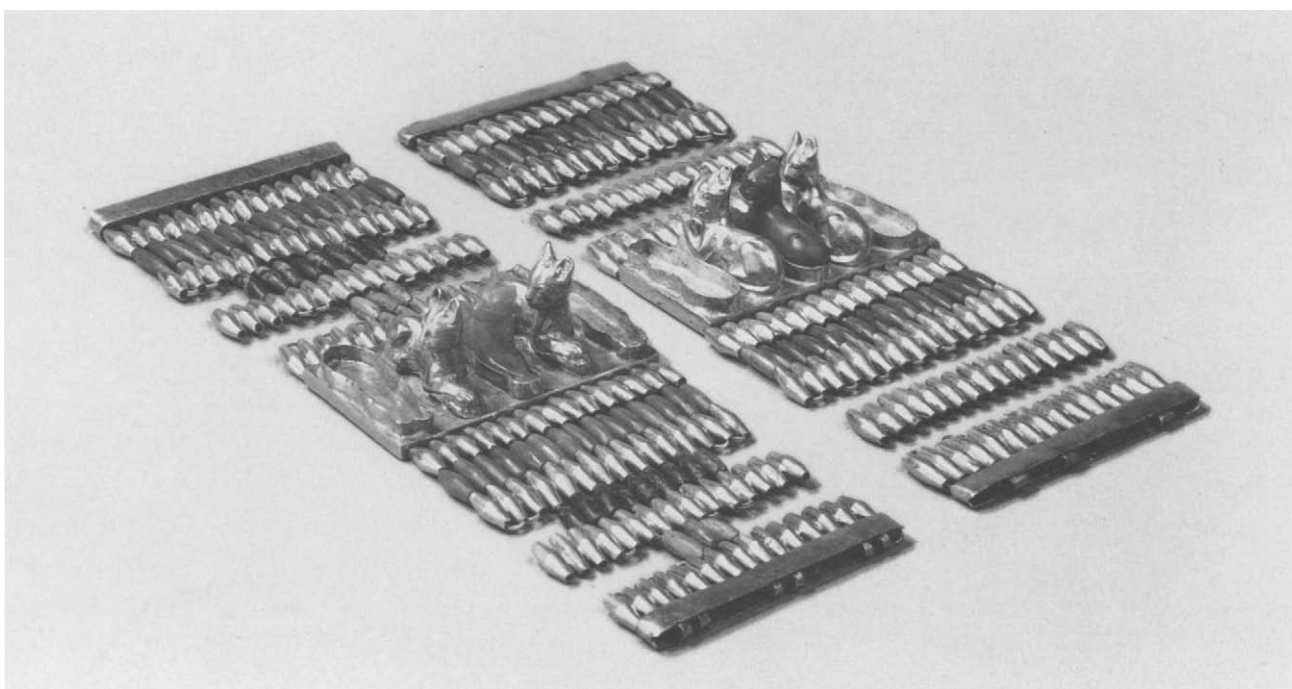
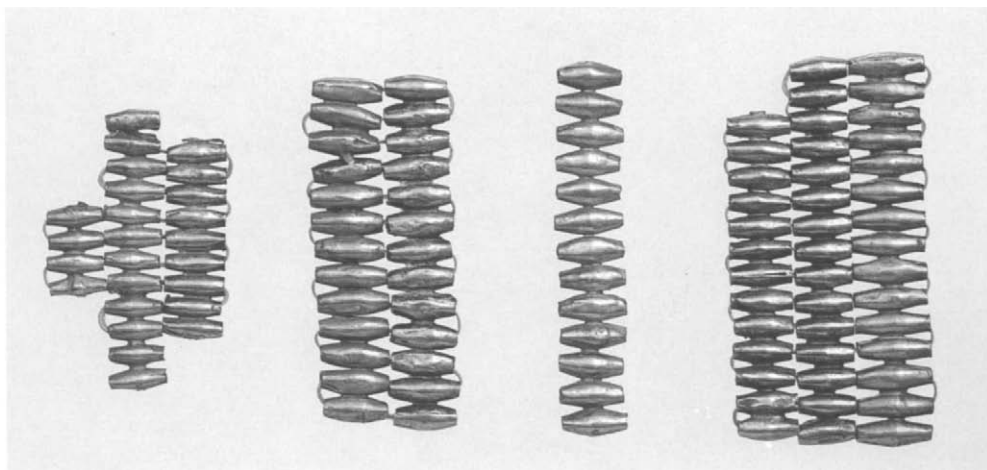
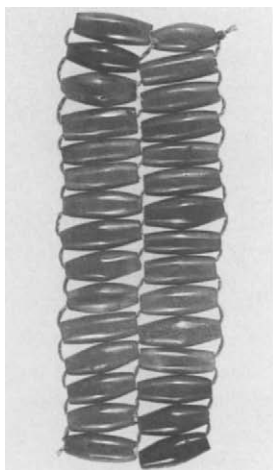


Fig. 170. Armlets with cat spacers, Cat. 137



Figs. 171. Additional parts for feline armlets, 1:1. Left: carnelian barrel beads, Cat. 140. Right: four groups of gold bead spacers, Cat. 139. Gold bead spacers, left to right, are MMA 26.8.121e, d, c, b

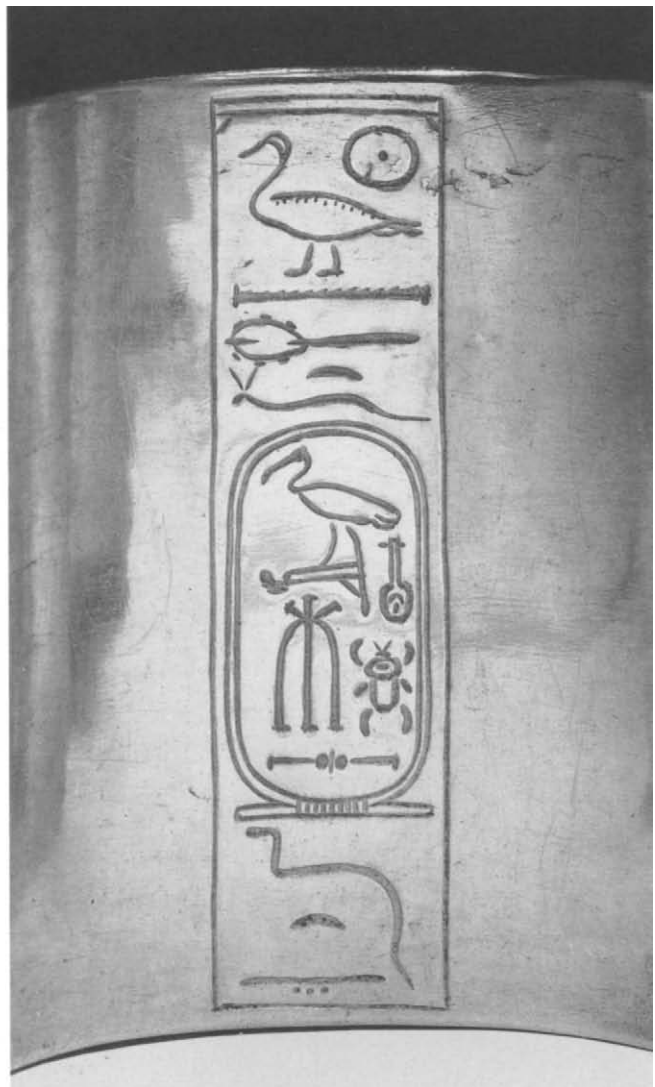
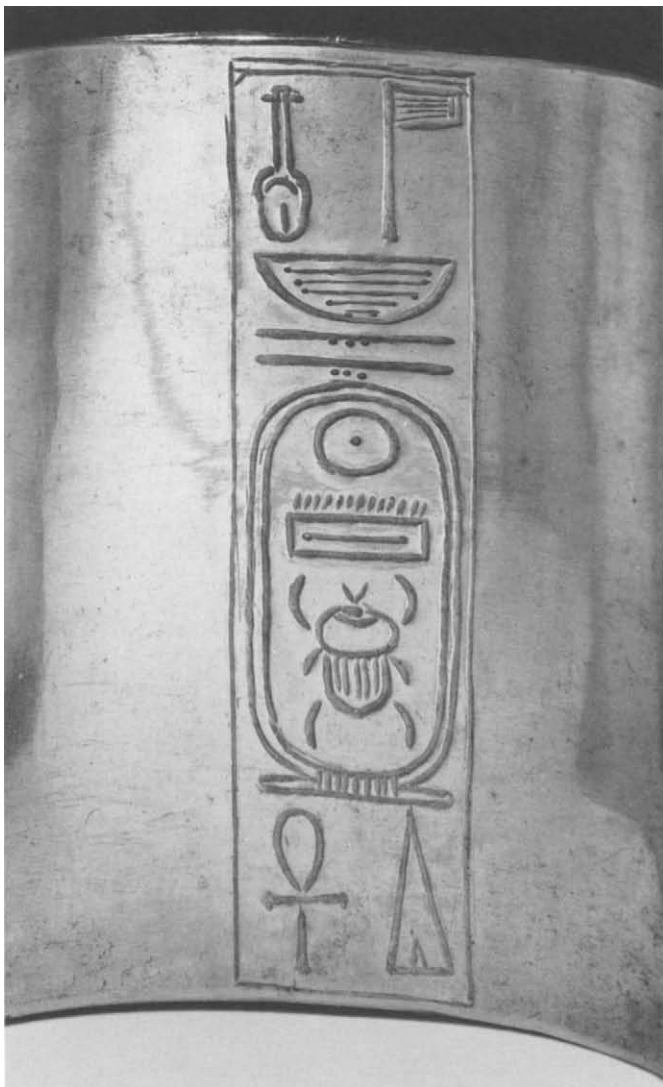


Fig. 172. Inscriptions chased on inner surface of inlaid hinged ornament MMA 26.8.130, Cat. 141



Fig. 173. Inscriptions chased on inner surface of inlaid hinged ornament MMA 26.8.125, Cat. 142

# Catalogue Part A: Assigned Objects



Fig. 174. Inlaid hinged ornaments Cat. **142**. Left, inscription and ornament, MMA 26.8.125. Right, ornament and inscription, MMA 26.8.127. Inscriptions, 1:1



Fig. 175. Inlaid hinged ornaments Cat. **143**. Left: inscription and ornament, MMA 26.8.126. Right: ornament and inscription, MMA 26.8.128. Inscriptions, 1:1

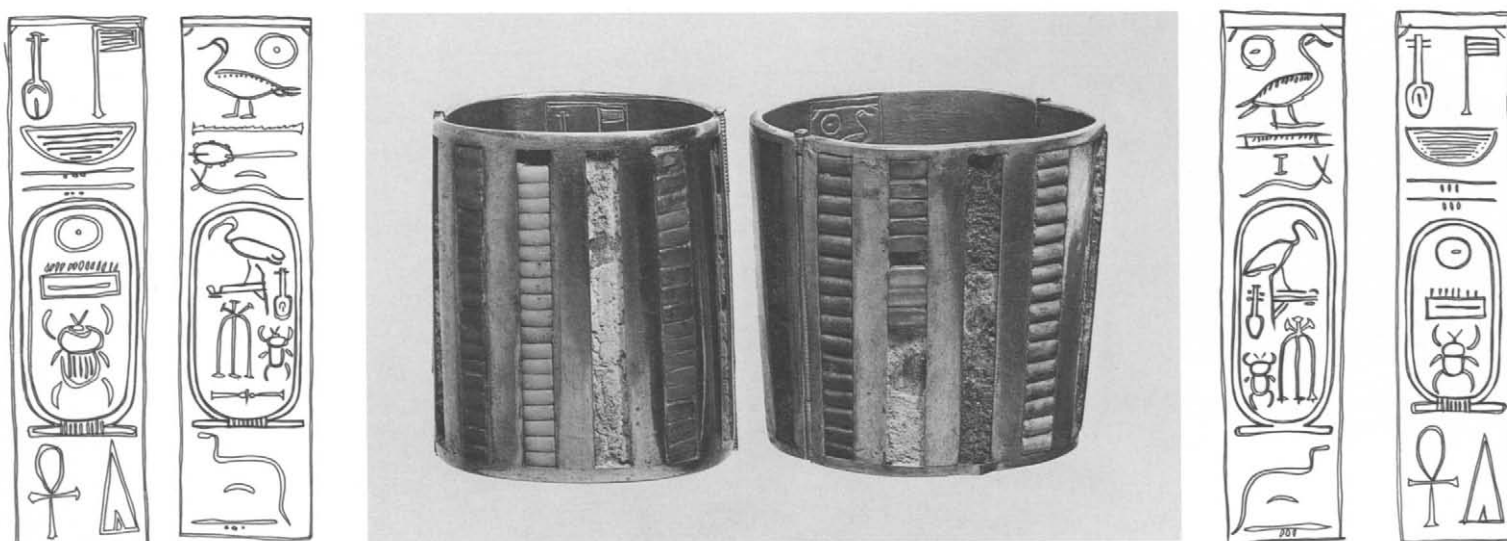


Fig. 176. Inlaid hinged ornaments Cat. **141**. Left: inscription and ornament, MMA 26.8.130. Right: ornament and inscription, MMA 26.8.129. Inscriptions, 1:1

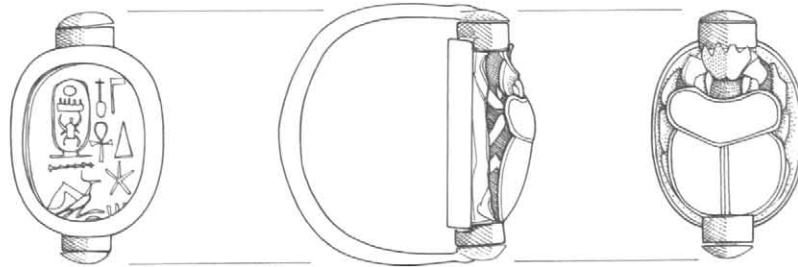


Fig. 177. Cat. 145, 1.5:1

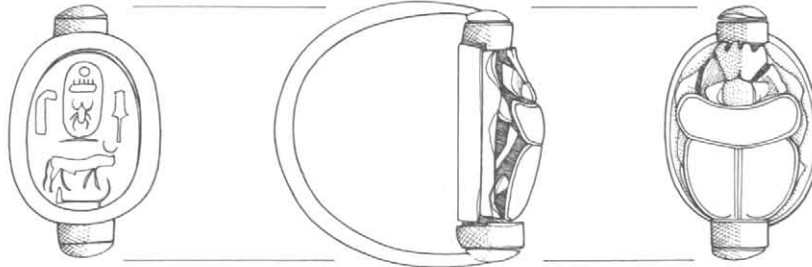


Fig. 178. Cat. 144, 1.5:1

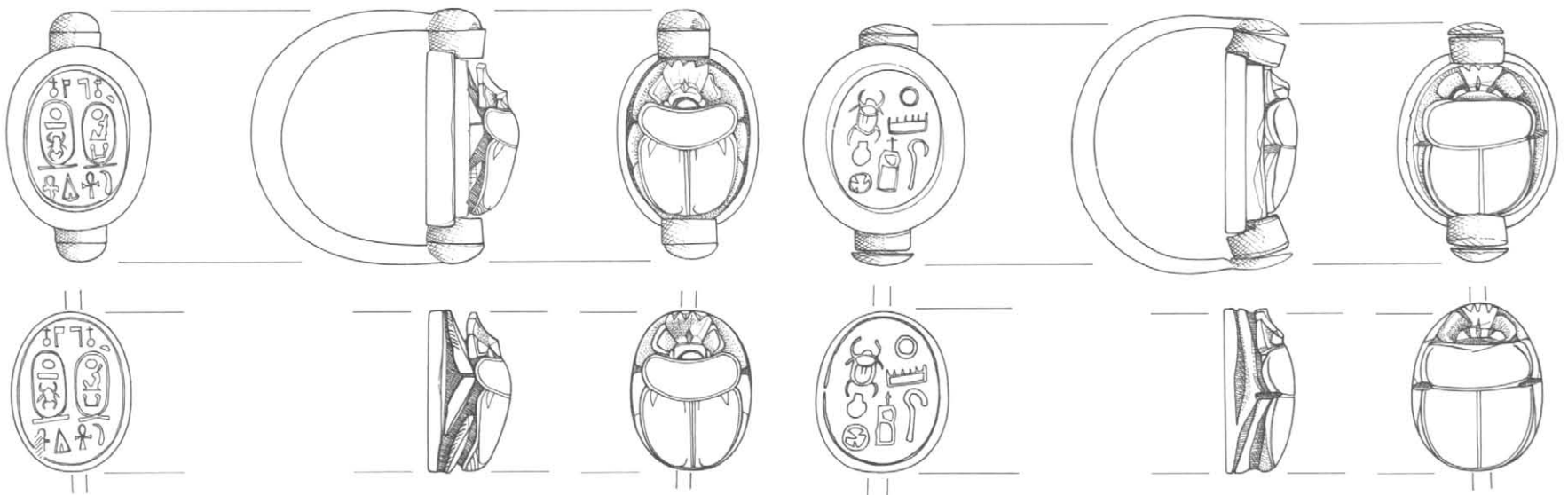


Fig. 179. Six views of Cat. 146, 1.5:1

Fig. 180. Six views of Cat. 147, 1.5:1

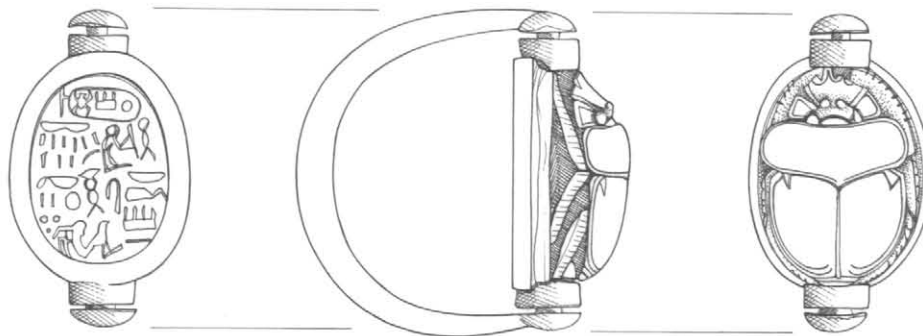


Fig. 181. Cat. 148, 1.5:1

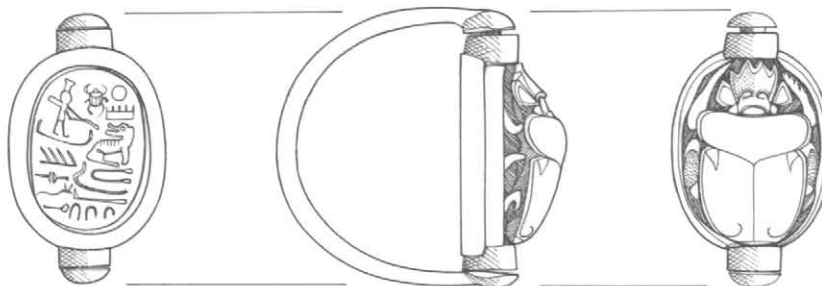


Fig. 182. Cat. 149, 1.5:1

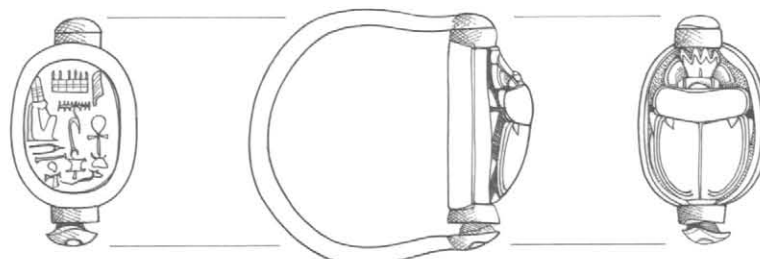


Fig. 183. Cat. 150, 1.5:1



# Catalogue Part A: Assigned Objects

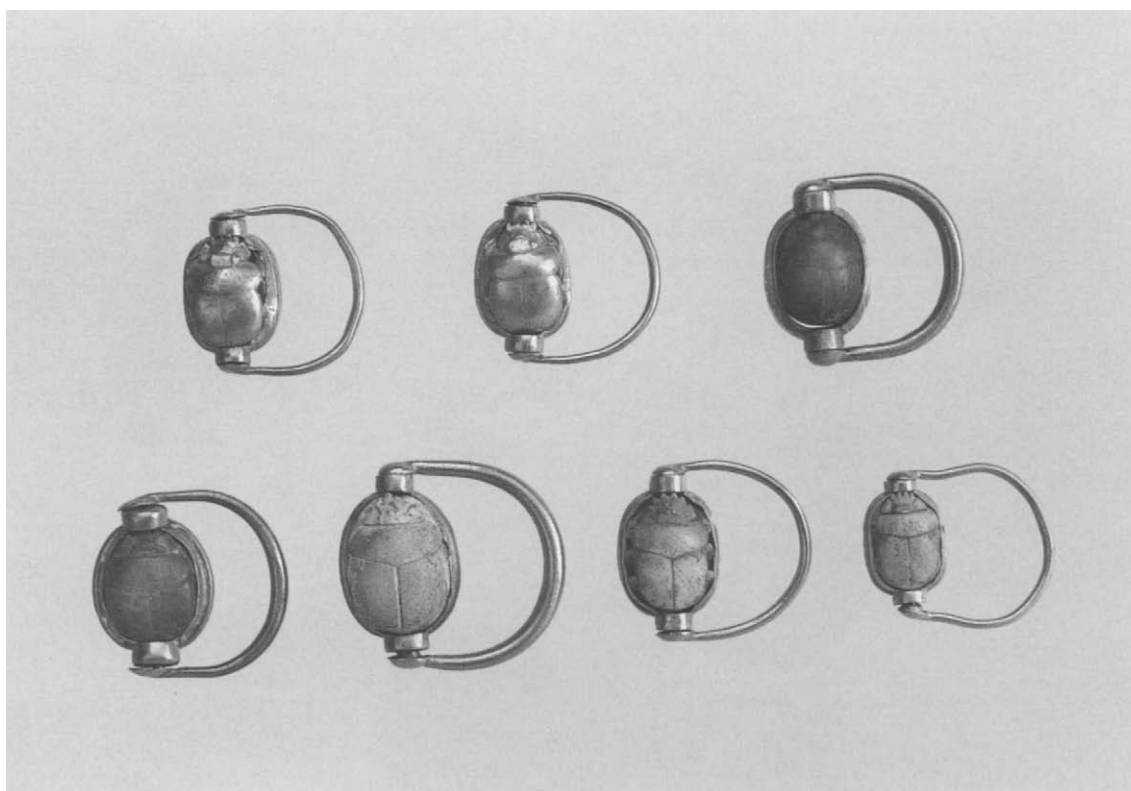
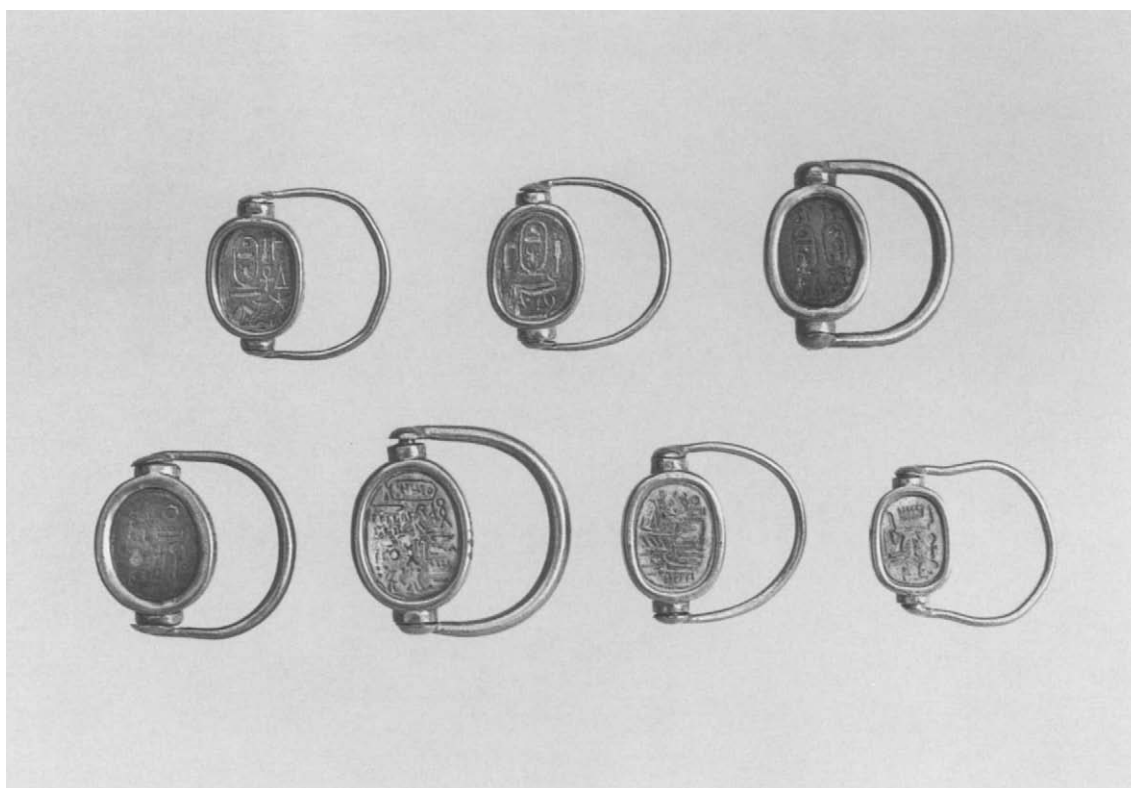


Fig. 184. Gold, lapis, and steatite scarabs in finger rings. Backs (above), bases (below), 1:1.  
Top row, left to right: Cats. **145**, **144**, **146**. Bottom row, left to right: Cats. **147**, **148**, **149**, **150**



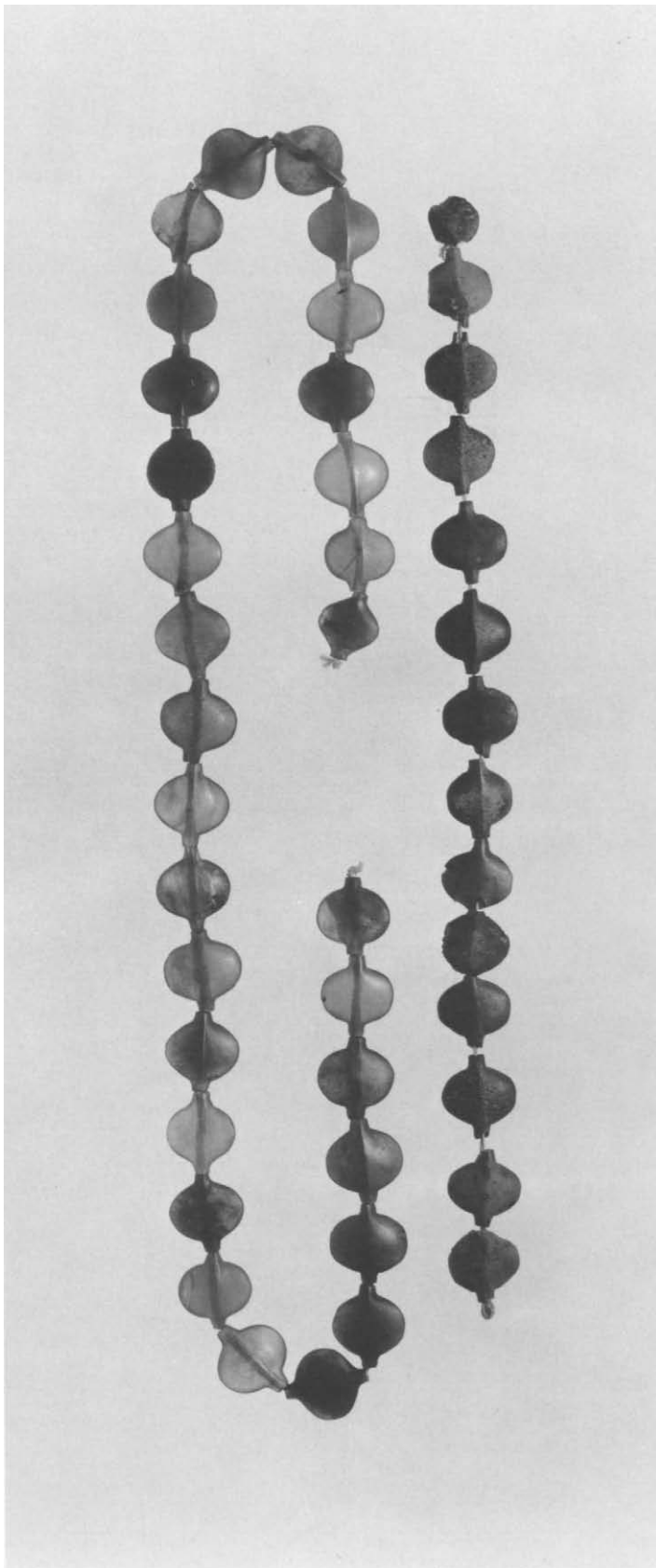


Fig. 185. Carnelian and glass acacia-seed beads, Cats. 151 (left), 152 (right). 1:1

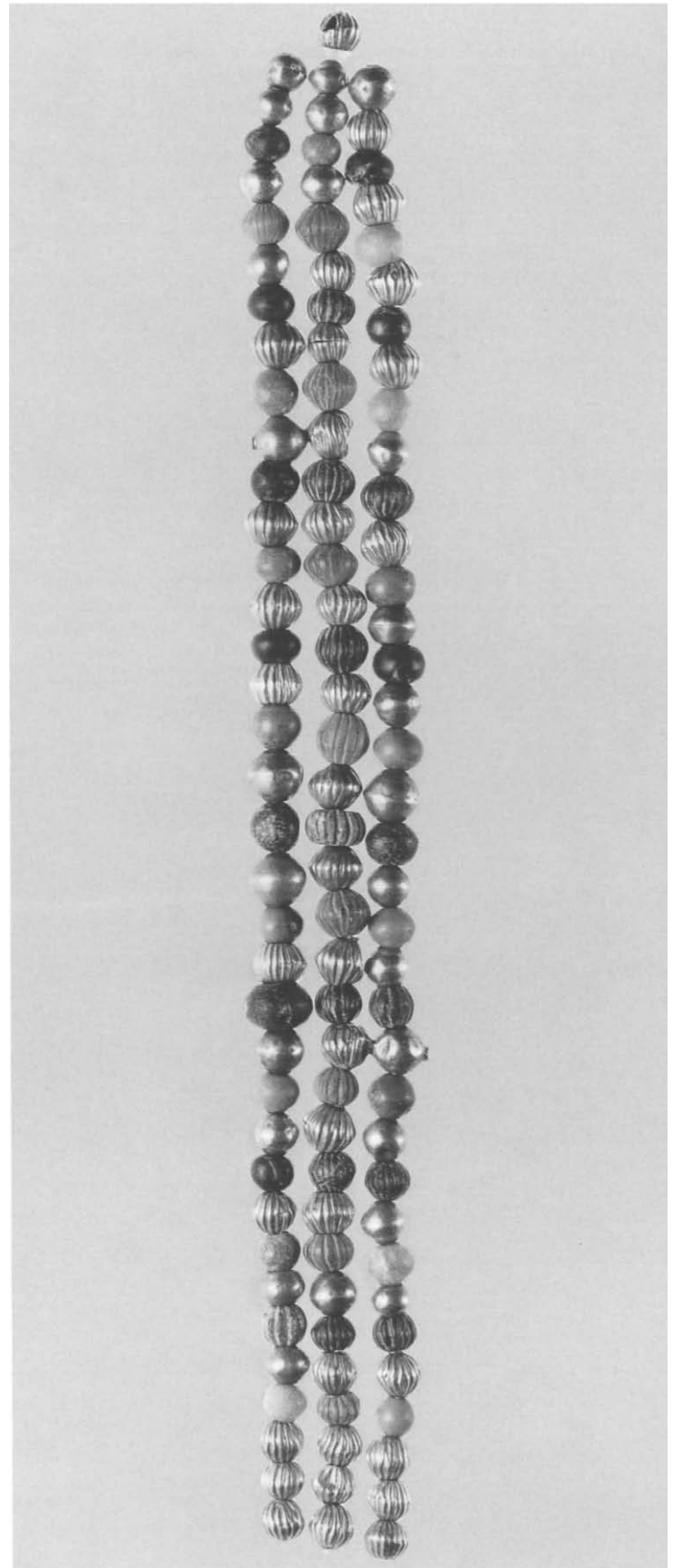
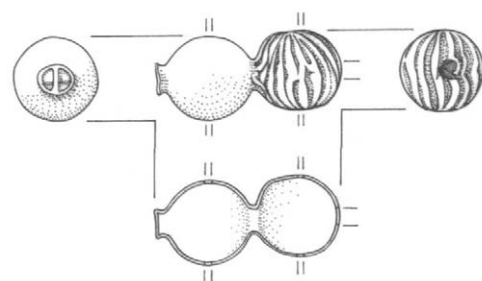
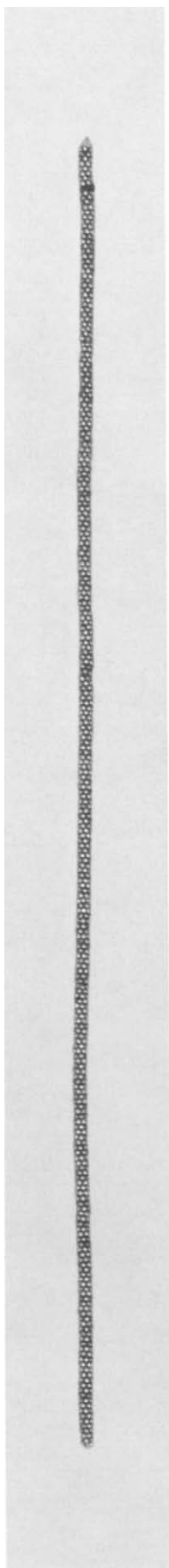


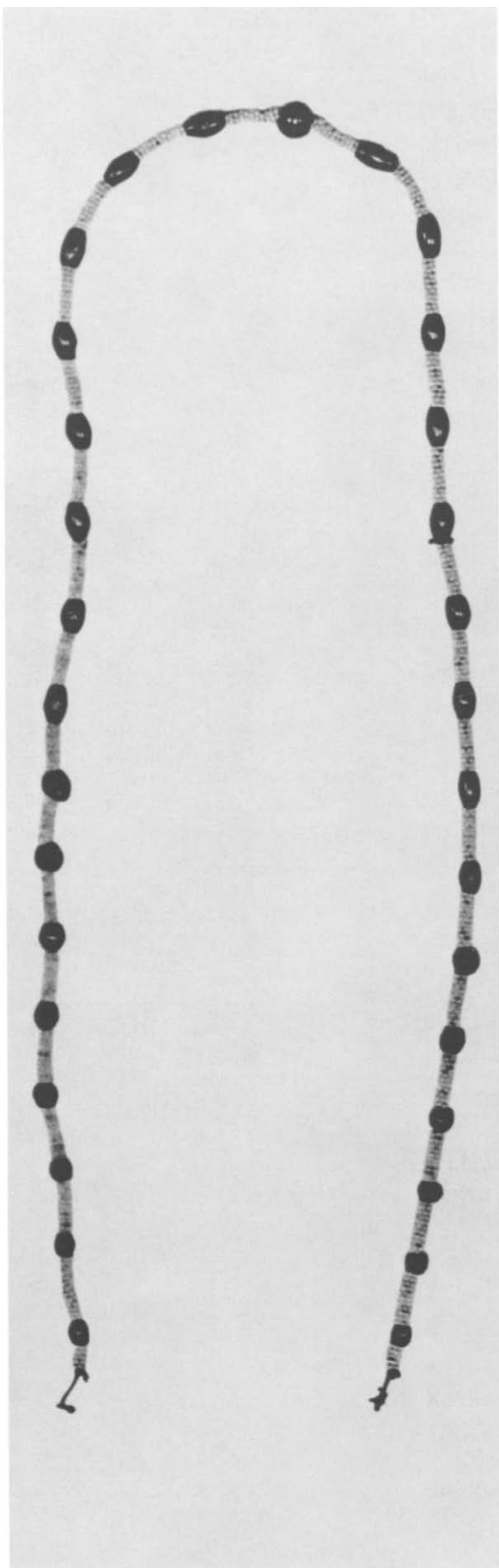
Fig. 186. Beads and spacers of melon and ball type, Cat. 153. Top drawing, bead projecting at top of strands. Middle drawing, melon bead on spacer located left and center, ten from top of assembly. Bottom drawings, back side of spacer located right and center, thirteen from bottom. Photo, 1:1; drawings, 1.5:1



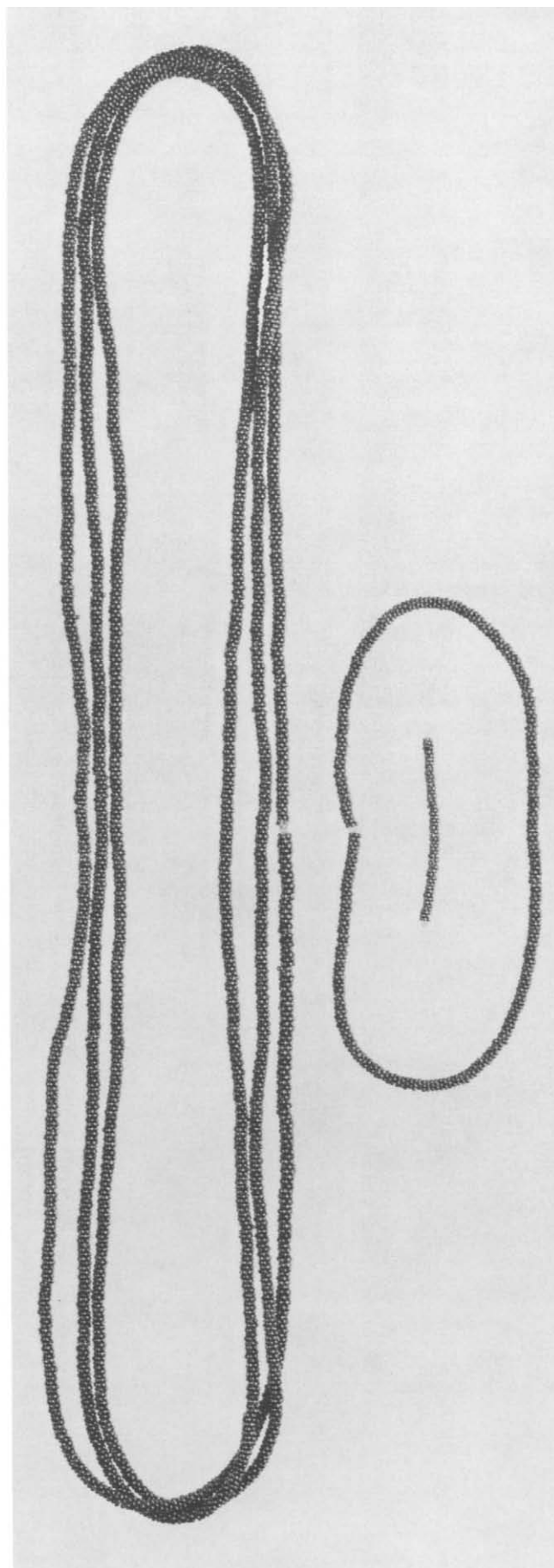
Catalogue Part A: Assigned Objects



Figs. 187.  
Cat. 155



Figs. 188. Cat. 154



Figs. 189. Cats. 156 (left), 158 (circle on  
right), 159 (strand within circle)

Five groups of gold granular beads. 1:1



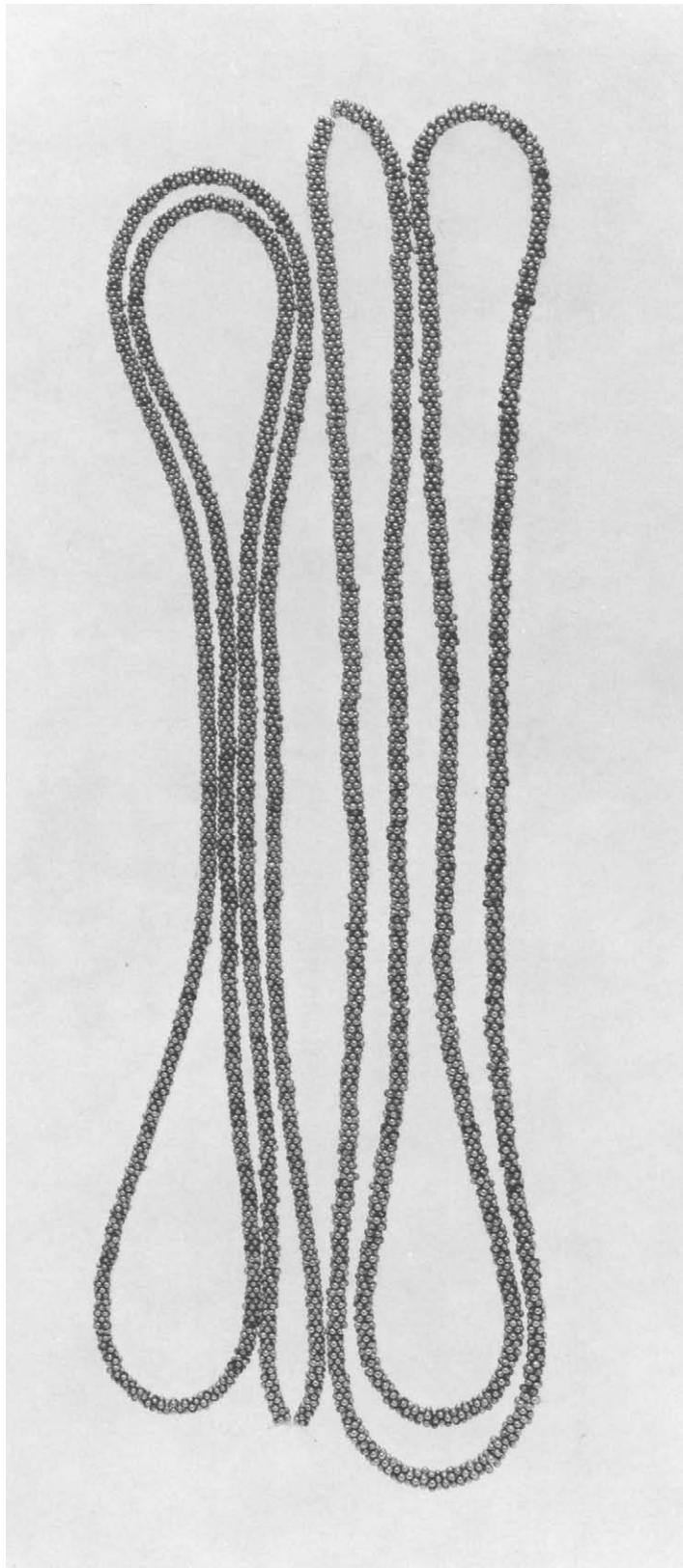


Fig. 190. Two groups of gold granular beads, Cats. 157 (left), 161 (right). 1:1

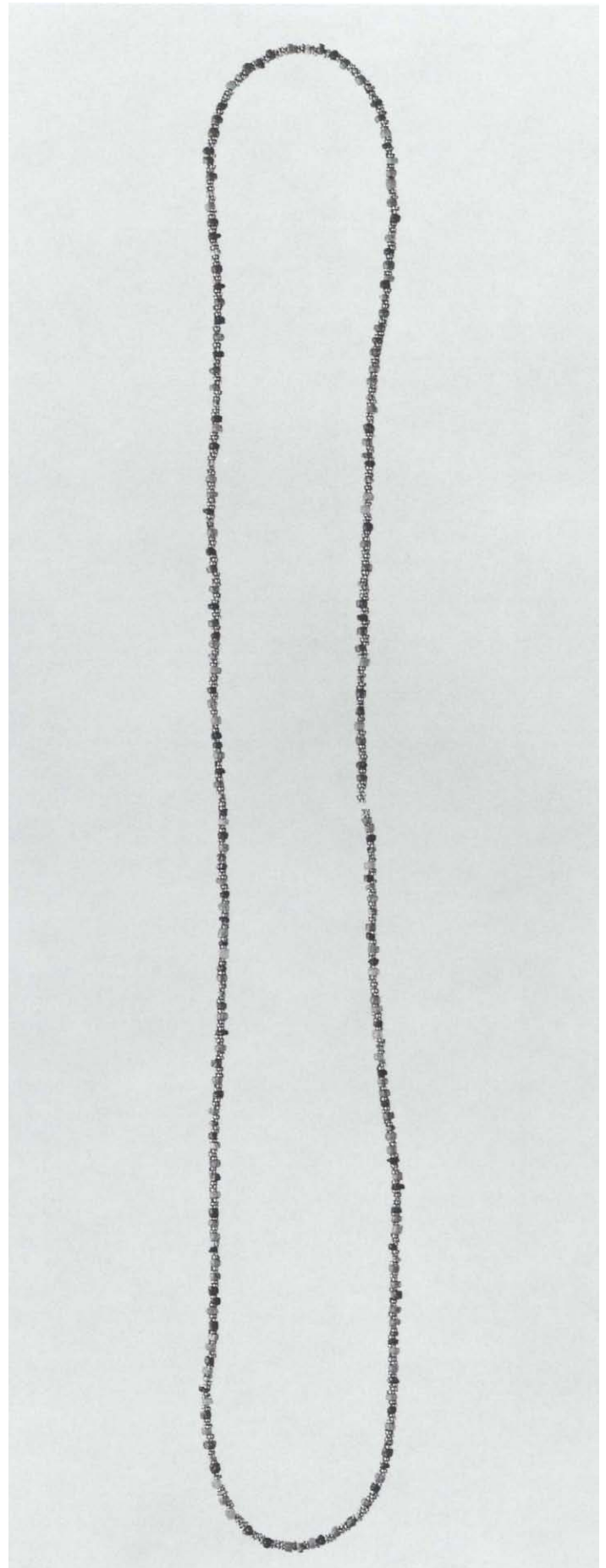


Fig. 191. Group of gold and stone granular and multi-foil beads, Cat. 160. 1:1

CATALOGUE PART A  
FUNCTION NOT KNOWN

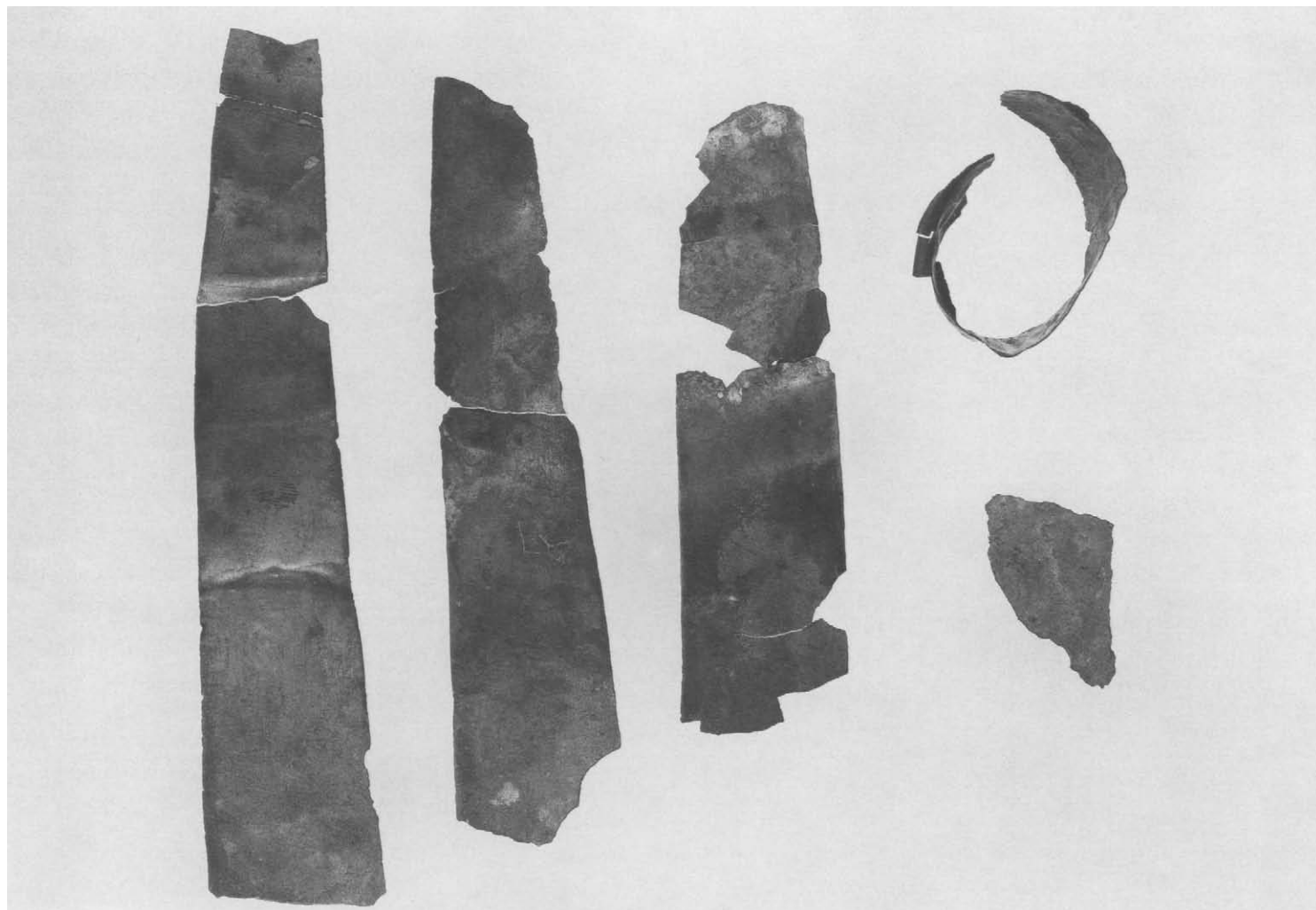


Fig. 192. Silver fragments of unknown use, Cat. 165. 1:1



Fig. 193. Silver duck head, Cat. 164

## CHAPTER 6. CATALOGUE PART B, OBJECTS LESS SURELY LINKED TO TOMB 1 (166–213)

### INTRODUCTION

**L**ike the objects in Chapter 5, the objects in this chapter vary in their likelihood to have been in Wady DI, but have less of a chance to have been there. For example, the large gold shell **180** and granular tube pendant **182** are of a quality and size that suggest tomb provenance, and they have the standard early provenance. Likewise, the spiral pendant **186** is of first-rate workmanship with an unusual design, and suits a royal context. Various beads, such as the drum-type **199**, are luxurious. However, a more cautious attitude is assumed with jewels because of their portability and attractiveness.

None of the 1958 purchases below have the high quality of the earlier material, although typologically they are Tutmoside in date.

### VESSELS AND LIDS

#### OINTMENT STORAGE JARS AND LIDS

**Two ointment jars (166–7);** see p. 256

##### *Provenance*

Standard early provenance.

##### *Previous assessment*

Winlock doubted the provenance of the first jar because of its quality as well as the lack of inscription and gold foil. He accepted the second jar, although it is similar in character.

##### **166** DARK STONE OINTMENT JAR

Figs. 194 (right), 197 (left)

MMA 26.8.4 (P 2).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Serpentinite of olive, camel, black tones.

DIMENSIONS H 11.8, rim Diam 9.1.

MANUFACTURE Polished, including bottom of jar.

CONDITION Rim chipped, piece of edge missing.

Top of rim and interior of jar leached; staining but no residue.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 52f.

##### **167** LIGHT STONE OINTMENT JAR

Figs. 194 (left), 197 (right)

MMA 26.8.3 (P 1).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 22.8, rim Diam 10.3.

MANUFACTURE Polished exterior, including rim, but rim not crisply formed.

CONDITION Broken and mended, with two sections missing. Weathered within but no residue.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 56, pl. 34 (left).

#### **Two squat jars (168–9)**

##### *Provenance*

Standard early provenance.

## Chapter 6

### *Previous assessment*

Winlock considered both vessels Predynastic and, as they were purchased from a local resident, was not certain of their origin (1948: 50 note 4). His characterization of them as “small” no doubt arose from not having access to these quite large vessels while preparing his 1948 publication.

### *Current understanding*

Jars of hard stone and Archaic period shapes have been found in post-Archaic contexts, while jars of softer stone seem to have been manufactured after the Archaic period (Lilyquist 1995a: 10–2). Jar **169**, somewhat battered and not very carefully fabricated, is probably early in date but certainly could have been found in a Tuthmoside tomb; jar **168**, lacking crisp details and of soft stone, may be of Dynasty 18 manufacture.

#### **168** SOFT STONE SQUAT JAR WITH LUG HANDLES

Figs. 199 (above), 200 (right)

MMA 20.2.28 (P 16).

PROVENANCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 14.2, Diam 22.0.

MANUFACTURE Not symmetrical; not completely smoothed; rim and unpierced lugs summarily formed.

CONDITION Empty of residue except near rim; corroded and stained inside, indicating former resinous contents.

Large crystal pattern on exterior revealed by resin staining.

#### **169** HARD STONE SQUAT JAR WITH LUG HANDLES

Figs. 199 (below), 200 (left)

MMA 20.2.22 (P 15).

PROVENANCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Green and dark gray stone; probably a gneiss (Wheeler).

DIMENSIONS H 15.5, Diam 25.0.

MANUFACTURE Interior is only a little hollowed out around the shoulder, a deeper “well” is in the center; handles drilled from each end. Some of the following features are no doubt the result of poor fabrication, others of use: asymmetry, including handles; abrasion around rim; pick marks below the rim and on one of the handles; large chips of stone missing.

CONDITION Hardened dark reddish brown ointment inside, especially around the shoulder, studied by Shedrinsky.

### **Four lids (170–3); see p. 256**

#### *Provenance*

Standard early provenance.

#### *Previous assessment*

Believed to have come from Wady Qurud; most placed with ointment vessels.

Lid **170** was placed with storage jar **62**; lid **171** was placed with piriform jar **77** and later removed; lid **172** was placed with piriform jar **74**; lid **173** was acquired with **174**.

#### *Current understanding*

The following lids have convex top surfaces, wide stoppers, and are thick in comparison to lids for standard cosmetic jars. Perhaps these lids were for storage jars; as such, they could have belonged with vessels in the previous chapter.

It is not clear from resin stains that lid **170** could belong with jar **62**.

Lid **171** does not fit flush with jar **77**, and is not the same color. It could fit any serpentinite jar lacking a lid.

Lid **172** does not fit flush with **74**, and is not the same color. Its best fit is with jar **75**, although its color is different.

Lid **173** could fit jar **174**, although it is of a different stone. It also could fit jug **83** or wide-necked jar **80**.

#### **170** LIGHT-COLORED LID

Figs. 195 (right), 198 (above)

MMA 18.8.14b.

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1917.

MATERIAL Travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 1.5, Diam 7.0.

CONDITION Bottom stained in part.

#### **171** BLACK STONE LID

Figs. 195 (left), 196 (above)

MMA 26.8.16b (P 17).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Gabro (Wheeler), black.

DIMENSIONS Diam 6.4, Th 0.5.

MANUFACTURE Upper surface polished.

CONDITION Chip missing from edge. No traces of ointment.

## Catalogue Part B, Less Sure Link

### **172 GREEN STONE LID**

Figs. 195 (center rear), 196 (below)  
MMA 18.8.17b (P 166).

PROVENANCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1917.

MATERIAL Gabro (Wheeler), green mottled with black.

DIMENSIONS Diam 6.6, Th 0.5.

MANUFACTURE Polished on top and edge.

CONDITION One chip at rim, mended. No trace of ointment.

### **173 BANDED STONE LID**

Figs. 195 (center front), 198 (below)  
MMA 26.8.41 (P 3).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Travertine, fine pink banding.

DIMENSIONS Diam 7.7, Th 0.6.

MANUFACTURE Well polished.

CONDITION One chip missing at edge. No trace of ointment.

## PRECIOUS VESSELS

**Two wide-necked jars with pedestal foot (174–5);** see p. 257

### *Provenance*

Standard early provenance.

### *Previous assessment*

Winlock was unsure that these vessels belonged to the tomb, due to their quality and lack of inscriptions and gold trim (1948: 52f.). Jar **174** was placed with lid **98** and later removed. Jar **175** was acquired with lid **99** but also separated.

### *Current understanding*

For jar **174**, see discussion of **173**.

### **174 BROAD JAR WITH WIDE NECK**

Fig. 201 (left)  
MMA 26.8.29a (P 3).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Crystalline and banded travertine.

DIMENSIONS H 8.3, Diam 9.3.

MANUFACTURE Broadly worked, the details soft. Interior floor drilled; exterior has ring foot, drilled in center.

CONDITION Interior clean but stained and pitted.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Lilyquist 1995a: no. R where the lid is associated with jar **98**.

### **175 NARROW JAR WITH WIDE NECK**

Fig. 201 (right)  
MMA 26.8.32a (P 66).

SOURCE Purchases, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIALS Banded and crystalline travertine.

DIMENSIONS H without lid 9.3, Diam 6.0.

MANUFACTURE Not particularly well shaped; thickness of rim not even. Base is a ring foot, with concave area marked by drill lines.

CONDITION Interior clean but weathered and stained.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Lilyquist 1995a: no. S where the lid is associated with jar **99**.

## JEWELRY

### HEAD ORNAMENTS

**Earrings and hair ring (176–9);** see p. 259

### *Provenance*

All five ornaments are later purchases.

### *Previous assessment*

N. Scott believed all ornaments came from Wady D1.

### *Current understanding*

The ridged examples below are similar to **109–13**, but lack ornaments and are less substantial. They could, however, date to the Tuthmoside period. Earring **176** has a comparative example in the British Museum (Tait 1976: 62 no. 55c).

Hair rings with blunt ends were found in late Dynasty 17–early Dynasty 18 Assasif burials by Lansing (Lansing 1917, tomb R4-C1; MMA 16.10.312, .313) and by Carnarvon-Carter (Birabi, MMA 26.7.1324–.1329).

## Chapter 6

### **176 BEADED EARRING**

Fig. 203 (right)

MMA 58.153.6.

SOURCE Purchase, Frederick P. Huntley Bequest, 1958.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS W 0.9 cm, Diam, 4.0.

MANUFACTURE Six-ribbed type. Beaded wire inserted between central two ribs just before they project from rest of ring.

CONDITION Generally good but has some dents.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Hayes 1959a.

### **177 PAIR OF RIDGED EARRINGS**

Fig. 202

MMA 63.15.2, .3.

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1962.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS W 0.9 and 1.0, Diam 3.2.

MANUFACTURE Six ribs, the central two projecting.

CONDITION Dented; reddish surface.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Hayes 1963: 66.

### **178 RIDGED EARRING**

Fig. 203 (left)

MMA 58.153.5

SOURCE Purchase, Frederick P. Huntley Bequest, 1958.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS W 0.95, Diam 3.3.

MANUFACTURE As pair 177 but with slight variations. Gold not as red; outer surface of tubes presumably overheated; inner surface has delamination.

CONDITION Dents.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Hayes 1959a.

### **179 HAIR RING**

Fig. 204

MMA 58.153.15.

SOURCE Purchase, Frederick P. Huntley Bequest, 1958.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS Th 0.4, Diam 1.8.

MANUFACTURE Probably an inner copper-alloy ring with gold foil burnished over it; some soldering visible at ends.

CONDITION Good; inner surface obscured by gray corrosion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Hayes 1959a.

## **BODY ORNAMENTS**

**Seven pendants (180–6);** see pp. 114, 259

### *Provenance*

Standard early provenance.

### *Previous assessment*

Winlock believed that all ornaments came from the tomb, although he initially doubted granulated tube pendant 185 because of its silvery color (1948: 26, followed by Hayes 1959b: 133f.). He did not query their Middle Kingdom associations, and guessed that the spiral pendant must be related to the granulated tube pendants, with wear on its suspension ring an indication of use. In 1976, while working for the MMA, Bruce Williams doubted that the shell pendants 180–1, tube pendants 182–5, and inlaid spiral 186 would have been in this Dynasty 18 tomb.

### *Current understanding*

Proof that at least two Middle Kingdom types lasted into Dynasty 18 comes from Chaban's excavations. The first is the ball bead with metal caps, represented in Wady D1 by two vitreous examples with metal tubes that were presumably once equipped with metal caps (p. 31). Although this bead type is usually assigned to the late Middle Kingdom (C. Andrews 1981: Appendix W), a felspar and gold example was found in Carnarvon-Carter's tomb 70 in the Assasif (MMA 26.7.1345) and a carnelian and gold example inscribed "divine wife, Nefertary" is in the MMA (30.8.342). A variety of beads had metal tubes in Maiherpri's tomb (Daressy 1902b: 30 no. 24068bis c–d).

The second "Middle Kingdom" type Chaban found is the acacia-seed bead (pp. 29f.); see C. Andrews 1981: Appendix U). These are of glass, thus date to Dynasty 18.

Other Middle Kingdom jewel-types associated with Wady D1 are:

bivalve pendants (C. Andrews 1981: Appendixes H, J; A. Wilkinson 1971: 60f.);

granulated tube pendants (C. Andrews 1981: Appendix E; C. Williams 1924: 49–54; Aldred 1971: 162; A. Wilkinson 1971: 55, 208 note 1; Ogden 1973, 1992: 52).

Metal bivalve pendants certainly occur in Dynasties 13–7 (Lilyquist 1993c: 47f.; Petrie 1914: 26, pl.14.112d). Abydos tomb E108, assigned to the 13th dynasty, yielded both types as well as ridged bracelets—that perhaps link to earrings of Tuthmoside times, see 109–13—and inlaid fish (see 225). One of Passalacqua's early New Kingdom graves at Thebes had a metal bivalve example with stone *Conus*-shells (cf. 197), but the grave was otherwise not described (Möller 1910: 18 no. 13). That the form still had meaning by the time of Tutankhamun is shown by a ridged *Petunculus*-shell edged with gold (Carter 620[71]; TAA neg. 90).



## Catalogue Part B, Less Sure Link

As for granulated tube pendants, although mainly associated with the late Middle Kingdom, C. Williams thought they extended into the New Kingdom (1924: 54); indeed, individual members of this class have different characteristics. Tubes from post-Middle Kingdom contexts at Kerma and Semna, for example, have a coarse quality (Lilyquist 1993b: 37f.), and the largest example of the type (in the British Museum, unprovenanced; C. Andrews 1981: no. 397) is massive compared to the smaller and more delicate examples with sparse wire-wrapped granules. The largest example below is impressive in quality and scale, the second largest a bit less so; the remaining two, and parts of three others seen with Wady Qurud material in the 1980s, are less impressive yet (p. 114). Curiously, no granulated tubes with an excavated Theban provenance have been located. Thus, while size and quality prompt an association of the first two with the Wady Qurud, it is perhaps safer to place all the tubes here in the “maybe” category.

The Egyptian blue-inlaid spiral pendant appears to have no parallels whatsoever. In the Middle Kingdom there are tube pendants comprised of stacked disks of stone and gold, pendants of alternating colored ball beads, and pendants comprised of a plain stone cylinder or a section of gold braid. There is also a tube pendant with wire wrapped around the exterior (Engelbach and Gunn 1923: 13 §57, pl. 22) and another which is simply a wire spiral with suspension cap (Peet 1914: 45 tomb 44, pl. 9.2). Finally, there are vitreous tubular beads from the Middle Kingdom shaped with a spiral design (MMA 22.1.1354 from LNP *radim*). Nevertheless, no exact parallel has been found for this pendant. The quality and scale, however, combined with the standard early provenance, suggest Wady Qurud.

### 180 BIVALVE PENDANT

Fig. 205 (right)

MMA 26.8.71 (P 51).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H 7.7.

MANUFACTURE Convex/concave shell with suspension effected by scored loop fused to top. The ends of the loop do not meet; on the exterior, at the back, there is a circle of gold opposite the loop, and the point of attachment is reinforced by a strip.

CONDITION Tear in shell near top; reddish film with fingerprints in it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 25, pl. 12b; Hayes 1959b: 133.

### 181 SMALL BIVALVE PENDANT

Fig. 205 (left)

MMA 26.8.72 (P 98).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Electrum (see Appendix 2).

DIMENSIONS H 4.9.

MANUFACTURE Convex/concave shell with suspension effected by scored loop fused to front and back surfaces of shell. Reinforcement strip along front seam modern?

BIBLIOGRAPHY Lansing 1940: pl. 9; Winlock 1948: 25, pl. 12a.

### 182 LARGE TUBE PENDANT

Fig. 206 (left)

MMA 26.8.76a, b (P 49).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Gold, copper alloy.

DIMENSIONS H 5.5.

MANUFACTURE Gold tube with lengthwise seam contains an inner tube of copper alloy. Outer tube is decorated with nine rows of twelve rings; a granule is fused in each. Cap at either end of tube is comprised of a disk fused to a truncated cone. Scored suspension tube on top surface is set towards edge.

CONDITION Top cap dented, bottom has losses. Gold bright, probably from cleaning.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Lansing 1940: pl. 9; Winlock 1948: pls. 12d, 42c (a rather schematic drawing); Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 193 (left).

### 183 MEDIUM-SIZED TUBE AMULET

Fig. 206 (second from left)

MMA 26.8.77a, b (P 48).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIALS Gold, copper alloy.

DIMENSIONS H 4.8.

MANUFACTURE As 182, but with seven rows of thirteen rings holding granules. Caps not as neatly braised, with disk on top example separated from its flared sides, and suspension loop a curl of metal—reinforced by an ancient coupon—placed toward edge.

CONDITION Some rings and balls missing. Gold bright, probably cleaned.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 12g; Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 193 (right).

### 184 REDDISH TUBE PENDANT

Fig. 206 (third from left)

MMA 26.8.78 (P 154).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H 4.4.

MANUFACTURE Caps not removable, therefore interior uncertain. Exterior decorated with six rows of rings and granules. Disk of top cap separated from sides; loop placed towards edge.

CONDITION Reddish film. Some rings and granules bent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 12f; Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 193 (second from right).

### 185 SILVERY TUBE PENDANT

Figs. 88b (right), 206 (right)

MMA 26.8.79 (P 97).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Probably electrum.

DIMENSIONS H 3.95.

MANUFACTURE The tube, joined along its length, has five rows of granules, one row on the seam. In each row, pairs of granules are linked by spiral wires. There appears to be a metal tube inside; the remaining cap has no evidence of a suspension ring.

CONDITION Only one cap preserved; several spiral wires missing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 42e; Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 193 (second from left).

## Chapter 6

### **186 INLAID SPIRAL PENDANT**

Fig. 207

MMA 26.8.137 (P 140).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIALS Gold, Egyptian blue.

DIMENSIONS H 7.41.

MANUFACTURE Main part is a central tube that appears to be a thin metal sheet with overlapping seam. Both ends of this tube are closed off, that above by a cap with a suspension loop in its top surface, that below with what

appears to be a disk with a concave center. The tube has a punched hole in its side, presumably to allow air flow when the pendant was fused from parts. A thick strip of gold sheet is wound around the tube between the caps, not completely symmetrically. This strip does not always lie flat against the tube, and between the strip and the tube are traces of Egyptian blue. As a whole, the object tapers slightly from top to bottom. When intact, the pendant was a long, thin, slightly tapered spiral of blue and gold.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 130.

**Girdle (187);** see p. 260

#### *Provenance*

The wallet spacers are a later purchase. The ring beads have a standard early provenance; for their origin see p. 171.

#### *Previous assessment*

N. Scott believed the spacers had come from Wady D1; when acquired, they were strung with bright faience beads.

#### *Current understanding*

These wallet spacers are much less substantial than those of **135** and may be of later date. Similar examples from a Saqqara magazine, and now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, are slightly smaller (JdE 86702).

The faience beads originally accompanying the spacers have Nubian C-Group parallels (see Reisner 1910: pl. 69b.6 for the type).

### **187 WALLET-SPACER GIRDLE**

Fig. 211

MMA 58.153.8 (seven) and 66.2.3a (eighteen).

SOURCE Purchases: Frederick P. Huntley Bequest, 1958; Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1966. Ring beads (P 55) Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919; see p. 171.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS L as strung 83.1, L of one element 1.1.

MANUFACTURE Twenty-five three-hole spacers, pressed

from a die; two rows of beading along edge. Gold is thin, uneven, and porous, as seen in Carnarvon-Carter wallet spacers (MMA 26.7.1377). Section showed coppery oxidized layer on surface: brazing alloy? (Cleveland/Grossbard).

CONDITION Often crushed; numerous cracks along top edge. Reddish accretion along beading. File marks, modern repairs. Surfaces pebbly: the result of cleaning in sodium cyanide? (Cleveland/Grossbard).

BIBLIOGRAPHY Müller and Thiem 1998: figs. 357–8.

## **LOOSE PARTS**

**Three amulets (188–90);** see p. 260

#### *Provenance*

The scarab and eye-bead have the standard early provenance; the seal amulet is a later purchase.

#### *Previous assessment*

Although Winlock believed the scarab **188** had come from D1 (1948: 34), he did not publish the eye-bead that had been acquired in 1919 (**189**). Scott thought the seal amulet **190** had come from Wady D1.

#### *Current understanding*

Middle Kingdom cloisonné scarabs from Dahshur have ceramic or lapis inlays (Vernier 1907: CG 52243, 52248, 52249), and the Intef scarab ring has separately made legs (C. Andrews 1981: no. 574). A steatite scarab in Cairo with a typologically similar device was dated early Dynasty 18 by Newberry (1907: CG 37157).

The eye-bead may have come from an early Dynasty 18 string of beads and amulets.

The seal amulet may have a hedgehog on top, for which see Pinch (1993: 286, pl. 8.58). A steatite example in a gold mount was in Lansing's Assasif tomb 5A.R12.C1 (Cairo JdE 45693).

## Catalogue Part B, Less Sure Link

### **188** INLAID SCARAB, PRESUMABLY FOR RING

Fig. 208

MMA 26.8.136 (P 47).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Electrum (visual identification).

DIMENSIONS L 1.25.

MANUFACTURE The object is made of a number of parts.

An oval base plate has a strip fused around the circumference to form a perpendicular wall (the strip extends above and below the plate). On the bottom surface, wires form a scroll border and a *nfr*-sign; the “ticks” at the top of the windpipe are made of two Vs. The upper surface of the oval base plate holds a constructed scarab.

The bottom of the insect is a flat plate, and its body, head, and inner divisions are made up of perpendicular strips. The back edge of the head is beaded, as are the suture and the wall dividing pronotum and elytra. Six wire legs are joined to the bottom of the scarab; the front two are serrated. Between the scarab and base plate is a lengthwise tube terminated by rings.

CONDITION All inlay missing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 19a.

### **189** *Wd3T*-EYE BEAD

Fig. 209

MMA 26.8.138 (P 52).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS W 1.25.

MANUFACTURE The bead was made in two halves; a wire attached along the bottom forms the falcon’s markings.

CONDITION The wire was found in 1987 in a box of beads left from early purchases.

### **190** SEAL AMULET

Fig. 210

MMA 58.153.23.

SOURCE Purchase, Frederick P. Huntley Bequest, 1958.

MATERIAL Glazed steatite.

DIMENSIONS L 0.6.

MANUFACTURE Animal crouches, facing front, its limbs undelineated. Large ears; hatching on back. Quatrefoil and uraeus design on base.

## **Four groups of spacers (191–4); see p. 260**

### *Provenance*

The first two entries have the standard early provenance; the last two entires—matching early purchases—were acquired in the 1980s.

### *Previous assessment*

Groups **191–2** were thought to come from Wady Qurud; spacers **191** were used in the cat and lion armlets **137–8**.

### *Current understanding*

All spacers are of high quality work. While the barrel bead spacers **191** were probably for bracelets or armlets, the ring bead spacers **192–4** could have also been used in girdles, necklaces, or bands for pectorals.

Tutankhamun’s jewelry has three- and five-ring spacers; five-ring examples were also found at Dahshur. Chaban found a seven-ring spacer: H 1.2, ring Diam 0.2 (p. 30). The seven-ring bead spacers below, now lost, were recorded as being the size of Chaban’s, but there is no way to be more specific now.

### **191** THREE GROUPS OF BARREL BEAD SPACERS

Fig. 212

MMA 26.8.121f–h.

SOURCE Purchases; see feline armlets **137–8**.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS f, one seven-bead spacer: L 2.1;

g, one three-bead spacer: L 0.85;

h, two two-bead spacers: L 0.65.

MANUFACTURE Smoothly shaped and burnished; the two- and three-bead spacers are complete.

CONDITION Previously in feline armlets. Although there are barrel as well as biconical beads in the spacers of those reconstructed armlets, the barrels here are smoother and more finely made.

Seven-ring spacers (seven; four complete; all now lost): spacer H 1.1.

Three-ring spacers (three): spacer H 0.5, Diam of ring 0.1.

MANUFACTURE Each spacer is a series of rings fused together.

### **193** THIRTEEN SEVEN-RING SPACERS

Fig. 213 (center)

MMA 1987.399.1h.

SOURCE Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1987.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H of spacer 1.4 (ten complete), Diam of bead 0.1.

MANUFACTURE These match the largest size of spacers in **192**.

### **192** THREE TYPES OF RING BEAD SPACERS

Fig. 213 (left)

MMA 26.8.211.

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919–21.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS Seven-ring spacers (nine; five complete): spacer H 1.5, Diam of ring 0.2.

### **194** FOUR THREE-RING SPACERS

Fig. 213 (right)

MMA 1987.399.1k.

SOURCE Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1987.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H of spacer 0.6, Diam of bead 0.2.

MANUFACTURE These match the spacers of **198**.

## Chapter 6

### **Eighteen groups of beads (195–212); see pp. 261–3**

#### *Provenance*

Groups **199–201** and **211** contain later beads mixed with early purchases; **207–8**, **210**, and **212** are later purchases; the remainder have the standard early provenance, and were purchased in the following lots:

- P 55, Fletcher Fund 1919: “seven small lots of gold and stone beads, including . . . gold ball and drum-shaped beads, tiny gold ring beads, carnelian beads”;
- P 101, Fletcher Fund 1920: “three lots of gold and semi-precious stone beads”;
- P 148, Fletcher Fund 1921: “miscellaneous gold and stone beads . . . [including] six gold drum-shaped beads”;
- P 181, Rogers Fund 1922: “collection of beads, 198 inches.”

Only the gold rings find parallels in excavated objects; Chaban collected two of them: W 0.2, Diam 0.4 (p. 31). Carter saw two strings of “gold cylindrical beads (about size of diary)” with Jusef Hassan on October 11, 1916 (p. 48).

#### *Previous assessment*

All groups were thought to have come from Wady Qurud. The gold ring beads **206–12** had been used in a variety of early reconstructions (see p. 171).

#### *Current understanding*

Loose beads have been the most problematic jewelry items to reconstruct. Some types are substantial enough to hypothesize that they formed homogenous groups (**195–6**, **199–201**, **205–6**, and **209–12**), but they may originally have been intermixed with other types. As no information exists to resolve this question, types have simply been strung together and illustrated vertically to lessen the impression that they were necklaces.

Evidence from excavations indicates that bead types were usually mixed together. According to Elliot Smith, for instance, the mummy of Tuthmosis III had

the remains of two strings of beads . . . on the front of each shoulder . . . upon the inner most layers of bandages. One string was composed of small cylinders about one and a half millimeters in diameter with square margins: the other of beads half the size and with rounded margins. The beads consisted of carnelian, gold and lapis lazuli, in that order, in some places: in others of carnelian, gold and green felspar. (Smith 1912: 35)

Beads could also be variously strung with amulets, as seen in burials at Deir el-Ballas (Phoebe Aperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology 6–8787: carnelian necklace of thirteen shells, one scarab, one frog, and one small barrel) and Thebes (Möller 1910: 27 no. 22; Carnarvon and Carter 1912: pl. 73.50, .53, .78).

Beads could reflect foreign styles or combinations. Faience concubine figures of the Middle Kingdom, dancers at Qau, and Princess Neferura in a ritual scene are shown with many jewels on the body, and the Wady Qurud foreign women could have been variously adorned in new styles.

One bead type, the *Conus*-shell, is normally assigned an earlier date (see **197**; C. Andrews 1981: Appendix C), but Lansing found a faience example in his Dynasty 17–early Dynasty 18 tombs in the Assasif (MMA 16.10.292; 5A.R2.Gx). A necklace of the beads may be depicted in the tomb of Horemheb (Brack and Brack 1980: pl. 62a).

No precise parallels have been found for the drum beads **199**, although similar items have been noted in Palestine (Petrie 1934: pls. 18.83, 20.135) where they may have been strung on earrings (loc. cit., pl. 18.96–7).

Nor have parallels been found for the “loop-and-ring” beads, **201**. Four, larger basket-type elements were found in Hepy’s tomb (Lansing 1934: 40, fig. 37), and thirteen formally similar items, also larger, were found in Psusennes’ tomb (JdE 85845, SR 8528–40). They are not really the same.

#### **195 SEVENTY-ONE SILVERED BEADS**

Fig. 214a (left)  
MMA 26.8.205b.

SOURCE Purchase, see above.

MATERIALS Silver over a resin-like material.

DIMENSIONS L as strung 31.7.

MANUFACTURE Beads were made from two hemispheres of silver, as seen by a seam along the circumference. Where the silver is missing, the core appears to be a hard brown substance; a line incised around its circumference marks the join of the two silver halves.

CONDITION Fragile. Previously strung with **196**.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 24, pl. 14g; Hayes 1959b: 133; Aldred 1971: 215, pl. 86; Reeves 2000: 150.

## Catalogue Part B, Less Sure Link

### 196 THIRTEEN ROUNDED STONE BEADS

Fig. 214a (right)

MMA 26.8.205a.

SOURCE Purchase, as above.

MATERIAL Crystalline green stone.

DIMENSIONS L as strung, 6.5.

MANUFACTURE Some of the beads slightly faceted.

CONDITION Previously strung with 195.

BIBLIOGRAPHY As 195.

### 197 CONUS-SHELL AND DROP BEADS

Fig. 214b

MMA 26.8.63b.

SOURCE Purchase, as above.

MATERIALS Carnelian (two), lapis (four), felspar (five).

DIMENSIONS L of string 15.0.

MANUFACTURE Seven beads are *Conus*-shells (five lapis, one carnelian, one felspar); four are drop beads (one carnelian, three felspar).

CONDITION First strung with buckle 315 as a necklace, then as girdle.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 37, pl. 21.

### 198 THREE-STRAND ASSEMBLAGE

Fig. 214c

MMA 26.8.207.

SOURCE Purchase, as above.

MATERIALS Gold, carnelian, lapis.

DIMENSIONS L 13.0, W of spacers 0.5.

MANUFACTURE Each of the eight gold spacers is composed of three round gold beads fused together.

CONDITION Previously understood as a bracelet. However, the beads—strung between eight three-ring spacers—are not evenly matched in size or shape, those of carnelian being especially disparate.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 33, pl. 18c; Hayes 1959b: 134.

### 199 SIXTEEN DRUM-SHAPED BEADS

Fig. 214f

MMA 26.8.63c, including 58.153.20 (one).

SOURCE Purchases, as above and Frederick P. Huntley Bequest, 1958.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS L of string 4.5.

MANUFACTURE The beads are formed of parallel disks joined at the circumference by a perpendicular strip. Holes in the disks for stringing were made from both sides in some instances, and from one side only in others.

CONDITION Used with 315 in necklace, later in girdle (Winlock 1948: 37).

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 21.

### 200 SMALL BARREL BEADS

Fig. 214d

MMA 26.8.213b, including selective 1988.25.1 and .2 (thirty-seven).

SOURCE Purchases, as above and Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1988.

MATERIALS Gold (thirty-one), carnelian (thirteen), lapis (eleven).

DIMENSIONS L as strung 20.0.

CONDITION Strung with 202–3 about 1959, see below.

### 201 TWENTY-TWO LOOP-AND-RING BEADS

Fig. 214e

MMA 26.8.117aa (twelve), including 1987.399.1a (ten).

SOURCE Purchases, as above and Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1987.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS Bead H 0.3–0.4.

MANUFACTURE Each pendant bead comprised of a wire loop with a ring wrapped around its ends. Slightly different sizes, one with two rings. Wire is creased, twisted, overworked; Baines states that it is forged, has metal fatigue, is possibly swaged.

CONDITION Some bent. Previously strung along hairline of Great Headdress, see 114.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 16, pls. 3, 41a.

### 202 MISCELLANEOUS STONE BEADS

Fig. 215 (center)

MMA 26.8.213a.

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund.

MATERIAL Carnelian.

DIMENSIONS L of string 13.8.

CONDITION Strung about 1959 by Scott, from beads purchased earlier in century that Winlock had not used. Disassembled in 1983 and strung into three groups, see 200 and 203.

### 203 BEADS OF VARIOUS MATERIALS

Fig. 215 (right)

MMA 26.8.213c, including selective 26.8.63 and early beads not used before 1959 (turquoise glass barrel, faience barrel, glazed steatite drop).

SOURCE Purchase, as above.

MATERIALS Felspar, carnelian, glazed steatite, faience; turquoise, blue, red, and black glass.

DIMENSIONS L of string 7.0.

CONDITION Strung about 1959 with beads now catalogued 200, 202. The carnelian and glazed steatite drop-shaped beads should be for a necklace; oval and ring beads of faience and felspar are ubiquitous; a turquoise glass barrel bead could belong to the feline armlets 137–8; a faceted cobalt-colored bead is unique; transparent red and opaque black glass ball beads are post-Tuthmoside.

### 204 VARIED STONE BEADS

Fig. 215 (left)

MMA 26.8.61b (P 55).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Carnelian.

DIMENSIONS L of string 19.0.

CONDITION Previously strung in *Tilapia*-spacer girdle 136.

### 205 CYLINDER BEADS

Fig. 217

MMA 26.8.70b–d.

SOURCE For source, see p. 170 note 3.

MATERIALS Carnelian, faience.

DIMENSIONS L of strands: b (five carnelian) 2.1; c (four carnelian) 1.6; d (twenty-two faience) 7.3.

CONDITION Previously in multicolored broad collar, see pp. 169–70; faience examples may be less likely to come from Wady D1.

## Chapter 6

### **206** SMALL RING BEADS

Fig. 216 (above right)

MMA 26.8.223 (P 55, 101, 148, or 181); accessioned 1983.

SOURCE Purchases, as above.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS L of string 65.0.

### **207** SMALL RING BEADS, MMA RECENT PURCHASE

Fig. 216 (above left)

MMA 1987.399.1e (including selective 1988.25.1, .2).

SOURCE Purchases, as above and Lila Acheson Wallace Gifts, 1987 and 1988.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS L as strung 40.7.

MANUFACTURE Comparable to **206** but lighter in color.

### **208** SMALL-TO-MEDIUM RING BEADS, MMA RECENT PURCHASE

Fig. 218 (below)

MMA 1988.17e.

SOURCE Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1988.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS L of string, 28.0.

MANUFACTURE Some with rounded edges.

### **209** MEDIUM-SIZED RING BEADS

Fig. 218 (above left)

MMA 26.8.222; accessioned 1983.

SOURCE Purchases, as above.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS L as strung 1.65 m.

### **210** MEDIUM-SIZED RING BEADS, MMA RECENT PURCHASE

Fig. 218 (above right)

MMA 1987.399.1c-1.

SOURCE Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1987.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS L of string 2.7 m.

MANUFACTURE Comparable to **209** but more yellow.

### **211** LARGE RING BEADS

Fig. 216 (lower left)

MMA 26.8.64c, including selective 1988.17.

SOURCE Purchases, as above and Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1988.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS L of string 24.0, bead Diam 0.2.

CONDITION Previously strung with **304**, **316**, and **317** selective.

### **212** Large ring beads, MMA recent purchase

Fig. 216 (lower right)

MMA 1988.17d.

SOURCE Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1988.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS L of string 14.2, bead Diam 0.3.

## OBJECT OF UNDETERMINED FUNCTION

### MISCELLANEOUS ITEM

#### **Wire fitting (213);** see p. 263

##### *Provenance*

Standard early provenance.

##### *Previous assessment*

This piece was not accessioned until 1983, presumably because no place could be found for it with other pieces believed to come from Wady DI.

##### *Current understanding*

The purpose of this small wire—of thicker stock than the longer duck-headed wires **30–1** that most likely supported broad collars—is not known. A smaller, much finer wire was used to fasten Neferkhawet's heart scarab to its chain (Hayes 1935: fig. 8 [left]; Haslauer 2001b: no. 89), but the wire thickness here suggests a less delicate function. On the other hand, this wire is small for a vessel fitting (cf. Schiaparelli 1927: fig. 89); it is high quality work.

### **213** SMALL WIRE FITTING

Fig. 219

MMA 26.8.215 (P 128); accessioned 1983.

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS L 2.2, W 2.3, Th 0.25.

CATALOGUE PART B  
VESSELS AND LIDS





Fig. 194. Two ointment jars, Cats. **167** (left), **166** (right)

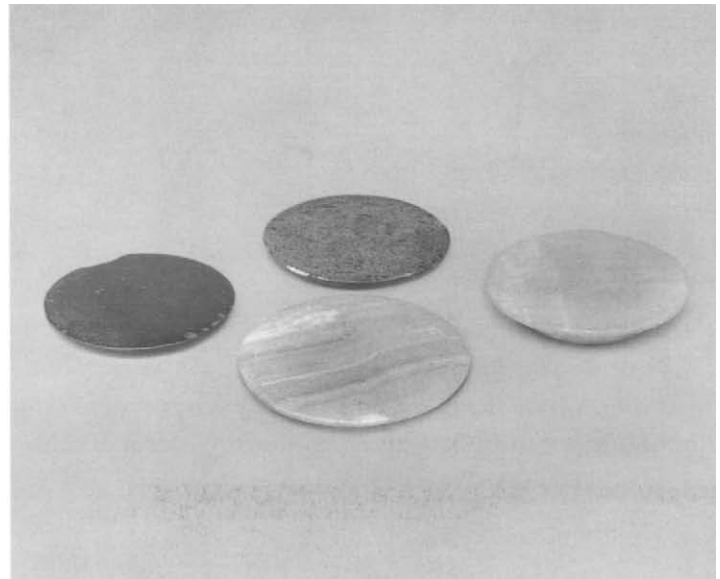


Fig. 195. Four stone lids. Cats. **171** (left), **172** (center rear), **173** (center front), **170** (right)

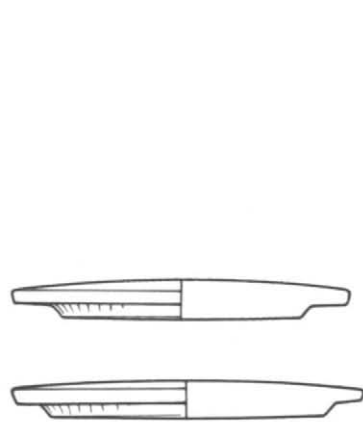


Fig. 196. Two lids, 2:3.  
Above, Cat. **171**.  
Below, Cat. **172**

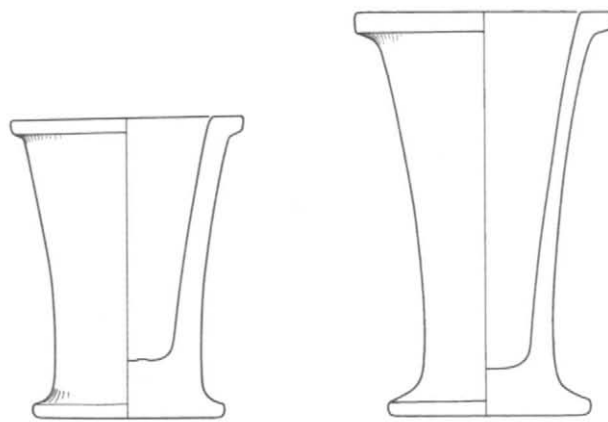


Fig. 197. Two ointment jars, 1:3. Left, Cat. **166**;  
right, Cat. **167**

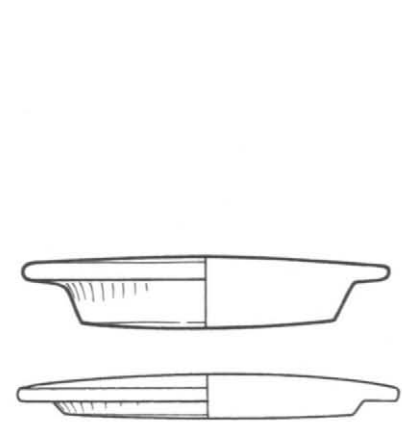


Fig. 198. Two lids, 2:3.  
Above, Cat. **170**.  
Below, Cat. **173**

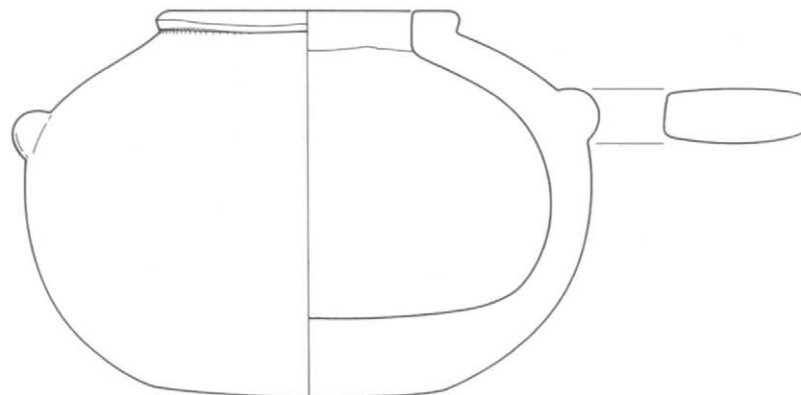


Fig. 199. Two ointment storage jars, 1:3.  
Above, Cat. **168**; below, Cat. **169**

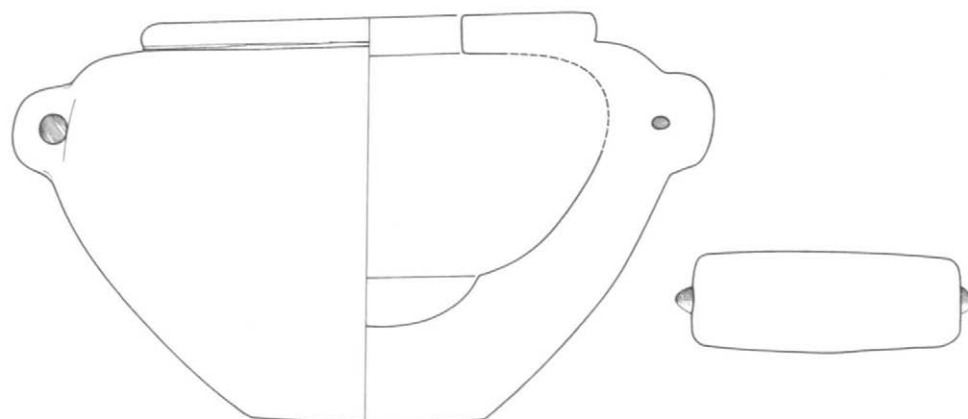




Fig. 200. Two ointment storage jars, Cats. **169** (left), **168** (right)

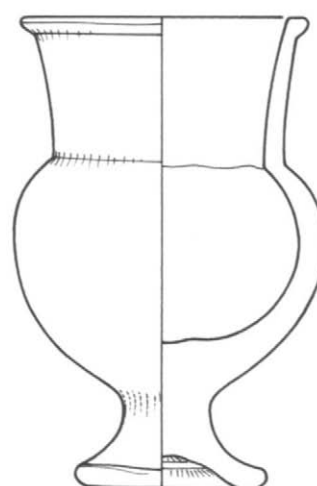


Fig. 201. Two travertine precious vessels, Cats. **174** (left, above and below), **175** (right, above and below). Drawings, 2:3

CATALOGUE PART B  
JEWELRY;  
FUNCTION NOT KNOWN

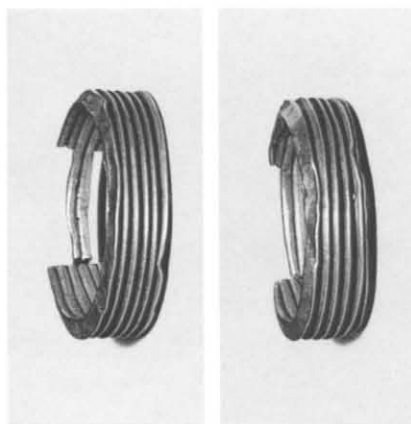


Fig. 202. Pair of earrings, Cat. 177, ca. 1:1



Fig. 203. Two individual earrings, ca. 1:1. Left, Cat. 178; right, Cat. 176



Fig. 204. Hair ring, Cat. 179, ca. 1:1



Fig. 205. Two bivalve shell pendants, 1:1. Left, Cat. 181; right, Cat. 180

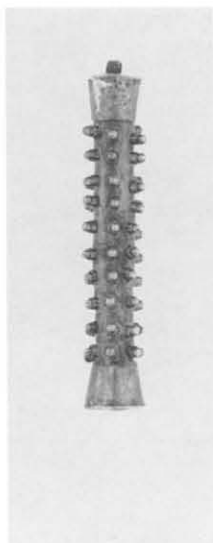
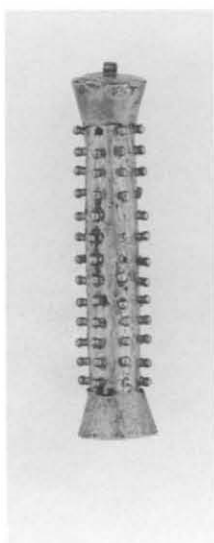
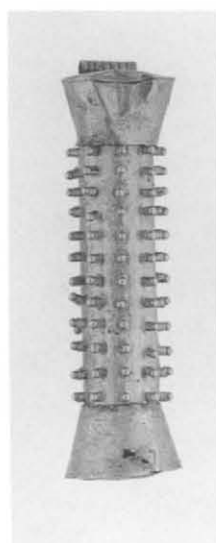


Fig. 206. Four granulated tube pendants, 1:1. Left to right: Cats. 182, 183, 184, 185



Fig. 207. Gold spiral pendant, once inlaid, Cat. 186. 1:1

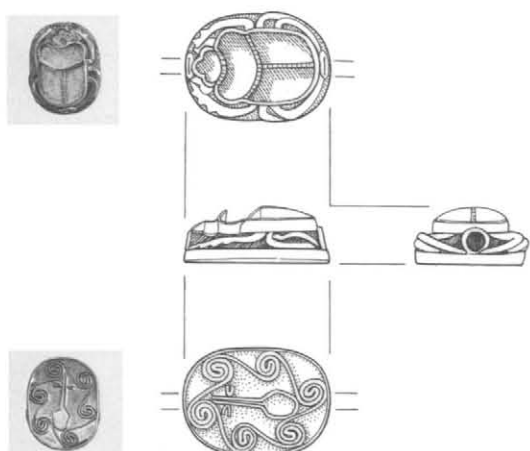


Fig. 208. Inlaid scarab, Cat. 188.  
Photos, 1:1; drawings, 1.5:1

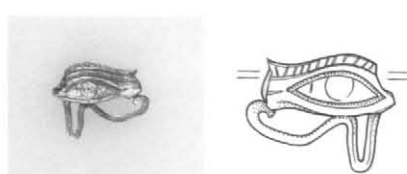


Fig. 209. *Wd3t*-eye bead,  
Cat. 189. Photograph, 1:1;  
drawing, 1.5:1

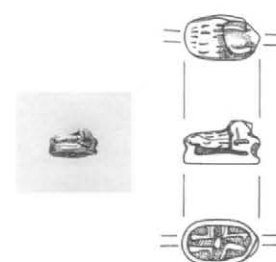


Fig. 210. Seal amulet,  
Cat. 190. Photograph,  
1:1; drawing, 1.5:1

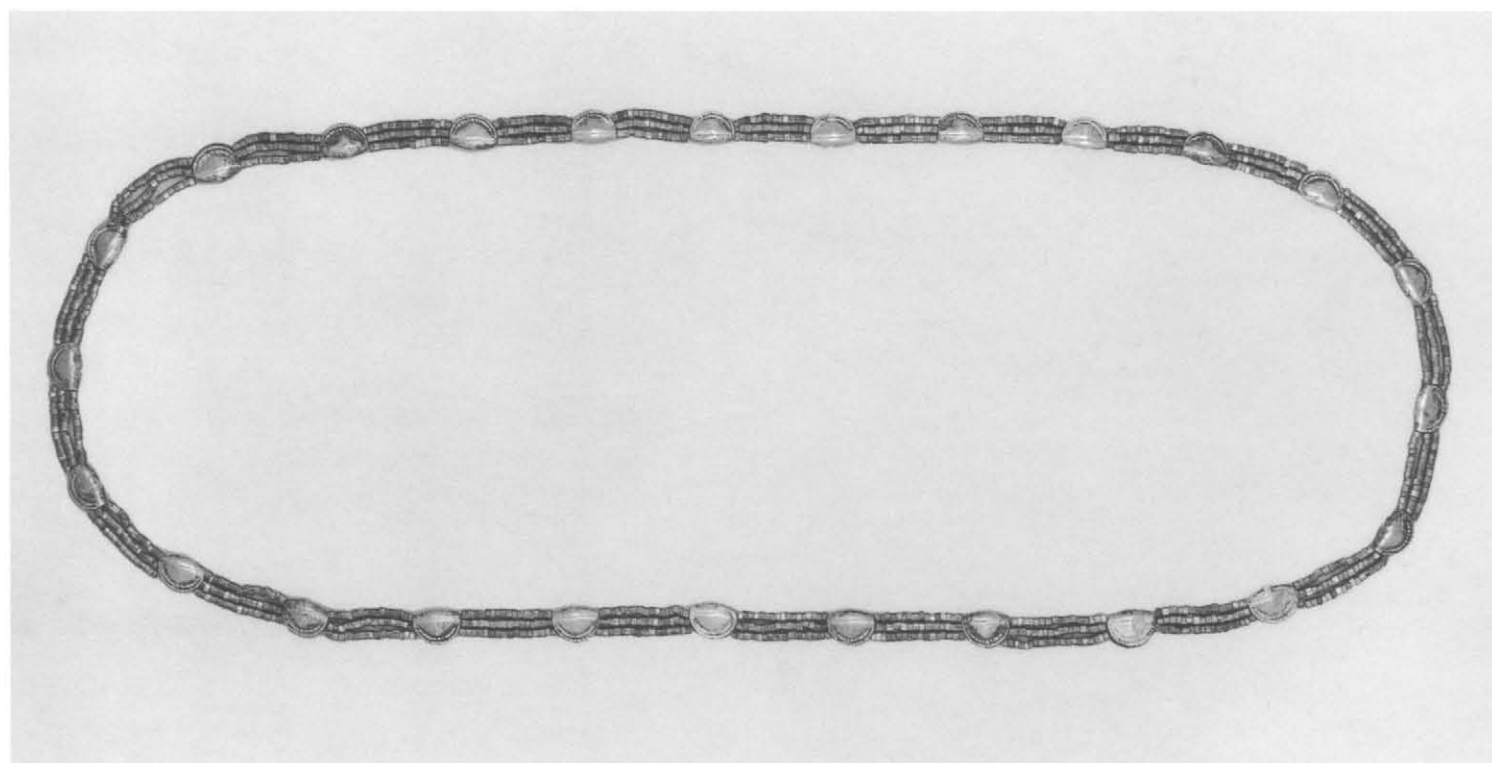


Fig. 211. Gold wallet spacer girdle, Cat. 187

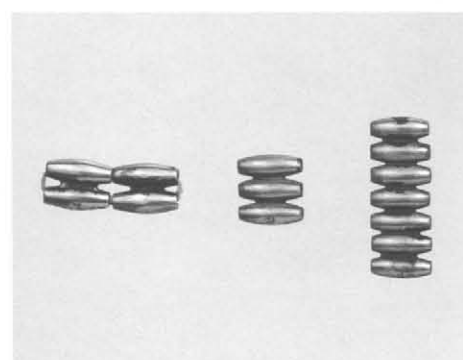


Fig. 212. Gold barrel bead spacers,  
Cat. 191. 1:1

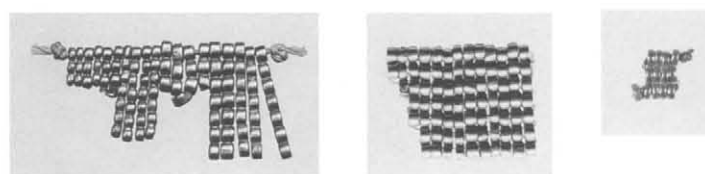
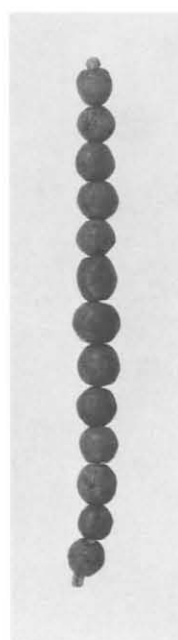


Fig. 213. Various gold ring bead spacers, 1:1. Left to  
right: Cats. 192, 193, 194



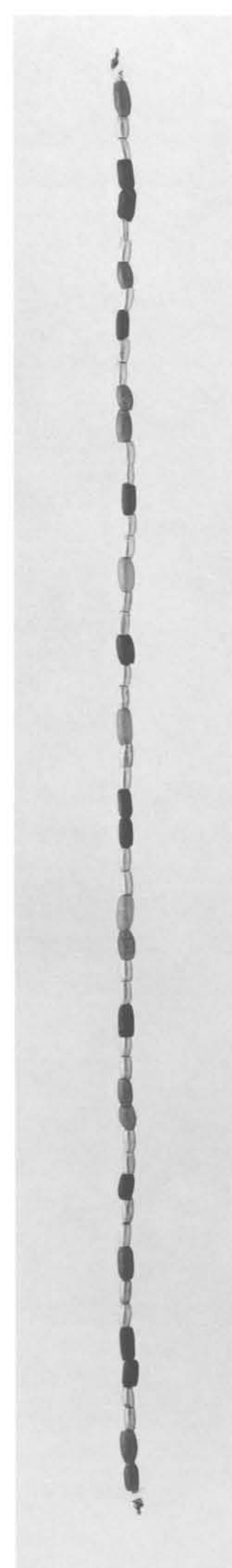
a. Left, Cat. 195.  
Above, Cat. 196



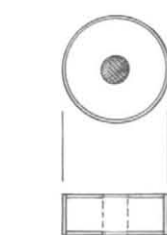
b. Cat. 197



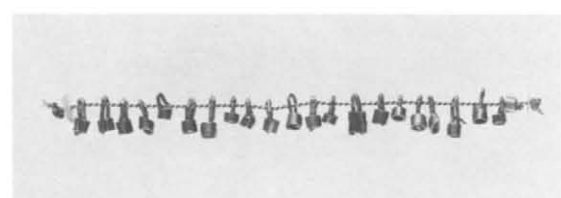
c. Cat. 198



d. Cat. 200

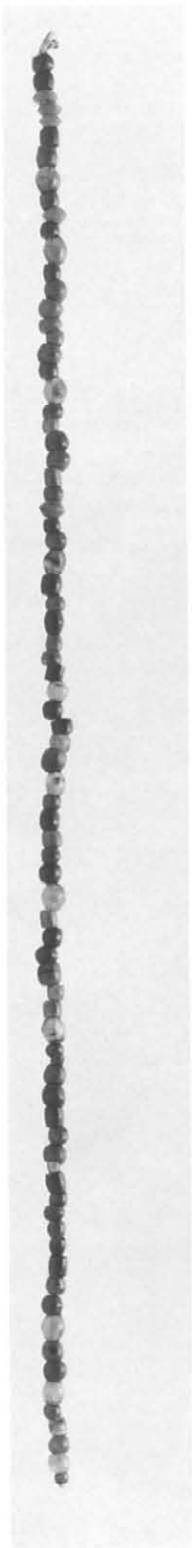


f. Cat. 199.  
Drawing, 1.5:1



e. Cat. 201

Fig. 214a-f. Photographs of seven groups of beads. 1:1



Figs. 215. Three groups of colored beads, 1:1. Left to right: Cats. 204, 202, 203

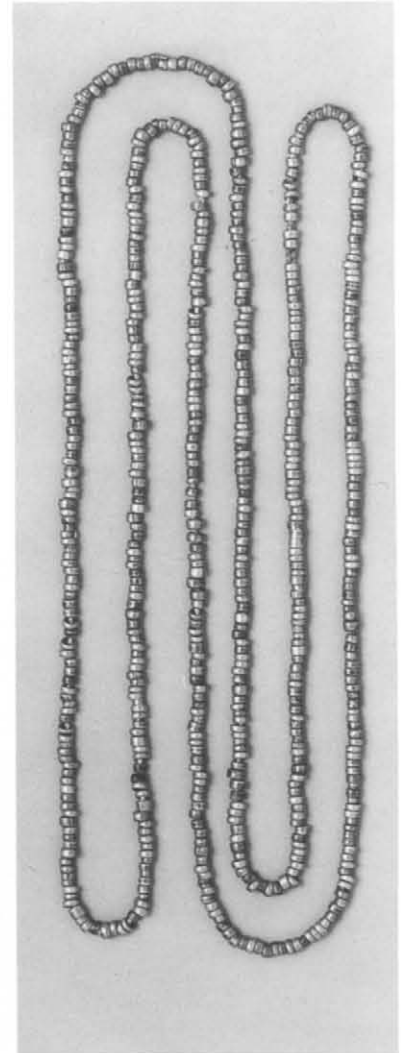
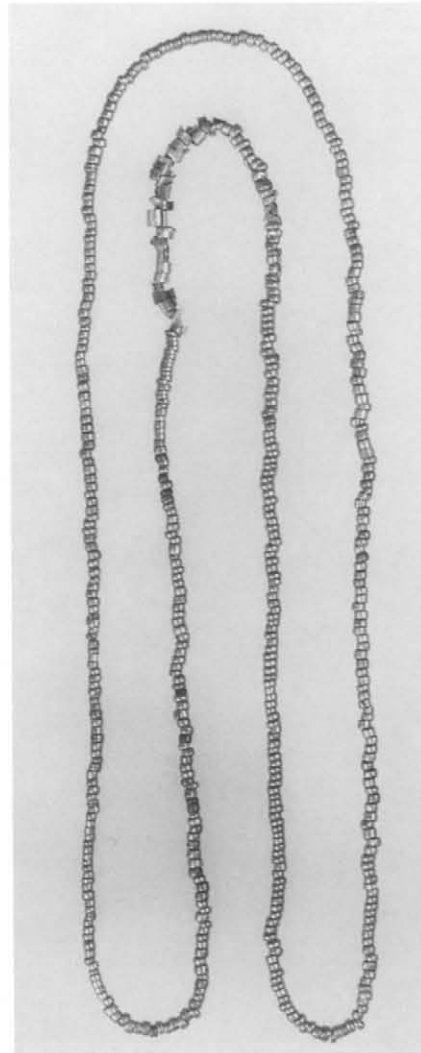


Fig. 216. Four groups of gold ring beads, 1:1. Above left, Cat. 207; above right, Cat. 206. Lower left, Cat 211; lower right, Cat. 212

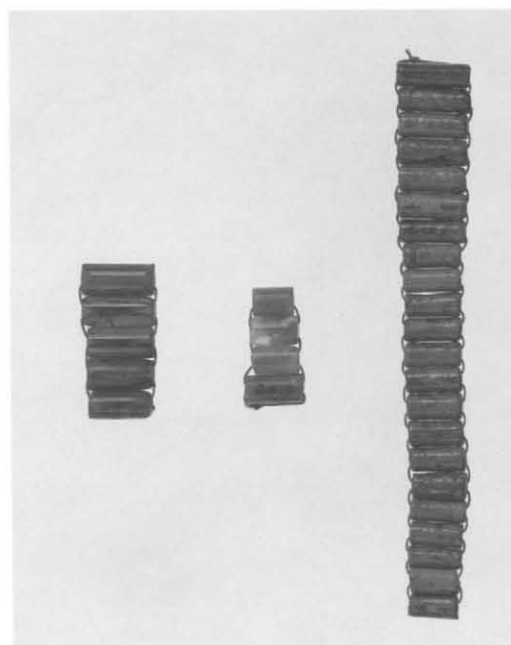
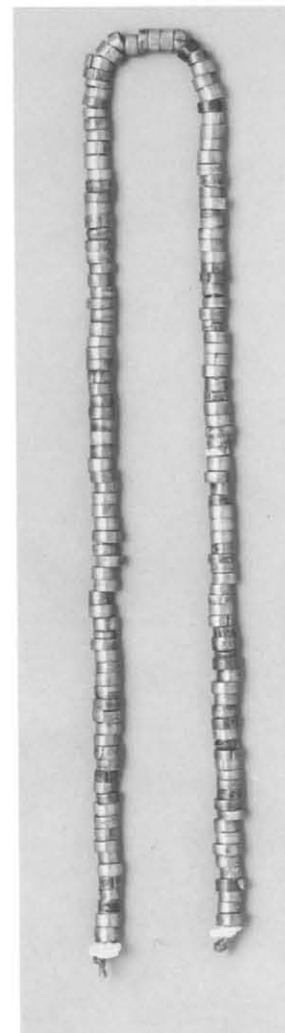


Fig. 217. Cylinder beads, Cat. 205. 1:1





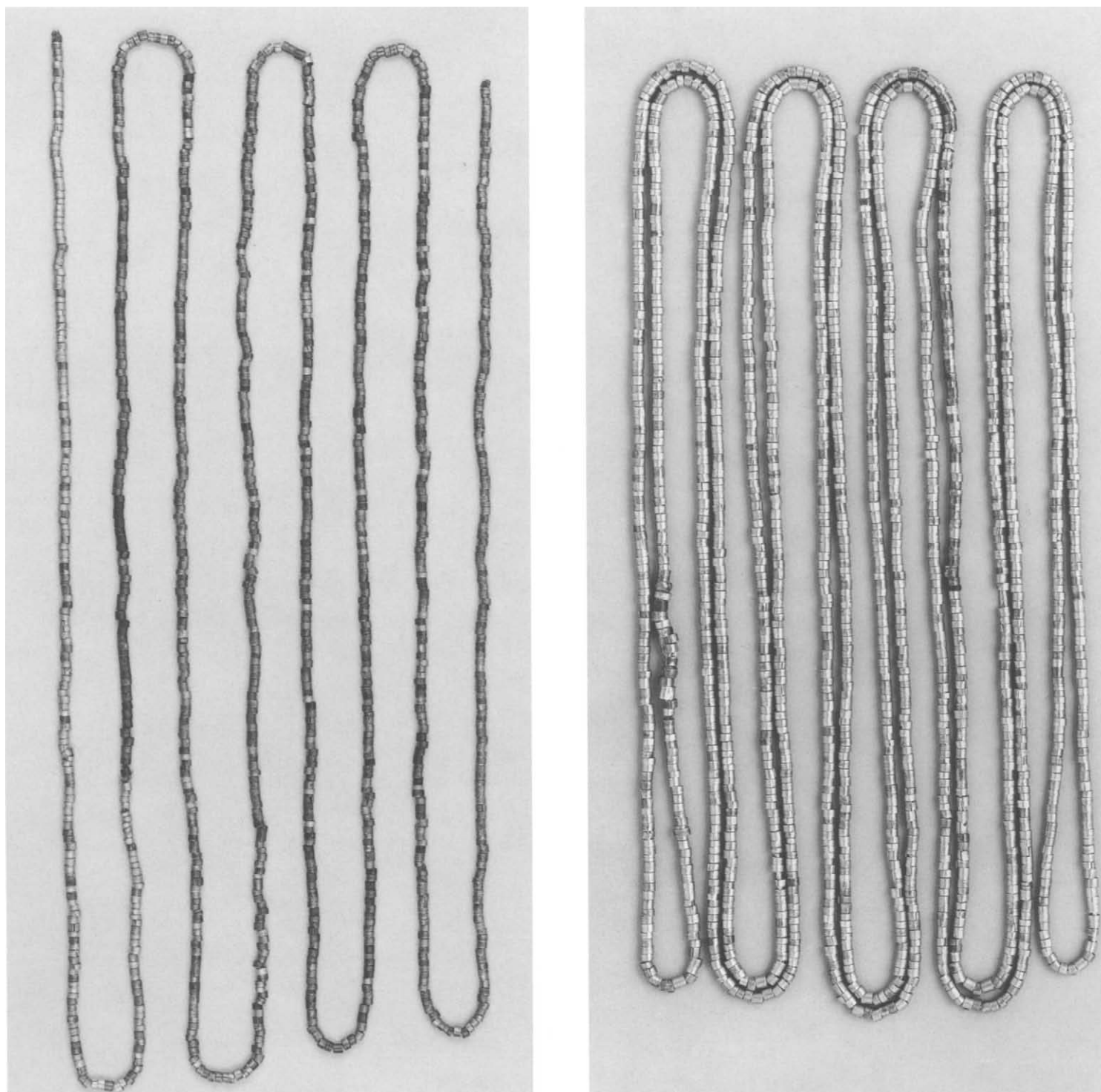


Fig. 218. Three groups of gold ring beads, 1:1. Above left, Cat. 209; above right, Cat. 210. Below, Cat. 208

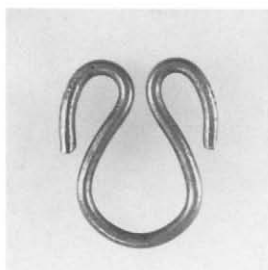
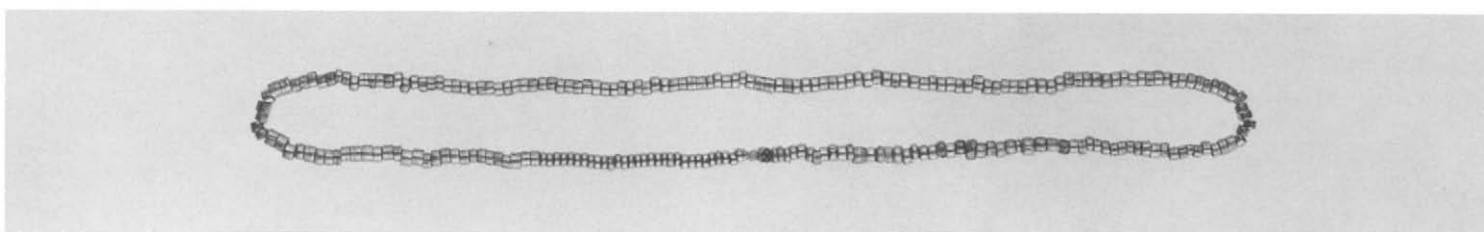


Fig. 219. Wire fitting  
Cat. 213, function  
not known. 1:1

## CHAPTER 7. CATALOGUE PART C, OBJECTS OF VARIOUS DATES (214–324)

### INDETERMINATE DATE

#### FUNERARY ITEM

**Mummy fitting, scarab (214);** see p. 310

##### *Provenance*

Standard early provenance; acquired with gold scarabs 233–4.

##### *Previous assessment*

Winlock believed the scarab was ancient but was uncertain as to how it would have been worn, due to the horizontal hole and lack of wear. In any event he believed that it was used with the very similar gold scarabs 233–4 (Winlock 1948: 27f.), now considered modern.

##### *Current understanding*

This object is weathered, but no excavated parallel was found for its shape.

The block-like form—as well as the lateral rather than axial hole—suggest use as a heart scarab; however, this usage is not supported by the small size and lack of inscription. Two lapis examples in the Oriental Museum, Durham—without provenance—are close in general shape although less than half the size: one is  $\frac{5}{8}$ " with a flat striated body, rectangular base plate, but no hole (Ruffle 1983: fig. 14 [top left], no. N. 1243; see Andrews 1994: 59 on Late period funerary scarabs). Others seen in museum collections have various features corresponding to those of the lapis example here but their provenance and date are also unknown.

Some features occur on larger scarabs that are provenanced. A composite amulet-scarab buried with Tuya has a lateral hole at the top, axial hole from top to bottom, and lateral hole near the midsection of the scarab (CG 51165, Quibell 1908: 61). These holes were no doubt meant for sewing the item to the wrapped mummy. A blue glass scarab on an inscribed felspar base—also for Tuya (CG 51164, Quibell 1908: 61)—has no hole.

#### **214 SCARAB**

Fig. 234a

MMA 26.8.90 (P 139).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL Lapis lazuli.

DIMENSIONS L 2.7, W 2.1.

MANUFACTURE Two corners of base plate fairly sharp, third chipped off, fourth abraded; originally the base was probably rectangular without the rounded corners it has now. Scarab is broad; two parallel lines divide one wing from the other and the wings from the prothorax. In side view, a deep vertical line that begins within the elytra is

evident between the legs. The forelegs merge into a “pad” in front of the beetle, the hind legs do the same at the rear. The eyes are represented only by a swelling above the clypeus, mistakenly given a definite line in the drawing here. The shape of the clypeus was apparently trapezoidal, with hatching along the edge as on the gold examples. A horizontal hole was drilled from each side toward the middle.

CONDITION Mouth of beetle and two corners of base plate chipped off. Certain amount of weathering. Incrustation in small hatched lines on bottom of base plate.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Lansing 1940: pl. 11; Winlock 1948: pl. 131; Hayes 1959b: 134.

#### JEWELRY

**Body ornament, clasps (215–7);** see p. 310

##### *Provenance*

The loop-and-pin clasps 215–6 have the standard early provenance; the box-shaped clasp 217 is a later purchase, believed by Scott to come from Wady D1.

## Catalogue Part C, Various Dates

### *Previous assessment*

Loop-and-pin clasp **216** was originally understood as part of a belt that included ancient acacia beads **151–2**, reproduction acacias, and gold acacia spacer-bars now considered modern (**311–3**; Winlock 1948: 35f.). In 1959, when 205 individual gold acacia beads were purchased (**321**), N. Scott put all the various parts together with matching clasp **215** to form two ornaments. These were identified as girdles by Scott and Wilkinson (A. Wilkinson 1971: 135, pl. 47c for Scott's 26.8.118a), and belts by Aldred (1971: 207, pl. 63 for Scott's 26.8.118a).

### *Current understanding*

The loop-and-pin clasp type of **215–6** is known in the Middle and New Kingdoms (Vernier 1907: CG 52051, 52071). The examples here accommodate seven strings, with the two outer holes near the ends and the other holes fairly equally spaced. A bracelet from the tomb of Tutankhamun shows an outer row of small beads projecting beyond the edges of its clasp (Carter 256qq: TAA neg. 259). This is the only bead arrangement that seems possible with the clasps below; their height would not have been practical for either belts or girdles.

The composition of the metal and solders of **216** is similar to gazelle diadem **108** as well as to the gold sheet ornaments **230–2** that are considered modern (Appendix 2); thus, analyses added little to resolution. There is much wear and surface silver-gold sulfide; on the other hand, many coupons are noticeable, especially on **215** (for coupons and soldering, see pp. 122, 274–7). There are also two series of scratched lines there: one running lengthwise on the surface, and another overlaying it, diagonal and less regular.

As for the box-shaped clasp **217**, no ancient excavated parallels have been located, nor have Islamic parallels been found.

#### **215** LOOP-AND-PIN CLASP

Fig. 234c (left)

MMA 26.8.118f, g (P 134 or 135).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL A silvery gold (see Appendix 2).

DIMENSIONS H 7.4, W 0.6, Depth ca. 0.3. Holes ca. 1.2 apart, center to center; outer holes ca. 0.3–3.5 from each end. Halves ca. 1.3 wide when closed.

MANUFACTURE Narrow strip of metal rolled into a tube and flattened, a fused seam at one end. Fused to one long side is a plate with seven holes punched into it, one of them reinforced with a modern drill. Join of plate and tube was by means of coupons, parts of which are still visible at the seam. Placed into opposite, open end of tube are U-shaped strips, projecting from each half (three on one half, four on the other); coupons helped attach these strips. At top and bottom of each clasp half there is a notch; this notch would have accommodated the head of a pin slid through the U-shaped loops when they were intermeshed.

CONDITION Signs of wear; sulfide deposits; some parallel lines of abrasion. Winlock 1948: 35 states pins were silver.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 20b.

#### **216** MORE NARROW LOOP-AND-PIN CLASP

Fig. 234c (center and right)

MMA 26.8.119a, b (P 134 or 135).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H 7.55, W 0.5, Depth 0.4. Halves ca. 1.0 wide when closed.

MANUFACTURE Constructed as **215**.

CONDITION As **215**. Winlock states that pins were silver.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 20a.

#### **217** BOX-SHAPED CLASP

Fig. 234d

MMA 58.153.16.

SOURCE Purchase, Frederick P. Huntley Bequest, 1958.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H 1.5, W 0.6.

MANUFACTURE One half consists of gold sheet 1.1 wide folded into a tube and then flattened, a seam along the short end (Fig. 234d [left]). One of the resulting long ends was kept open, the other closed by a plate into which seven holes were punched; these holes were for seven strings of beads. The other half of the clasp (Fig. 234d [right]) was made similarly but its tube was slightly smaller so that it could fit into the first half. Midway along both units holes were made at both short ends; they were to hold a locking pin now absent. Drops of solder.

CONDITION File marks; dented and torn.

## OBJECTS OF UNDETERMINED FUNCTION

**Six models(?) or fittings (218–22); see p. 310**

### *Provenance*

Standard early provenance.

## Chapter 7

### *Previous assessment*

Winlock was uncertain of the date as well as the provenance of the pieces, but considered them unfinished vessels (1948: 53).

### *Current understanding*

The objects are basically of two sizes; all have been drilled in the smaller, or “top” end. In the two largest examples, the “bottom” end is rounded, but on the smaller examples it is flattened and shows a drill mark, with core still in place. The stone is amethystine quartz with a certain amount of iron in it, hence there are reddish patches here and there, and there appears to be staining from ground substances following long burial (Stone). The stone is not high quality, although some fissures are presumably the result of stone working. Conchoidal fractures and peck marks on the surface, as well as the use of a tubular drill, indicate ancient workmanship, but little of the surface was ground (the most labor-intensive part of manufacture, according to Stone). The objects therefore seem to be in an intermediate stage, rejected because of the quality of the stone.

The objects appear weathered. Still, their use is not apparent, and their provenance unsure. If ancient, they are not respectable royal tomb items, seemingly more the product of a manufacturing site.

#### **218 TALL UNFINISHED OBJECT**

Fig. 234b (center)

MMA 26.8.25 (P 24).

MATERIAL Amethystine quartz.

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

DIMENSIONS H 6.6, Diam of hole 1.3.

MANUFACTURE Drill hole in top off center; surface there is ground.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 38b (center).

#### **219 TALL, THIN UNFINISHED OBJECT**

Fig. 234b (second from left)

MMA 26.8.24 (P 23).

MATERIAL Amethystine quartz.

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

DIMENSIONS H 6.4, Diam of hole 1.2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 38b (second from left).

#### **220 THINNEST UNFINISHED OBJECT**

Fig. 234b (second from right)

MMA 26.8.26 (P 21).

MATERIAL Amethystine quartz.

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

DIMENSIONS H 4.75, Diam of hole 1.0.

MANUFACTURE The thinnest of the smaller type. Top surface polished. Bottom drilled, a little of core's surface broken off.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 38b (second from right).

#### **221 SHORT UNFINISHED OBJECT**

Fig. 234b (left)

MMA 26.8.27 (P 22).

MATERIAL Amethystine quartz.

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

DIMENSIONS H 4.4, Diam of hole 1.1.

MANUFACTURE Hole in top slightly off center; bottom as **220**.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 38b (left).

#### **222 SHORTEST UNFINISHED OBJECT**

Fig. 234b (right)

MMA 26.8.28 (P 20).

MATERIAL Amethystine quartz.

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

DIMENSIONS H 4.3, Diam of hole 1.1.

MANUFACTURE Hole in top slightly off center; bottom surface of hole has tool marks. Bottom as **220**.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 38b (right).

## PRE-TUTHMOSIDE DATE

### **JEWELRY**

**Body ornament, pendants (223–5);** see p. 311

#### *Provenance*

Pendants **223–5** have the standard early provenance; **224** was purchased in 1958.

#### *Previous assessment*

The provenance of the uraeus and fish pendants was doubted from the beginning (**223**, **225**); the fish was accessioned only in 1983, for the sake of completeness. The provenance of vulture pendant **224** was originally questioned but it was eventually catalogued as Wady DI in 1958.

### *Current understanding*

All items are quite worn. Unlike the items in Chapter 6, there is no particular evidence that these types continued to be used in Dynasty 18.

The uraeus pendant **223** is understood as a Middle Kingdom type (C. Andrews 1981: no. 412; A. Wilkinson 1971: 61). Examples are known from Sheikh Farag (MFA graves 187, 304, 318, 5412), and MFA 21.973 was at the neck of the deceased in Naga ed-Deir grave N453b (A. Wilkinson 1971: fig. 39). No examples have been located at Thebes.

The vulture pendant **224** is likewise an early Middle Kingdom type (C. Andrews 1981: Appendix D); examples at Thebes have not been located.

The fish pendant **225** is a later Middle Kingdom type (C. Andrews 1981: nos. 403–4, Appendix G; C. Andrews 1990: 172). Representations show one suspended from a girl's braid (Bourriau 1988: no. 140) but fish pendants have also been found as pairs. Excavated late Middle Kingdom–Second Intermediate period examples are in the Philadelphia University Museum (Garstang 1901: 4, E.108), the MMA (09.180.1182; N. Scott 1964: fig. 18), and from Hu W 38 (Petrie and Mace 1901: 43, pl. 27).

#### **223 URAEUS PENDANT**

Fig. 235a

MMA 26.8.81 (P 202).

**SOURCE** Given by Mohammed Mohassib to Lady Carnarvon, 1922, thereafter to the MMA under the understanding on Carter's part that it was from the tomb. Anonymous gift, 1923.

**MATERIAL** Electrum (see Appendix 2).

**DIMENSIONS** H 5.5, W 2.5.

**MANUFACTURE** A flat strip of gold, oriented vertically, is used for the snake's body and throat. On its front surface are parallel horizontal lines; a wire is fused to each long edge. Two semi-circular bands are suggestive of the snake's hood; a lyre-shaped wire loops around them to form the outline of the object, caught towards the bottom by a horizontal band that enfolds the wires and snake body. The band is broken on the front side, but has remains of crosshatching there. On the back side, this band's two rounded ends are raised up as they meet, as if to hold something. As the lyre-shaped wire rounds the top of the pendant, it is covered on the back side by a separate piece of foil that forms the back of the snake's head.

The front part of the snake head is missing, but it appears that the original angle of the head was upward rather than forward. Below the head on the back side of the pendant, and fused to the body of the snake, is a horizontal sleeve (damaged) that holds a tube of a more yellow metal. Six curled wires (one now missing) once filled four vacant spaces within the pendant.

**CONDITION** Damaged.

#### **224 PENDANT WITH VULTURES**

Fig. 235c

MMA 58.153.17

**SOURCE** Purchase, Frederick P. Huntley Bequest, 1958.

**MATERIAL** Electrum (no analysis).

**DIMENSIONS** H of pendant 0.7, W 2.0, Diam of beads 0.3.

**MANUFACTURE** A repoussé front is fused to a thin back plate around the edges; a horizontal tube is neatly fused on the back near the top. The design has two vultures flanking an ankh-sign; the birds' legs are dotted and the ankh's outer arms are hatched, as is the ground line.

Three ball beads of gold sheet accompany the pendant.

**CONDITION** Crushed.

#### **225 TILAPIA-FISH PENDANT**

Fig. 235b

MMA 26.8.221 (P 156).

**SOURCE** Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920; accessioned 1983.

**MATERIALS** Gold, felspar.

**DIMENSIONS** L 1.9, H 1.7.

**MANUFACTURE** A fish of felspar—its body convex, its tail rudimentary, a crude longitudinal groove on one side—has its head encased in a gold sleeve that is hatched for gills and dotted for eyes. The felspar body is ringed with a gold strip to which were fastened a suspension ring, three fins, and a tail. Both sides of the fins are scored.

**CONDITION** Tail broken off, other gold parts damaged, presumed inlay for longitudinal groove missing. File marks on stone and gold, some under silver-gold sulfide.

## NEW KINGDOM AND LATER DATE

### **JEWELRY**

**Head ornament, ear- or hair ring (226);** see p. 311

#### *Provenance*

Ring **226** is a 1958–70 purchase, like earrings **176–9**.

## Chapter 7

### *Previous assessment*

Scott believed this ring and the earrings to have come from Wady D1.

### *Current understanding*

G. Möller showed that a similar ring could have been worn on the ear (1910: 56, fig. 43), and pairs are often encountered in collections and publications. Petrie pointed out that the very narrowest openings would not allow use as earrings (1927: 22 §45). Of the type described here, C. Williams collected examples indicating a Ramesside date (1924: no. 45).

#### **226 WIDE EAR- OR HAIR RING**

Fig. 236b

MMA 66.2.6.

SOURCE Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1966.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS Diam 1.2, Th 1.2, distance between opening 1–2 mm.

MANUFACTURE Constructed of four pieces of sheet gold: an inner flat surface, an outer convex surface, and two flat pieces with air holes closing off the ends.

CONDITION Dented, torn.

**Body ornaments, broad collar parts (227);** see p. 311

### *Provenance*

Later purchase.

### *Previous assessment*

Scott believed the collar elements had come from Wady D1.

### *Current understanding*

M. Bell believed the collar elements to date to the period of KV 55 (communication, Nov. 1991; see also Bell 1990: 101 for two examples believed to come from KV 55). The closest parallel is from Cyprus (Murray et al. 1900: 41, pl. 5), apparently inlaid only with colored pigment. The bud there—gold without inlay—is on the proper right of each element; the elements appear to have two rings at the top, and they are all larger than those below, as much as W 1.3 and H 2.3.

#### **227 NINE LEAF-SHAPED ELEMENTS**

Fig. 236a

MMA 66.2.5.

SOURCE Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1966.

MATERIALS Gold, pink marble (Stone), faience.

DIMENSIONS W as strung 8.0. Each element W 0.8, H 1.3, Th 0.015.

MANUFACTURE Each element is made of a piece of gold foil bent up at the edges and filled with two walls and a piece of gold sheet. The sheet forms a pendant bud on the proper left side, cut out at its base for an inlay. Next

to the bud is a “spray” formed by the curving walls. All elements have two attachment rings on the bottom edge, but six have only one ring on top, and the remaining three have two. One ring has sharper edges than the others, and three have been reinforced with strips. The gold back plate of each element is roughly chased from the back with the design of the front.

The elements with one top ring have faience as the bud inlay; in those with two top rings, that inlay is missing. The spray inlays are blue or green, flanking carnelian.

CONDITION Worn.

**Body ornament, shrine-shaped pendant (228);** see p. 311

### *Provenance*

Standard early provenance.

## Catalogue Part C, Various Dates

### *Previous assessment*

Winlock did not believe the object came from Wady DI, and provisionally dated it to Dynasty 22.

### *Current understanding*

A date in the Third Intermediate period comes to mind for this pendant, the end-date for two examples from excavations (Peet 1914: 46f., pl. 37.S 267; Oren 1973: 15f., 129f., 247 no. 19, fig. 51.19). Downes assigned a pendant with two Tawerets flanking a Bes to the Second Intermediate period (no shrine; Downes 1974: 52, 106, Inventory for grave 275); two gold foil examples in the MMA are similar but have no provenance (MMA 15.6.13, .14).

E. Porada and E. Oren both commented that the arrangement of figures in the shrine is reminiscent of cylinder seal design (communications, 1988–89), and B. Teissier (through D. Collon) suggested that the naos shape (known at Byblos since Middle Bronze II) is an attempt to copy an Egyptian pectoral. In general, the object seems a hybrid, with certain elements pointing more to the Near East than Egypt: style, type of scene, high oval head-shape of the figures, probable genii character of two of the personages, and type of suspension ring. Collon was reminded of her 18th–17th centuries BC Byblos workshop (1986), and Teissier to the more static compositions that date from Tuthmosis III to about 1300 (as in Parker 1949: pl. 26.180; Kasten 1985; André-Leichnam 1986). It is possible that one or two of the “animal” figures wear a garment with rolled edge (see Syro-Cypriot seals in Schaeffer-Forrer 1983, for example p. 45 §R.S. 21.014).

#### **228 SHRINE-SHAPED PENDANT**

Fig. 236c

MMA 26.8.203 (P 155).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H without ring 2.0, W 2.95; H of area within frame 1.2, W 1.9.

MANUFACTURE A rectangular piece of gold foil with a self loop at the top (wound backwards) has been worked in repoussé, no added details.

ICONOGRAPHY A rectangular frame, inset from the edges and raised from the back, contains four figures. Above the frame is a cavetto cornice delineated by means of incised lines and terminated by a raised band. The outer corners of the cavetto were cut away. The loop has fine parallel incisions. The figures are presented in raised relief; the leftmost is an adorant with a short tunic

and tall headdress striding right, both arms raised in front. It faces three figures directed left:

a figure that appears to be Taweret, with headdress of horns and disk, open jaw, crocodile tail, and schematic s3-sign in front;

a male figure with smooth skull, kilt, right arm forward holding a w3s-scepter, left pendant behind;

a figure that seems to be half human (above) and animal (below). Skull smooth, one arm is straight forward, the other is down holding a support (see photo of back side). The legs are bull-like with hooves, and there is a flared tail.

CONDITION Bent and folded, causing distortion and difficulties in figure identification.

**Body ornament, loose beads (229);** see p. 311

### *Provenance*

Standard early provenance

### *Previous assessment*

Earlier strung in *Tilapia*-spacer girdle 136.

### *Current understanding*

Red faience is a material generally associated with the later part of Dynasty 18 and 19.

#### **229 SHORT BARREL BEADS**

Fig. 236d

MMA 26.8.61c.

SOURCE See p. 252.

MATERIAL Red faience.

DIMENSIONS L of string 13.2.



## MODERN DATE, INCLUDING INSCRIPTIONS

## INTRODUCTION

The technical means used to establish authenticity have been described in Chapter 4 and in individual entries (sheet ornaments **24–9**, gazelle diadem **108**, wig covering **114**, indeterminate objects **214–22**). That forgeries were present among objects alleged to have come from Wady D1 has also been indicated in the Preface, Chapter 2 (Docs. **21**, **24**, **28**), and Chapter 4. Finally, modern inscriptions have been signaled in entries for ointment storage jars otherwise thought ancient (**69**, **71**, **75–8**).

Determining authenticity is complicated, time-consuming, and sometimes without resolution. In 1988 the author published a study that reviewed the forgery of Egyptian antiquities generally (Lilyquist 1988b: 35–7). However, there is information specific to the Wady D find and its time that can be added here, introducing further comments that will be made below in the entry on rosette elements **272–88**.

On January 28, 1914, Newberry wrote Winlock,

I have been round all the shops here and the thing that strikes me most is the masterful way “antiquities” of all kinds are now being forged; even with scarabs it is now extremely difficult for me to detect the false from the true. Blue glaze too is now extraordinarily well copied. (MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art)

That same year, according to Alfred Hermann, “Goldfälschung . . . um und nach 1914 in Ägypten häufiger waren” (in a 1948 unpublished manuscript, “Ein altägyptischer Goldschmuck,” concerning Hamburg 1947.<sup>12</sup> rosettes, as provided by Wilhelm Hornbostel, Kustos der Antikenabteilung, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 13 Dec. 1978).

When Ahmed Fakhry was Inspector at Luxor in 1932–36, he wrote the following in an unpublished manuscript kindly supplied by his son Ali to Susan Weeks in February 1985:

I was greatly interested in the question of forgery and mixed up with the forgers of Luxor who are the most famous nowadays and who are supplying the market with all kinds of objects. I saw in their houses some parts of publications in hand drawing, especially the book of Percy Newberry on the scarabs, as well as other books and they were using them as models for their forgeries. I can only say that there is hardly any category of Egyptian objects which is not imitated by those forgers whether in faience, glass, different kinds of metal, wood, ebony, ivory, or even papyrus.

Ahmed Fakhry went on to write that even excavators, “especially those who were working in Upper Egypt,” used to reward laborers when they found objects, a practice that ended with the production and planting of forgeries—such as the Mond statuette now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Fakhry heard the details of that buried “treasure” from the workers who took part in the event.

During the 1980s, the author attempted to gather information about the goldsmithing trade of previous generations in Luxor, and R. Stone visited Cairo gold workers to study techniques currently in use. In the 1980s, the gold- and silversmiths in Luxor were Copts, and it was said to have been thus for generations. The father of dealer Mohareb Todros, for example—Boulos, an antiquities dealer and German consul—had trained as a silversmith and was known to forge antiquities (Dawson 1995: 417). Whether the son, who handled some Wady Qurud objects, carried on that practice is not known; it was doubted by Labib Habachi (communication, 1970s). As for Mohammed Mohassib, the major Wady Qurud dealer, his reputation is in good standing (Dawson 1995: 290). Yet both Mohammed Mohassib and Mohareb Todros handled objects now believed to be forgeries, and the selection of the types to be forged, as well as the provision of materials needed to make them, must have been the responsibility of one or both of them. Mohammed’s son Mahmoud does not have a good reputation, and is said to have been a companion of the goldsmith Zaki Ghalli of Luxor and the “goldfakers” Tewfik Fahm of Qus, Mohammed Nasr of Imam Shafey, and Tewfik Samuel of Armant. Whether those alleged craftsmen were active 1916–22 could not be determined. B. Schlick-Nolte was told by older Luxor residents in 1988 that a goldsmith had lived on the street to the railroad station in the lower part of a house that had belonged to the dealer who had most of the Wady Qurud material (communication, autumn 1988); both Mohassib and Todros had establishments on the station street. It is interesting that in 1912, Wakeling cited Qus as the domicile of “the maker of gold reproductions” (Wakeling 1912: 125). The frog described by Carter in Document 24 (p. 38) was made by a Greek jeweler in Cairo, and is probably the same object seen on the art market in the 1960s (Fig. 220).

In the end it was impossible to penetrate the world of dealers and forgers in a limited time, even with local help and cooperation, sixty years after the find of 1916. Suffice it to say that format, technique, and elemental composition indicate that several forgers produced the objects below. The *wd3t*-eyes 239–44 and the acacia spacers 311–3 are the highest in quality, and the shield-shaped elements 289–91, beetles 294–5, Tawerets 306, and falcons 307 are the lowest. Most items are high purity gold, a few are low (plaques 236–8, flies 304). The *menat*-shaped pendant 300 and elements with vase-motif 292 have very sharp joins; the gold vessels 251–71, hinged and inscribed bracelets 309–10, star 235, and scarabs 233–4 share other similarities.

The first lot of “Wady Qurud” gold items came to light during 1919, and within it were included a number of forgeries (star 235, fake inscriptions 245–50 on travertine and serpentinite vessels, shield-shaped elements 290–1, *menat*-shaped pendant 300, fly necklace 304, Maat-plaque necklace 308, bracelets with box-shaped clasp 309, and buckle 315). In all subsequent purchases, forgeries were also mixed with genuine items. From 1916 to 1919, when there was little antiquities business

otherwise in Egypt, there was certainly time for items to be fabricated. The fact that some of these items did not have parallels in excavated objects contributed to their acceptance by archaeologists.

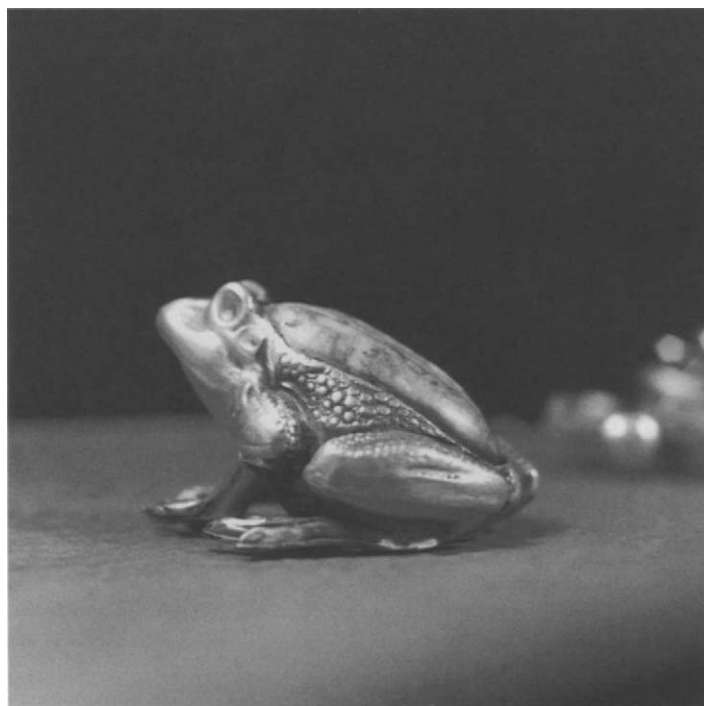


Fig. 220. Modern gold frog inlaid with lapis lazuli, on art market in the 1960s, no doubt the one seen by Carter in 1918 (Doc. 24)

## TECHNICAL AND FORMAL INDICATORS OF PROVENANCE AND DATE FOR THE GOLD WORK

Negative technical characteristics that were used to determine forgery are listed below; they should be compared with characteristics of objects that were judged or known to be ancient, pp. 119–24. It must be stressed that technical information was not the only determiner of forgery: decisions depended on typological and inscriptional evidence as well. It should also be understood that the issue of forgery is one of probability. In the case of gold vessels 251–71 the preponderance of evidence is overwhelming, whereas in the case of the shield-shaped elements 289–91, the evidence is substantially negative although an explanation of the glass is unclear.

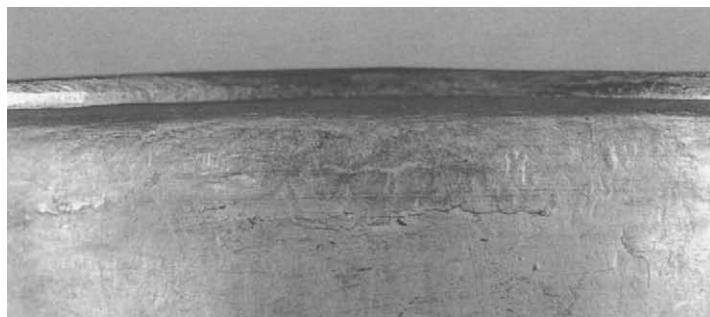
### Overall quality

As stated on p. 119, poor workmanship can be seen in royal objects, and different degrees of quality can be found on objects from the same context. Furthermore, east Mediterranean gold work is generally inferior to Egyptian, and in the present case, an east Mediterranean origin for some objects needed to be considered (see Lilyquist 1993b: figs. 21–3 for east Mediterranean gold work roughly contemporary with the Tuthmoside period). The objects below exhibit characteristics not found by the authors in ancient objects.

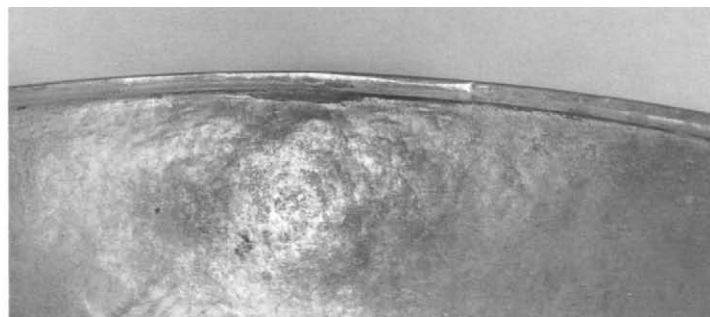
### Design

A number of objects below are overbuilt: the *wd3t*-eyes 239–44 are of unnecessarily thick gold; virtually all the gold vessels 251–71 have separate rims that were hard-soldered on (Fig. 221a–c); the pedestal foot of 257–9, 269–71 is a strip of gold sheet developed into a tube that was then soldered and flared, rather than a truncated cone raised from gold sheet (Fig. 221d); the sliding clasp 314, *menat*-shaped pendant 300, buckle 315, and bracelets 309–10 are constructed of many individual parts (see descriptions). Such features are striking when compared with excavated gold work, where a simple approach is evident in respect to design.

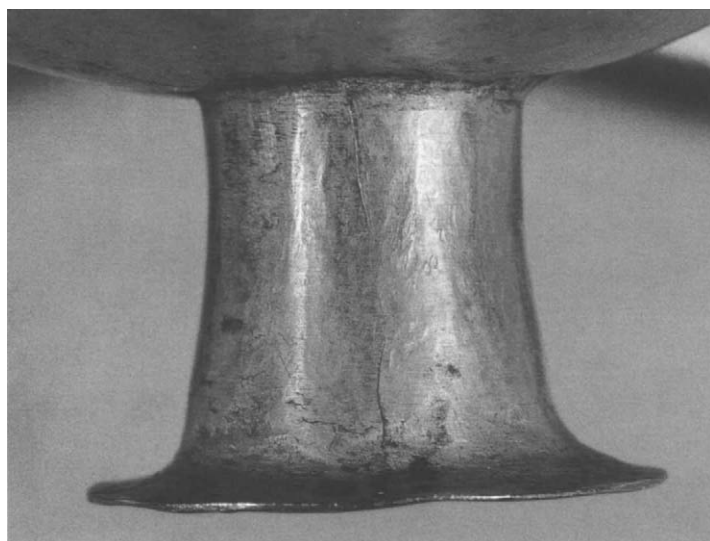
Even the design of inscriptions can indicate forgery on the basis of excavated material, as explained on pp. 283f. and illustrated in Fig. 223.



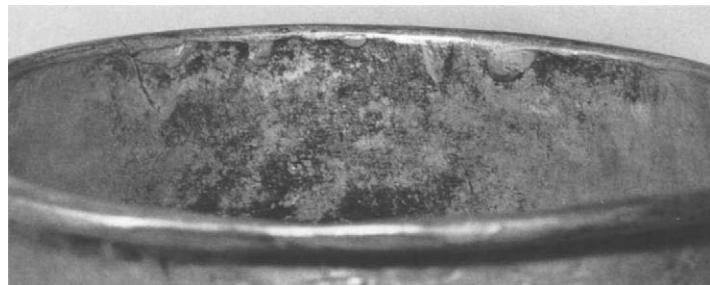
a. Exterior of beaker Cat. 262, with light band of solder below rim. File marks on the solder are evident, as is poor adhesion where the lower edge of the solder lifts away from the vessel



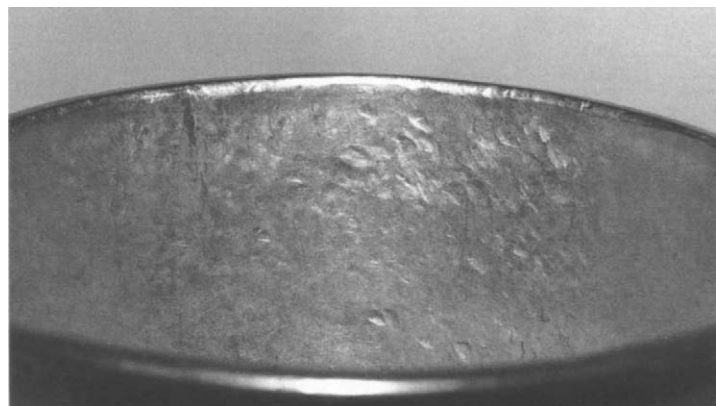
b. Interior of bowl, Cat. 252. The crack in the rim is the point where the ends of the rim piece met; to the left of it is a pool of solder between rim and wall



d. Developed foot of cup with vertical seam, Cat. 257



c. Interior of composite jar showing beads of once-molten solder, Cat. 271



e. Interior of beaker showing peck marks applied to indicate wear, Cat. 260



f. Above: inscription engraved on beaker, Cat. 260; compare the chased inscription of Fig. 173 "left." The wall shows numerous types of hammer work Right: engraved inscription on composite bowl, Cat. 256. The ends of the separate rim meet in the center of the photograph; the inscription was engraved immediately below the rim

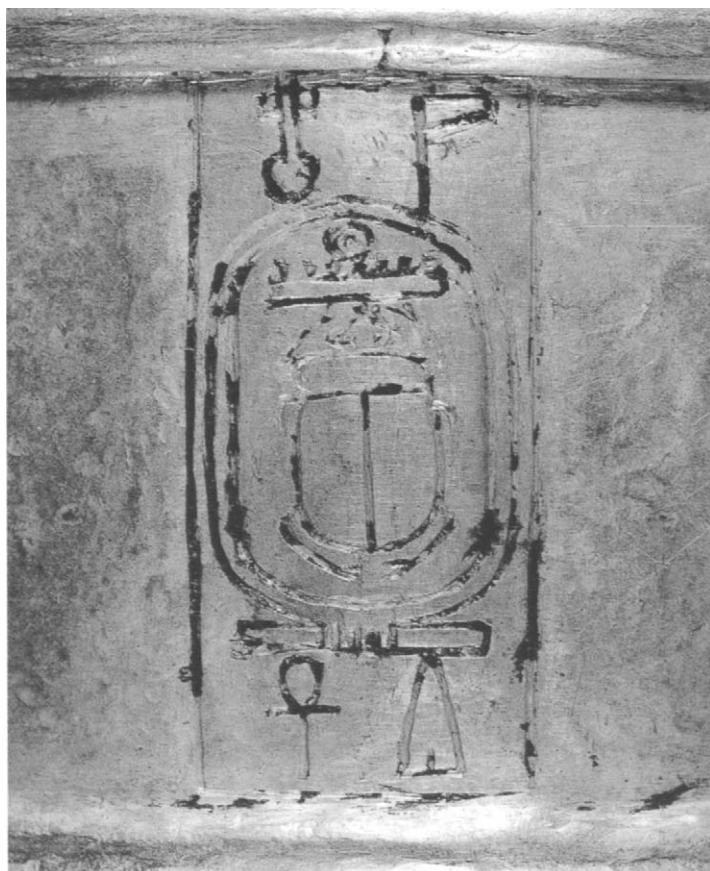


Fig. 221a-f. Details of modern gold vessels



a. Tall-necked jar, Cat. 263. The surface is scarred with hammer marks of various radii, randomly placed



b. Interior of semi-restricted cup, Cat. 268. Parallel horizontal lines on the base and wall of the vessel indicate that rolled gold was used



c. Interior of composite bowl, Cat. 254. Note herringbone pattern of tool marks applied to indicate wear

### Composition of base alloys (see Appendix 2)

In contrast to the composition of objects thought ancient (pp. 119–22; Appendix 2, first section), most of the sampled gold considered modern had purity above 80%, with beaker **261** having 22 karat gold, and *menat*-shaped pendant **300** having 99.6% purity. Concerning the purity of **261**, Lucas stated that the standard quality for English gold coinage in 1913 was 22 karat (Lucas 1913: 88), and Winlock indicated that English gold sovereigns were highly prized in Luxor in the period of the tomb robbery (1948: 11).

At the same time, the sheet ornaments thought modern (**230–2**) had percentages comparable to the gazelle diadem **108** gold believed ancient; and buckle **315** (believed modern) had percentages close to earring **110** assigned to the tomb. In the case of the modern sheet ornaments, the compositions fell away from those considered ancient (**24–9**), and technical and formal characteristics contributed to their rejection as ancient.



Fig. 223. Examples of hieroglyphic fonts. Top left, a line of three beetles from the Theinhardt font published in 1875. Right, a cartouche of Tuthmosis III published in 1915, using the Theinhardt font. Lower left, a line of three beetles from the Gardiner font first published in 1928

### Preparation and shaping of gold

There was some indication that the stock from which the gold vessels were made was rolled sheet gold (Fig. 222b). With sheet ornaments **230–2**, X ray revealed few features, but no roll marks could be detected. This gold sheet was unusually stiff, no doubt because it had been only partially annealed after cold working (Stone).

In the comparative studies undertaken, tool marks were noted on excavated gold objects in the Cairo Museum, but these were unlike the uneven hammering and distress marks on gold vessels **251–71** and bracelets **309**, where the hammer work is random (Fig. 222a). The wall thickness is uneven, and is so inexpert that vessel shoulders are delaminated (**266–7**). In addition, the hammer was sometimes supplemented by punches that—to judge by several solder repairs—actually pierced the wall. A herringbone pattern was created (Fig. 222c), apparently to indicate age. Small peck marks were also used to create texture, again to signify wear. They were applied over broader strokes, are sometimes clustered, occur on interior as well as exterior walls, and are especially common on vessels of single curvature.

Many of the objects below also show file marks. The ancient Egyptian goldsmith had no need of files, due to his careful joining, nor would it have been practical to file gold with the copper or bronze tools he had, according to Stone. But an inexperienced smith of modern times who uses excess hard solder can remove it easily by steel files (see next, and Fig. 224 [bottom]). Therefore, the presence of mechanically even file marks on gold work purportedly ancient—such as the gold vessels **251–71**—was one of the single-most damning characteristics noted. File marks were also seen on stone and glass inlay, no doubt the result of the modern craftsman's carelessness.

Finally, it should be noted that there is no evidence of planishing or burnishing on the gold objects below. Sometimes there is even a frosted appearance, perhaps created to even out the tone of the gold or to make it seem ancient. The *wḏ3t*-pendants **239–44**, gold scarabs **233–4**, star appliqué **235**, gold vessels **251–71**, box clasp and hinged bracelets **309–10**, and acacia-seed beads **321–2** all have a frosty look which, upon analysis, proved to come from artificial etching (Stone). The surface of Cairo JdE 91390 has the same appearance (Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 83).

### Techniques of joining, including solder

Hard soldering—the joining of two pieces of gold alloy at a temperature around 800 degrees by means of adding an alloy of *different* ratios—is known occasionally in the ancient world: 4th millennium BC Mesopotamia and central Iran, 3rd millennium BC Indus Valley, and New Kingdom Egypt where it was used for ring shanks (Stone forthcoming). However, it was not common, probably for several reasons. When alloy ratios are different from solder ratios, a flux is needed, but natron provides an imperfect bond and there is no reliable evidence of borax until the Middle Ages (loc. cit.). A fine-tipped blow pipe and the equivalent of iron binding wire would have also been useful for hard-soldering in ancient times, but there is no extant evidence for them. It is thus assumed that the instances of hard-soldering that have been noted took place by putting the relevant object into the fire or using the flame of a large blow pipe. These methods would not have been suitable for fine work.



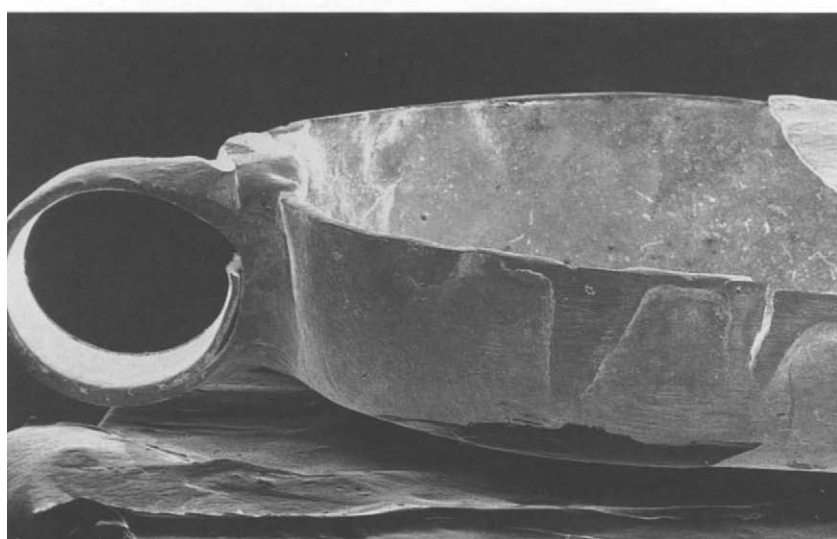


Fig. 224. Ancient and modern joins compared through SEM. Above left, drop-shaped element from Cat. **130** with a diffusion join between ring and bowl. Left, modern drop-shaped element from Cat. **298** showing crimped wall, massive solder around ring, and file trenches on its top surface

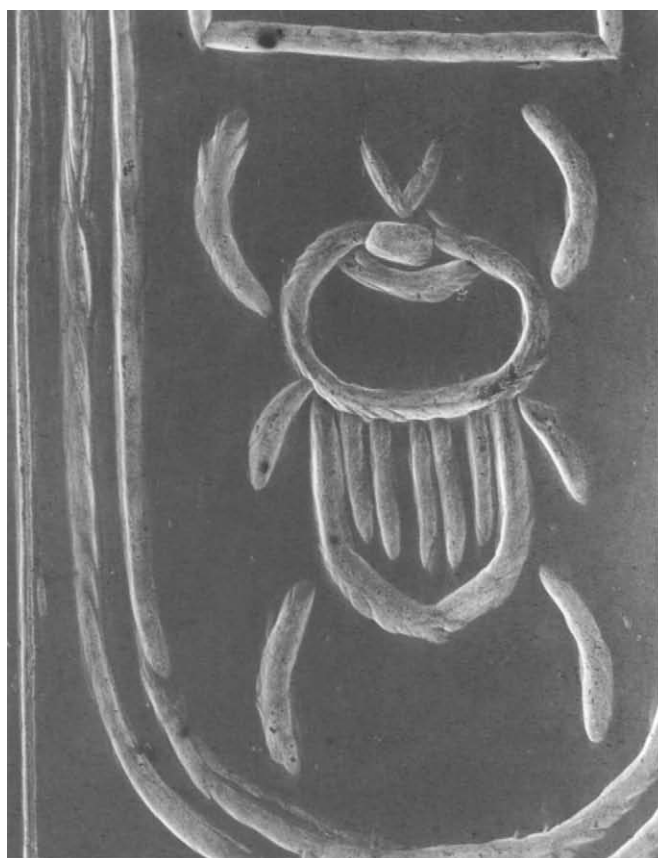
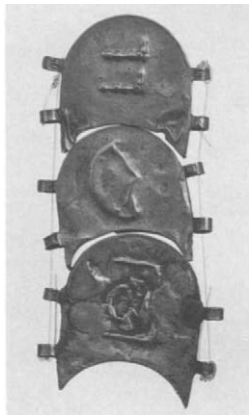
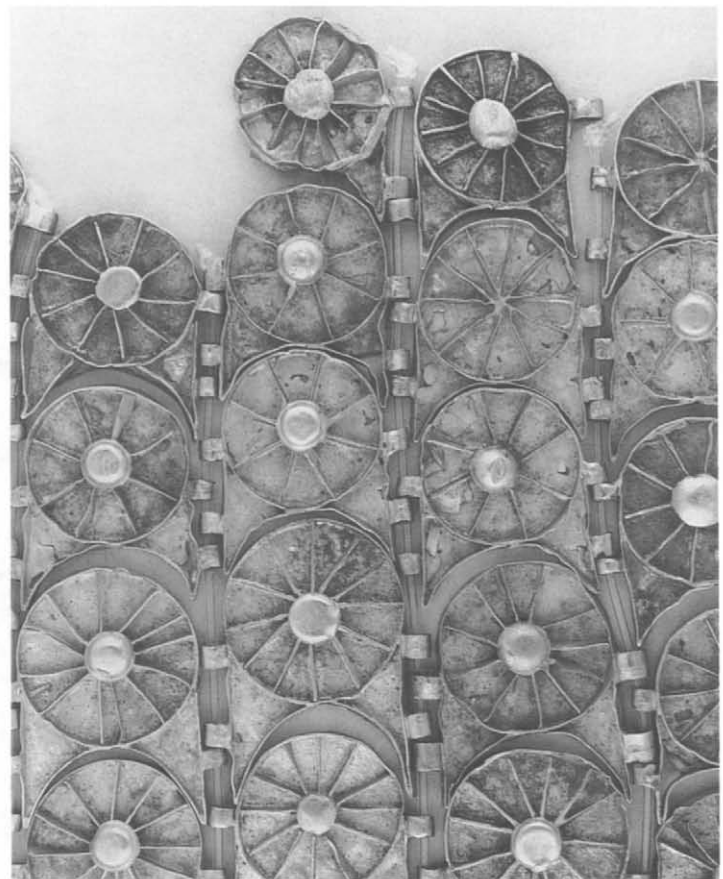
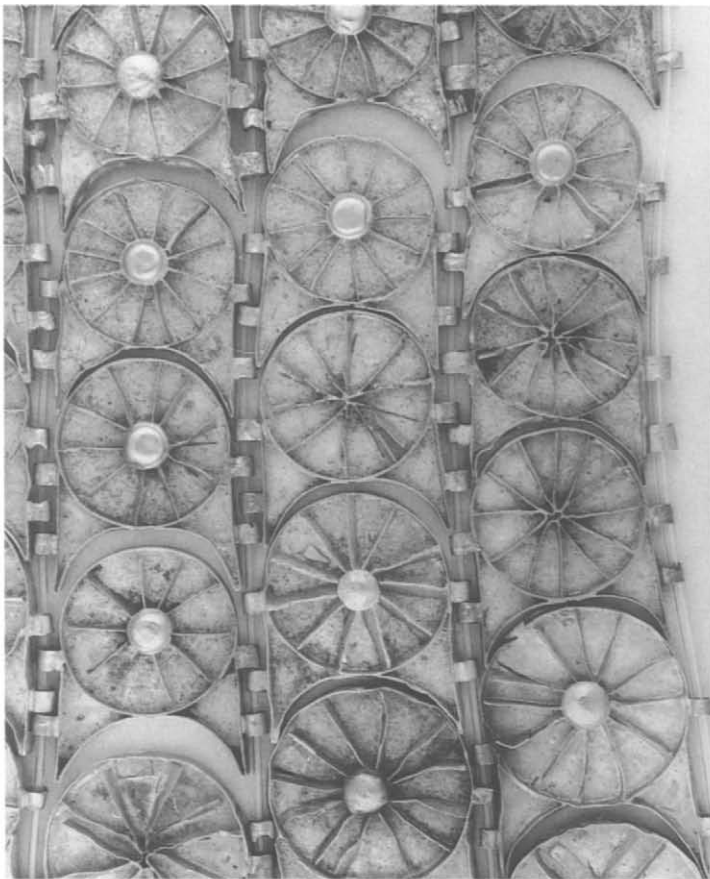
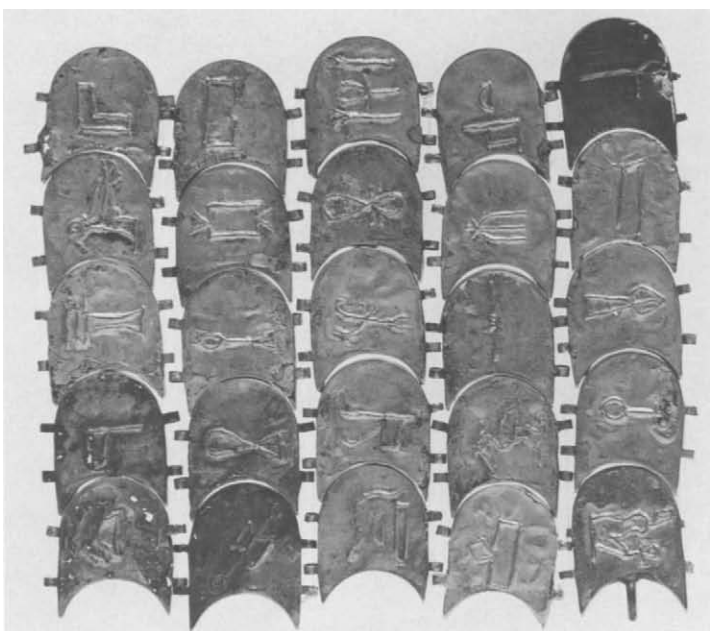


Fig. 225. Ancient and modern inscriptions compared. Left, chased inscription on ornament MMA 26.8.130, Cat. **141**. Right, engraved inscription on modern tall-necked jar, Cat. **263**

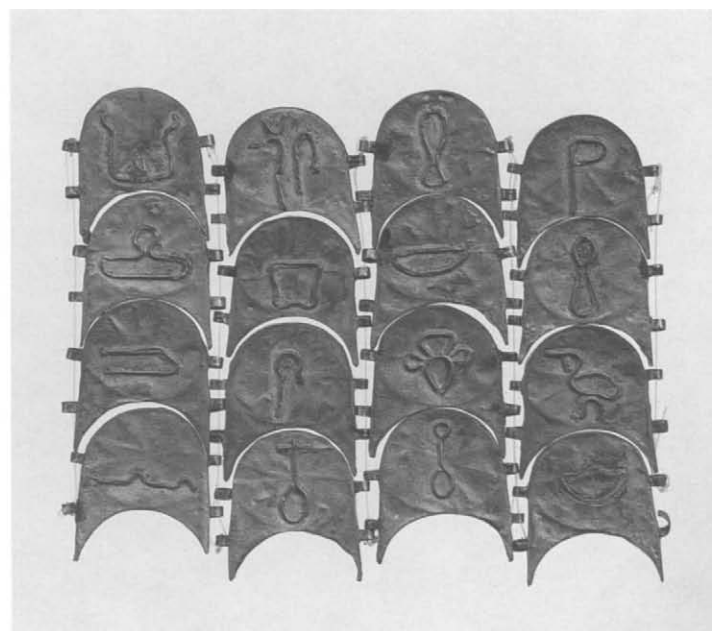


a. Wady Qirud-type rosettes with thin backs, loose coupons, stamped buttons, V-shaped spokes, and a few ancient rosettes mixed in, Cat. 277

b. Back side of rosettes with round petals and hieroglyphs, Cat. 284. 1:1



c. Back side of rosettes with round petals and hieroglyphs, Cat. 283. 1:1



d. Back side of rosettes with straight spokes and hieroglyphs, Cat. 288. 1:1



In the hard solders of objects below that are believed modern (Appendix 2, third section), the copper percentage is often considerably greater in the solder than in the base alloy (244, 254, 261, 300, 313). This is not always the case, however, see analyses there for 235, 307, 308, 315. Also to note, the bead type known from Cairo bazaars (last entry in Appendix 2) has similar levels of copper, silver, and gold in base alloy and solder, but 2.1 cadmium is present. In the case of the acacia-bead spacers 313 and agate buckle 315 believed modern, the higher amount of copper in the solder was considered with negative technical and formal arguments.

Parenthetically, soft soldering is done at a low temperature (around 200–300 degrees), usually with a tin-lead alloy. Stone does not know soft soldering in antiquity for gold work; he knows it for bronze, and has seen it on Roman silver, but not in pre-Ptolemaic Egypt.

As for working with hard solder in modern times, as stated above, a poor goldsmith will often remove excess solder by filing. A drop element below, believed modern, shows not only hard solder but filing channels (Fig. 224 [top]; cf. a drop element with a diffusion join in Fig. 224 [bottom]). Further, Baines states that if the temperature is not regulated carefully, the flux (possibly natron) can burn out and oxidize the solder, which is then unable to flow. If this happens, the surface sweats (becomes blistered, or creased, like boiled milk), and if further heat is applied, the copper, zinc, or tin of the alloy can burn out. Then, if additional solder coupons are applied, and their surfaces oxidize also, they won't flow either. These conditions are thought to explain the appearance of many rosettes considered modern (Fig. 226a). While some ancient east Mediterranean work shows overheating (cf. Lilyquist 1993b: 49), it is to a much less degree than on objects here.

### Air holes and other holes

The suspension holes for plaques 236–8 were drilled and are very round, with a precise donut around each that was created by flattening the displaced gold. The air holes in Taweret and falcon amulets 306–7 as well as the beetle elements 294–5 also appear to be drilled; in contrast, “holes” for flies 304 don't always pierce the gold.

Tiny holes on the star appliqué 235, *menat*-shaped pendant 300, *shen*-amulet 303, and hinged bracelets 310 are of unknown function, presumably related to manufacture.

### Means of suspending elements and pendants

Elements below with suspension rings and loops (272–308) do not differ in type from elements considered ancient, although fewer varieties occur. However, in contrast to the rings described in Chapters 5 and 6, the rings below are often outsized, unintelligently placed, and hard-soldered on, sometimes with the help of binding wire (Fig. 226a). See entries.

### Engraved lines

The inscriptions of vessels 251–71 and bracelets 309–10 were engraved, that is, metal was removed from the surface with a graver or burin (a triangular-tipped tool that is pushed forward, usually at an angle less than 45 degrees; see Fig. 225 [right] for an engraved line, compared with Fig. 225 [left] for a chased line; Fig. 90 (p. 121) shows further examples of chased lines). Gold can be engraved with an iron or steel tool, but it was not practical with the copper or bronze tools of the ancient Egyptians (Stone). In vessel 255 the inscription appears to have been engraved before the rim was soldered on.

Poorly formed inscriptions were noted on excavated copper, bronze, silver, and gold objects by the authors in their comparative studies, but those had not been made with a graver, unlike the inscriptions on the gold vessels and bracelets here.

### Annotated elements

While a few of the authentic rosettes had marks in their back plates (pp. 166f.), none of the rosettes below did. Virtually all the ancient drop elements had ticks or punches (p. 171); all back plates on drops here had punches (298–9) but they are more widely spaced at the same time that there is often a pattern to them.

### Inlay

Stone, glass, and ivory or bone inlay occurs in the items below, usually cut carelessly (281, 283–97, 305, 315). In some instances, single cloisons were filled with multiple bits of inlay (294–5); a number of elements had never received inlay (298–9).

### Use of glass

None of the glass inlay had signs of wear, and some had file marks. Two that were tested for composition were modern (Appendix 3: **289**, element 2; **291**, element 2); the composition of the others is similar to 18th dynasty glasses and an explanation is not clear.

### Red surfaces

Two types of red coatings were found on objects believed to be modern:

an amber, translucent, gummy substance; samples were taken from four gold vessels and ten melon beads (from **319**) and compared with samples of ointment in stone vessels **53**, **56**, **61**, **62**, **81**, **169**. The results were very close, in one case identical; see Shredrinsky et al. 1991. Removable with solvent.

a metallurgical cement (a corrosive paste for enriching the surface of gold objects) made of ochre or clay mixed with salt and usually iron sulfate or alum. This was found on modern objects whose surfaces had been artificially etched. In the case of vessel **254**, a micro-sample was taken by Wypyski of the red material on the surface for SEM/EDS elemental analysis. The material consisted mainly of iron, along with small amounts of sodium, magnesium, aluminum, silicon, sulfur, and calcium, and traces of chlorine, potassium, copper, and silver. In the case of vessel **267**, the results were similar except that sodium was not detected while traces of phosphorous were. The coating is not removable with solvent.

## FUNERARY ITEMS

**Mummy fittings, set of sheet gold ornaments (230–2);** see p. 313

### *Provenance*

Standard early provenance.

### *Previous assessment*

None of the nine gold sheet ornaments purchased by the MMA—namely **24–9**, **230–2**—was questioned by Winlock (1948: 43f.), Hayes (1959b: 137), or N. Scott (Metropolitan Museum of Art 1973: 94). C. Williams noted the fineness of the line on vulture **231** in the early 1920s, and wondered if it were “incised” (MMA archives).

### *Current understanding*

Various factors indicate that three of the nine foil amulets purchased by the MMA are modern, and could easily have been copied from the six good ones. This determination rests on compositional analyses, comparative technical studies, iconography, and condition. For Wypyski’s SEM/EDS analyses, see Appendix 2.

From the standpoint of technique, the sets did not vary in type but in quality. For example, X rays revealed that the sheet of the modern items had been beaten (rather than rolled) but the metal had not been substantially worked; thus they were stiffer and heavier than the other two sets. Furthermore, they were always thicker, as measured in average inches by Cleveland/Grossbard:

	falcon collar	vulture breastplate	bandage amulet
highest quality	.0073" ( <b>24</b> )	.0071" ( <b>25</b> )	.0031" ( <b>26</b> )
medium quality	.011" ( <b>27</b> )	.0052" ( <b>28</b> )	.0043" ( <b>29</b> )
modern	.0115" ( <b>230</b> )	.012" ( <b>231</b> )	.0079" ( <b>232</b> )

Another feature studied was the manner in which the gold sheet had been cut. Microscopic analysis showed that the edges of the three below had been cut with chisels rather than scissors (Baines), yet the cutting was not sure, the edges were very sharp, and burrs were left. In the small vulture appliqué of Tutankhamun, the edges are ragged too, possibly because the tool was not very sharp, but a complement of long chisel marks and short chopping marks to cut the gold are present in the vulture appliqué that are lacking here (Fig. 90a, p. 121).

## Catalogue Part C, Various Dates

The decorative lines on the bad set also differed from what would be expected. They were made with two finely pointed tools that yielded scratchy lines unlike the smooth, assured line of an experienced chisel user (Fig. 90a shows sure lines from a more rounded tool). M. Keene suggested in 1980 that the scratchy line had been made with a piece of sharp stone (flint?) rather than a metal tool. Stone's suggestion was that the tool may have been pulled like a scribe rather than pushed like a chisel. The result in any event is that the falcon and vulture lack the plasticity that comes with using a variety of tools and working both sides of the sheet.

Concerning design, the outline of falcon **230** matches that of falcon **27**, to the extent that both have suspension rings on the back of the head (although larger and more obvious on **230** than the one remaining on **27**). As for the vulture breastplate **231**, it has many of the negative technical characteristics of falcon collar **230**, but in addition, its body is inorganically conceived and its beak and claws are misunderstood. One of Tutankhamun's vulture collars had proportionately large legs, however (Carter 256e; Carter 1927: pl. 79b [top]). Finally, the bandage amulet **232** follows the shape of medium-quality example **29**, although it is extended toward the top.

Beyond negative technical and design aspects, the three ornaments below lack convincing signs of wear. There are red surfaces that appear to be silver-gold sulfide; but it should be noted that this product is an indication of composition and environment rather than age. The red fingerprint on the recently cleaned mask of Tuya in the Cairo Museum (Saleh and Sourouzian 1987: no. 145) is thought to be an example.

In conclusion, it should be noted that three sets of sandals and three incomplete sets of stalls are still considered ancient (**32–7**). This implies that there should have been a falcon collar, vulture, and bandage to go with a third set of sandals and stalls. The missing set could have been in such poor shape that it was melted down; it could have been lost. Most likely it existed.

### **230** OPEN-SHAPED FALCON COLLAR

Fig. 237b

MMA 26.8.100 (P 104).

PROVENANCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Gold sheet (see Appendix 2).

DIMENSIONS W 38.0, Th 0.26–0.30 mm.

MANUFACTURE Shape and dimensions similar to **27**. Gold quite stiff and thick, appears to be worked from front only; work-hardened and hammered from two directions (Baines). X rays show less features than on falcons **24**, **27**. Back side of heads burnished in many directions. Eyes in repoussé but much of decoration on front scratched: lines delineating cylinder beads very fine, often reinforced, and outlines of pendants and eyes also done in short strokes (with a less square and more rounded tool, according to Baines). Suspension by means of rather thick metal rings that grip collar edge. Ghost lines on back are shallower for cylinder beads, deeper for drops and head detailing.

CONDITION Red film on front and back. One ring torn off, pool of gold solder nearby. Impressions of fingerprints on front, those on back probably also from fingers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 24 (top).

### **231** BREASTPLATE, VULTURE WITH STRAIGHT WINGS

Fig. 237a

MMA 26.8.103 (P 107).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Gold sheet (see Appendix 2).

DIMENSIONS W 37.0, Th 0.22–0.32 mm.

MANUFACTURE Vulture looks to the right, but otherwise has scheme of **25** with a large head and flared wings. However, lower part of body below wings is larger here,

and underside of beak is misunderstood, as is the area surrounding the *shen*-signs, which should be claws. Gold stiff and thick, despite Winlock's statement that it would have conformed to a body (1948: 43f.); X rays indicate little hammer work. Apparently outline of bird sketched on sheet first, then sheet was cut outside the perimeter; edges poor although chisel-cut (Baines). Top edge cut with percussive strokes, in contrast to longer strokes on falcon **231**; perhaps tool had square rather than slanted tip (Baines). Where left leg extends, cut goes into body. Most of design on front scratched with very fine-pointed tool; detailing is poor. Eye redone, beak misunderstood; less skill shown than on falcon. Lines detailing long feathers and U-tipped covert feathers deep; ghost impressions on back vary. Burnishing horizontal, except for tail feathers where vertical.

CONDITION Reddish patina and reddish accretion; fingerprints; cloth impressions on front of right leg and in *shen*-sign?

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 25 (center).

### **232** FLARED BANDAGE AMULET

Fig. 237c

MMA 26.8.106 (P 109).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Gold sheet (see Appendix 2).

DIMENSIONS H 15.0, W 10.6, Th 0.17 mm.

MANUFACTURE Design similar to **29**. Sheet very stiff and thick. X rays show few features, indicating metal of even thickness with little hammer work; no evidence of rolling. Considerable directional burnishing with scraper; edges cut with chisel from one side (Baines).

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 23b (right); Hayes 1959b: 137, fig. 74; Brier 1980: fig. 16.

## Mummy fittings, two scarabs (233–4); see p. 314

### Provenance

Standard early provenance; acquired with lapis example 214.

### Previous assessment

Winlock described the gold scarabs as “fresh as the day [they] were made” and considered them for everyday wear, along with the lapis scarab (Winlock 1948: 27f.). Hayes also considered all three ancient (1959b: 134).

### Current understanding

The gold scarabs have the same problem as the lapis lazuli example (214), namely, that there is no excavated parallel for a medium-sized, uninscribed scarab on base plate with transverse hole. However, in the case of the gold examples, technical features are damning. The backs were cast, and their frosty surface is the product of artificial etching (Stone). Their horizontal tubes were flattened when they emerged from the sides.

As for design, the gold scarabs are poorer versions of the lapis example. There are differences, however. The former have more symmetrical lines between the wings and between the wings and prothorax, but they also have less sharply delineated parts. The bodies blend into the bases, and the bases have more rounded corners. At the same time, the eyes of the beetles are delineated where this does not occur on the lapis example. Here the clypeus is formed as a trapezoid with serrated edges.

#### 233 SCARAB

Fig. 238c (right)  
MMA 26.8.88 (P 137 or 138).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS L 2.75.

MANUFACTURE Gold is greenish, dull. Object neatly fused of parts: back plate, beetle, cross-wise tube. Some chasing or engraving to create details; filing. Articulation of legs poor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Lansing 1940: pl. 11 (bottom left); Winlock 1948: pl. 13k.

#### 234 SIMILAR SCARAB

Fig. 238c (left)  
MMA 26.8.89 (P 137 or 138).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS L 2.75.

MANUFACTURE Similar to 233. Crease between scarab’s tail and pad below open.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Lansing 1940: pl. 11 (bottom right); Winlock 1948: pl. 13m.

## Mummy fittings, four appliqués (235–8); see p. 314

### Provenance

Standard early provenance for all four items. The three plaques 236–8 were acquired at the same time.

### Previous assessment

Winlock considered the star 235 ancient, interpreting it as a flower with two suspension rings for a cord (1948: 25).

He considered the three Hathor plaques unbelievably crude, comparing them to items from the Hathor shrine at Deir el-Bahari (1948: 28f.). He proposed that they were strung on cords, saw no signs of wear, and thought two were from the same die. C. Williams’ notes in the MMA, written at the time she was preparing the jewelry catalogue of the New-York Historical Society, reveal that she thought two of the plaques were impressions from the same die and that the third was engraved. Hayes thought them crude (Hayes 1959b: 133); Pinch realized that they might not have come from Wady Qurud (Pinch 1993: 165).

### Current understanding

No ancient prototype for the star 235 has been found. The closest typological parallel is an eight-pointed star in the British Museum, which, however, was not excavated (Tait 1976: no. 178, pl. 7). The London example has often been compared with a five-pointed star on a diadem represented in a Fayum portrait (Walker and Bierbrier 1997: no. 46).

As for the Hathor plaques 236–8, crude metal examples have been found at Deir el-Bahari, and several in the MMA were studied for quality of line and for design (MMA 23.3.106, .156, .157). A few examples are illustrated by

Naville and Hall (1913: 14, pl. 24.5) and by Pinch (1993: 163–5, pl. 37). However, **237** was chased from **236**, and the lines of **238** were engraved by a blunt steel tool (Stone). Another disquieting technical feature is the holes on two plaques; they are exceedingly round and are drilled, with a very even donut surrounding them. SEM/EDS analysis of samples from two of the plaques indicated a very high copper content (Appendix 2).

The design of a cow walking left is atypical, although one excavated example has been located (Patch 1990: no. 38b). The sun disk is very round (cf. Sekhmet-pendant **301**), the horns are obscured by the disk, a uraeus emerges from the horns in an unconvincing manner, the top of the cow's head lacks articulation, and the hooves and tail are crude. These features also occur on the hatched plaque **238**, where, however, the ear is miniscule and the body box-like. There the irises in the *wd3t*-eyes are very round and centered, there are tiny pendant drops rather than proper falcon markings, and the outline of the eye (including cosmetic line) is fish-shaped.

Similar features were seen on a plaque at the time of the 1983–88 purchases (p. 114): leftward orientation, wide outline for the *wd3t*-eyes, poor hooves and tail, drilled suspension holes with the burr pressed into a donut, and engraved lines. Other negative features on this plaque were the animal's foreleg continuing into the body, and a lotus around the neck drawn like an oar (cf. Pinch 1993: pl. 37b for a more lively example).

All four of these plaques could have easily been inspired by the Deir el-Bahari examples found earlier in the century.

**235 SEVEN-POINTED STAR**

Fig. 238b

MMA 26.8.75 (P 50).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Gold (see Appendix 2).

DIMENSIONS W 4.2.

MANUFACTURE Top is a repoussé sheet with frosty surface. The back was cut larger than the front, quite raggedly. The seven granules, somewhat flattened, were made on a pad (according to Baines) and are very pristine; they are soldered on, not fused, and grain growth at the star tips suggests a high temperature. The back plate has eight large holes, too large for air holes, pushed from the inside out. Two overlarge suspension rings are soldered to the back plate. In addition, four tiny holes were drilled at the perimeter, one after a false start; their function is unknown.

CONDITION No signs of wear.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Lansing 1940: fig. 9; Winlock 1948: 25, pl. 12c; Hayes 1959b: 133.

**236 HATHOR-COW PLAQUE**

Fig. 238d (center)

MMA 26.8.109 (P 113).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Gold (see Appendix 2).

DIMENSIONS W 4.7, H 3.7.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 13x.

**237 DUPLICATE HATHOR-COW PLAQUE**

Fig. 238d (right)

MMA 26.8.110 (P 114).

MATERIAL Gold (pale).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

DIMENSIONS W 4.7, H 3.7.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 13v.

**238 HATHOR-COW PLAQUE WITH *WD3T*-EYES**

Fig. 238d (left)

MMA 26.8.111 (P 115).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Gold (see Appendix 2).

DIMENSIONS W 4.7, H 3.6.

MANUFACTURE Attachment holes punched.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 13w.

**Mummy fittings, six *wd3t*-pendants (239–44); see p. 314**

*Provenance*

Acquired together in 1921 (P 141, 142, 143, 144, 145 or 146).

*Previous assessment*

Winlock saw that there were no signs of wear, the suspension rings were exceptionally large, and the eyes remarkably uniform (1948: 28). Originally the items were thought to be for a girdle, but were later understood as pendants, an opinion followed by Hayes (1959b: 133).

*Current understanding*

The walls and suspension ring of each amulet is thick and heavy, however X rays did not reveal evidence of casting. Details indicate that two molds were used for the tops—one for the right eyes and one for the left. The measurements of all amulets are close: the left eyes 4.2 x 3.5 and the right eyes 4.4 x 3.5. Front and back plates were hard-

## Chapter 7

soldered together, and a loop then soldered to the top. The joins are very well done, with very little filing, although X rays reveal an interior build-up of material along the joins. Some of the suspension loops and top plates are deformed. An air hole was placed on the top edge of each amulet within the suspension ring. All surfaces are frosty, having been artificially etched (Stone).

Smaller prototypes for these objects were at hand in 1916 from the Valley of the Kings. Daressy recorded seven types of faience pendants from KV 55, some with suspension rings, others not pierced in any way, all made in pairs and measuring 2.5–3.5 wide (T. Davis 1910: 28f. no. 24; JdE 39644, SR 2677; Martin 1985: 118 no. 21). In the tomb of Tawosret, two electrum pairs had been found, 2.5–2.7 W (Vernier 1925: CG 52685–6).

### **239** RIGHT-FACING *WD3T*-EYE

Fig. 238a (upper left)

MMA 26.8.82.

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS See above.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Lansing 1940: fig. 9 (left); Winlock 1948: 28, pl. 13p.

### **240** RIGHT-FACING *WD3T*-EYE

Fig. 238a (lower left)

MMA 26.8.83.

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS See above.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Lansing 1940: fig. 9 (right); Winlock 1948: 28, pl. 13t.

### **241** RIGHT-FACING *WD3T*-EYE

Fig. 238a (center left)

MMA 26.8.84.

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS See above.

CONDITION Dented in “curl” area, a presumed stylization of the extension of the crown of the falcon’s head.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 28, pl. 13r.

### **242** LEFT-FACING *WD3T*-EYE

Fig. 238a (center right)

MMA 26.8.85.

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS See above.

CONDITION Eye crushed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 28, pl. 13q.

### **243** LEFT-FACING *WD3T*-EYE

Fig. 238a (lower right)

MMA 26.8.86.

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS See above.

CONDITION Suspension ring flattened; cheek stripe of bird crushed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 28, pl. 13s.

### **244** LEFT-FACING *WD3T*-EYE

Fig. 238a (upper right)

MMA 26.8.87

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold (see Appendix 2).

DIMENSIONS See above.

CONDITION Suspension ring flattened; eye crushed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 28, pl. 13u.

## **VESSELS, OINTMENT STORAGE JAR INSCRIPTIONS**

**Six inscriptions (245–50);** see p. 315

### *Provenance*

Five Tuthmoside jars (71, 75–8) appeared in 1919 with modern inscriptions 245–9. A sixth jar, 69, appeared in 1920 with different type of modern inscription (250).

### *Previous assessment*

Winlock did not raise the question of forgery for any of the inscriptions below (1948: 56 no. 1, 57 nos. 2–5 and 9, pls. 31a and 33).

### *Current understanding*

The determinations of forgery rest on paleography and placement of inscription.

Five of the inscriptions are exceedingly similar (245–9). Four are on serpentinite jars 75–8, and the fifth on travertine jar 71; all came to light together.

On the four serpentinite jars, a simple frame encloses a standard inscription naming Tuthmosis III (see Lilyquist 1995a: 15). The box frame is atypical but not unknown (loc. cit: passim in catalogue; see vessel 53 here). However, paleographic details are unconvincing. The legs of the s3-bird are wooden, the head and body sinuous; the *ntr nfr* is

short, the *mn*-sign always has six ticks, and the beetle below it is shaped like a vase; the *dt*-snake is notably languid because the *t*- and land-sign are so far below it. Further, several of the Thoth-birds raise the front leg, while the beetle below it looks somewhat humanoid. In fact, storage jars **49** and **56** (pp. 204, 206)—believed to be from Wady Qurud—have similar inscriptions, even to the lack of door bolt-O34 in the cartouche; also, jar **59** (p. 207) lacks the middle legs of the scarab in the second cartouche. But these inscriptions have more life than those below.

The placement of inscriptions on these four jars is not canonical either, being somewhat low on the vessel. In addition, that on the jug should be opposite the handle, not off-center at the side (cf. Lilyquist 1988b: fig. 9).

The other example of a modern inscription, **250**, is a single column that was incised with a much sharper tool; it is again set low on the jar. The narrow frame, thickened along the top, is slightly askew and also set slightly low. The spacing of signs is especially problematic: several lines extend further than warranted; the cartouche ring is separated from its tie; the top of the *nh*-sign virtually touches the horizontal line of the cartouche. Other observations are that the *mn*-sign is irregular (more so than drawn); the scarab forelegs are considerably wider than the hind legs; there is no tick in *dl* and *hmnw* is written only with *h*, while the apparent ½-sign is schematic. In fact, horizontal cracks and abrasion may be responsible for the diagonal part of the ½-sign, in which case the original sign would have been no more than two parallel lines, one above the other.

This inscription may also have a prototype in a jar believed to have come from the tomb, one that came to light in 1919 (**61**, p. 208). *Hmnw* there is also abbreviated.

**245** Inscription on MMA 26.8.12, Cat. **75**  
Fig. 239a

**248** Inscription on MMA 26.8.13, Cat. **78**  
Fig. 239d

**246** Inscription on MMA 26.8.14a, Cat. **76**  
Fig. 239b

**249** Inscription on MMA 26.8.10a, Cat. **71**  
Fig. 239e

**247** Inscription on MMA 26.8.16a, Cat. **77**  
Fig. 239c

**250** Inscription on MMA 26.8.23a, Cat. **69**  
Fig. 239f  
Inscription “Good god (*mn-hpr-r*), given life; *hmnw*, 3[½].”

## VESSELS, PRECIOUS EXAMPLES

**Twenty-one gold vessels (251–71)**; see pp. 272f., 275, 316f.

### *Provenance*

Fifteen vessels in the MMA have the standard early provenance (**251–6**, **260–2**, **266–71**); six others were acquired by the MMA (**257**, **263**), St. Louis (**258**, **264**), and Virginia (**259**, **265**) in the late 1950s–early 1960s with a Wady Qurud provenance. The latter six were noted by Keimer (1949: 139).

### *Previous assessment*

Winlock believed that the vessels he published were for drink, at the same time that he remarked on the uniformity of their size and shape, clumsy proportions, varying weights, and poorly written inscriptions naming *mn-hpr-r*. He concluded that they were models (1948: 58f.). Hayes simply referred to them as drinking vessels (1959b: 139). In 1976, Bruce Williams noted that some vessels had “really poor inscriptions and poorer proportions.”

Museum records state that **269–70** were washed before coming to the Museum.

### *Current understanding*

In 1982, the MMA announced that seventeen gold vessels that had been believed to have come from the Wady Qurud were, in fact, modern (Brenson 1982; Egyptian Gazette 1982; Hamlyn 1982; Wallach 1982). The problem lay not so much with the forms—although the ring-based composite bowl, round-based cup with pedestal foot, and composite jar with pedestal foot were particularly poorly shaped types (Figs. 241g, 240b–c, 241c respectively). Nor did the problem lie so much with the facts that the vessels came in sets of three, were all of one material and size, and included full-scale shapes such as the beakers, as well as models, such as the tall-necked jars.

The greatest problems were compositional and technical. The gold of three vessels sampled was of high purity (Appendix 2); one was of 22 karat (**261**). Further, the solder on the vessels (see below) was hard solder with a very high copper content (see comments on joining, pp. 274–7).



Technically, the wall thickness was quite uneven at the same time that the weight of each vessel was surprisingly close (about 100 grams), Winlock notwithstanding. This raised the question of whether the basic stock had been ingots (Stone). One vessel showed evidence of rolling (Fig. 222b, p. 273), but virtually all had obvious hammer marks that did not follow a rational pattern (Fig. 222a; see pp. 122 and 274). Hammer marks would normally have been smoothed and polished away by an ancient goldsmith, after a shape had been beaten out with hammers of successively smaller radii. In addition, there was herringbone patterning (Fig. 222c) and random peck marks (Fig. 221e), presumably inflicted to indicate wear. The surface was frosty from artificial etching; the rims were hard-soldered on rather than turned outward or folded under (Fig. 221a–c). In the case of composite bowls 254–6 and composite jars 269–71, wall angles had been reinforced with solder. Finally, inscriptions were engraved with a burin (cf. Fig. 221f [above] with the chased 173 on p. 236 [bottom left]), and in one case seemed to antedate the hard-soldered rim (255).

However, it was not only the use of a non-ancient tools and techniques that damned the objects but also the inscriptions. All had the same content and format, one known on a few storage jars (Lilyquist 1995a: nos. 92, 98) and a number of precious vessels (87–9, 92, 94–7, 103, pp. 214f., 217–9). On the lid of precious vessel 93 (p. 216), the top of the frame is a *pt*-sign made with two parallel lines, but on the gold vessels, the frame is sometimes a box, a rectangle with abbreviated ticks, two parallel lines, or, most unusually, a rectangle without its top line (cf. contemporary stone and faience vessels—Lilyquist 1995a: passim in catalogue; Petrie 1937: pl. 12; Carter and Newberry 1904: CG 46206—and later gold vessels, Müller and Thiem 1998: figs. 444–5, 450). The placement of the panel on the vessel wall was also irregular, being unusually high and of varying proportions.

As for the paleography on the gold vessels, it is clumsy at the same time that it is curiously regular. For example, often the layout is crowded or the inscription is pushed up against the rim (Figs. 221f [right], 240a, 241c–h); in other inscriptions the signs are surrounded by extra space (Fig. 221f [left]). Individual signs, when compared with the authentic examples cited below, show the beetles' bodies as large and blocky rather than made of separated parts, with vestigial middle legs and front and back legs usually terminated by several digits (Fig. 221f [left]). The flag often tilts upward, and the sun disks are round rather than oval. The *shen*-tie is usually of even width with squared-off ends; the cartouches are oversized (also cf. the ornaments of pp. 236f. with vessels in Figs. 221f [left] and 240a–b and d, and bracelet on p. 326).

In general, there is little variation in line width, sign shape, and sign placement in the gold vessel inscriptions, nor are there “stops” from the chaser (the indentation where the tool stops, see the interior lines of the basket on p. 236 in Fig. 172 [left]). The execution is labored rather than sure from experience and tradition, and there is no grace in the relationship of one sign to the next. In the end, the inscriptions lack life, partly because the engraved line is often of constant width and is shallow, owing to tentativeness (cf. the scratchy line of Fig. 221f [left] with the sure line of the excellently chased ornament in Fig. 173 [left]; they are roughly comparable in scale).

Excellent inscriptions on objects believed to come from Wady Qurud offer useful comparisons. Closest in scale and material are those on the falcon terminals 129 (p. 231) and hinged gold ornaments 141–3 (also closest in type; pp. 236f.). The latter are the presumed models for the inscriptions of gold vessels 251–71 and gold bracelets 310 (p. 326). In addition, the larger inscriptions on silver ritual vessels 13–5 offer good parallels (p. 195; Lilyquist 1991: fig. 22; Lilyquist 1988b: figs. 63–4), as do the inscription on vitreous vessel 93 (p. 216) and travertine jars 54, 57 (pp. 206f.).

Dorman drew attention to the fact that small-scale hieroglyphic inscriptions on minor arts are formed differently than inscriptions on large stone monuments. This is clear to the Egyptologist studying ink on papyrus or textile (cf. Franco 1988), chasing in metalwork, delicate carving of stone and vitreous materials, and glaze on faience. But the paleography on the gold vessels does not belong with the style of small-scale inscriptions, and Dorman suggested that this paleography had its origins in the Theinhardt font that was based on monumental Saite period texts and first published in 1875 (ZÄS 1875: section L). This font was used by various Egyptological journals in the first part of the 20th century, and printed the cartouche of Tuthmosis III in a 1915 article of the *JEA* (Hall 1915: 148), a year before the Wady Qurud tomb was found and robbed. Figure 223 illustrates that cartouche, beetles from the Theinhardt font, and beetles from the Gardiner font first published in 1928 (Gardiner 1928: section L). The English font was based on 18th dynasty Theban hieroglyphs, and shows the beetle to be less broad proportionally, its middle legs more developed, and its head more rectangular.

The inscriptions on the vessels were made by several people, but it cannot be said that any group was convincing. The round-based bowls 251–3, semi-restricted cups 266–8, and ring-based composite bowls 254–6 has inscriptions that were quite similar one to the next. At the same time, one of the beakers among 260–2 and one of the composite jars among 269–71 had inscriptions differing from those of their partners. For further discussion of inscribed precious-metal vessels, see Lilyquist (1988b).

Many vessels have a red metallurgical “cement” on the surface, as well as a red organic residue that was traced to the ointment in the storage jars (see p. 278).

## Catalogue Part C, Various Dates

### 251 ROUND-BASED BOWL

Figs. 240a, 240e

MMA 26.8.56 (P 186, 187, or 188).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1922.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H 3.7, Diam 12.7.

MANUFACTURE Beaten out from one piece; self-rim folds inward. Center of base interior has an orientation point; surrounding it are three incised circles. Point on exterior not visible, but at least seven circles there. Dull finish; tool marks mainly confined to rim area, being file and parallel chisel scratches.

INSCRIPTION Rectangular frame lists to one side; spacing of signs fair.

CONDITION Certain amount of red residue on exterior near rim.

### 252 ROUND-BASED BOWL

Figs. 221b, 240e

MMA 26.8.57 (P 186, 187, or 188).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1922.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H 3.7, Diam 12.1.

MANUFACTURE As 251, including three circles inside and seven outside, but points preserved on each surface. Extensive manipulation of rim, which was hard-soldered on.

INSCRIPTION Similar to 251.

CONDITION Certain amount of red residue on exterior.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1939: 22, fig. 4; N. Scott 1944: fig. 17; Illustrated London News 1945: 24; N. Scott 1973: 151; Lesko 1977: 43; Casson 1981: 55.

### 253 ROUND-BASED BOWL

Fig. 240e

MMA 26.8.58 (P 186, 187, or 188).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1922.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H 3.7, Diam 12.3.

MANUFACTURE As 251-2 except that no points are visible, and concentric circles (three inside, seven outside) are faint.

INSCRIPTION Comparable to 251-2.

CONDITION Some reddish residue within and without.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 35a (bottom center).

### 254 RING-BASED COMPOSITE BOWL

Figs. 222c, 240e

MMA 26.8.50 (P 116, 117, or 118).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold (see Appendix 2).

DIMENSIONS H 4.0, Diam 8.7.

MANUFACTURE Edge of applied rim, solder, and scraping clearly evident; carination point slightly rounded, not crisp; possible that vertical wall was separate from base with ring foot. Hammering, pick marks, delamination, file marks as on vessels previously described; inside base of vessel especially distressed by circular pattern.

INSCRIPTION Frame consists of two parallel lines at sides

and one horizontal line below; panel tight between rim and carination, with no room for top frame line.

Cartouche ring as on 262, 271; signs crowded.

CONDITION Red material from surface analyzed by Wypyski, see p. 278.

### 255 RING-BASED COMPOSITE BOWL

Figs. 240e, 241g

MMA 26.8.51 (P 116, 117, or 118).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H 4.1, Diam 8.7.

MANUFACTURE As 254.

INSCRIPTION As 254.

CONDITION Red deposits analyzed by Wypyski as metallurgical cement.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 35a (upper left).

### 256 RING-BASED COMPOSITE BOWL

Figs. 221f (right), 240e

MMA 26.8.52 (P 116, 117, or 118).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H 4.15, Diam 8.7.

MANUFACTURE As 254-5.

INSCRIPTION As 254-5.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1939: 122, fig. 4; N. Scott 1944: fig. 17; Illustrated London News 1945: 24; Hayes 1959b: 139, fig. 77; Kayser 1969: fig. 4; Lesko 1977: 43.

### 257 CUP WITH PEDESTAL FOOT

Figs. 221d, 240b, 240e

MMA 58.92.1

SOURCE Purchase, Funds from various donors, 1958.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H 8.6, Diam 7.6.

MANUFACTURE Self-rim folded over? Hollow foot has vertical seam, is joined to bottom of cup; coloration of solder gray. Hammer, pick, and file marks all visible as on vessels purchased earlier in century.

INSCRIPTION Rectangular panel. General effect better than on other vessels, but frame and *dī* still not first quality, to say nothing of shape of divine flag, beetle, cartouche tie.

CONDITION Quite a bit of red organic residue on interior.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Hayes 1958: 46; N. Scott 1964: 231.

### 258 CUP WITH PEDESTAL FOOT

Figs. 240c (lower right), d

St. Louis Art Museum 51.1959.

SOURCE Friends Fund.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H 8.9, Diam of rim 8.1.

MANUFACTURE Studied by Stone, Frantz, and Dorman in 1983.

INSCRIPTION Similar to 262.

BIBLIOGRAPHY C. Nagel 1960.

## Chapter 7

### **259** CUP WITH PEDESTAL FOOT

Fig. 240c (upper right)

Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 63-56-3.

SOURCE Purchase, The Williams Fund, 1963.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H 8.5, rim Diam 7.1.

MANUFACTURE Studied by Stone, Frantz, and Dorman in 1982.

INSCRIPTION Similar to **263**.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 1973: no. 24.

### **260** BEAKER

Figs. 221e, f (right); 240e

MMA 26.8.47 (P 69, 72, or 190).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920 or 1922.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H 7.5, Diam 7.5.

MANUFACTURE Rim, composed of a flat ring, is joined to top of vessel; foot protrudes slightly. Surface has a dull quality. Horizontal burnishing strokes below rim on exterior; rest of surface textured from distress marks, including interior. Wall at bottom of *di*-sign damaged.

INSCRIPTION Inscription framed by two parallel lines; sketchy execution, poor spacing, cartouche tie misunderstood.

### **261** BEAKER

Figs. 240e, 241a

MMA 26.8.48 (P 69, 72, or 190).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920 or 1922.

MATERIAL Gold (see Appendix 2).

DIMENSIONS H 7.4, Diam 7.8.

MANUFACTURE Vessel size, fabrication, inscription, and damage to *di*-sign similar to **260**.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1939: 121, fig. 4; Winlock 1948: 58.

### **262** BEAKER

Figs. 221a, 240e, 241b

MMA 26.8.49 (P 69, 72, or 190).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920 or 1922.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H 7.6, Diam 7.3.

MANUFACTURE As **260**-1 but better shaped. Horizontal delamination on exterior below rim, and one vertical instance on interior near rim.

INSCRIPTION As on **260**-1 but with complete frame, including ticks at top. Double lines for cartouche ring, surer hand, but spacing of some signs still not good and beetle and tie of cartouche uncharacteristic.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1939: 122, fig. 4; N. Scott 1944: fig. 17; Illustrated London News 1945: 24; Winlock 1948: pl. 35a (lower left); Kayser 1969: fig. 4; N. Scott 1973: 151; Lesko 1977: 43.

### **263** TALL-NECKED JAR

Figs. 222a, 225 (right), 240e, 241e

MMA 58.92.2.

SOURCE Purchase, Funds from various donors, 1958.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H 7.0, Diam 5.0.

MANUFACTURE Separate rim; ring foot. Extensive hammering on exterior; file marks on rim and in patches on body; foot surrounded by pick marks.

INSCRIPTION Frame on sides and bottom, a bit at top.

Some signs sure, others not.

CONDITION Reddish residue inside.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Hayes 1958: 46; N. Scott 1964: 231.

### **264** TALL-NECKED JAR

Figs. 240c (lower left), 241f

St. Louis Art Museum 52.1959.

SOURCE Purchased with funds bequeathed to the City Art Museum by Mrs. Martha Sproule Clark.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H 6.9, widest Diam 5.4.

MANUFACTURE Studied by Stone, Frantz, and Dorman in 1983.

INSCRIPTION Very highly placed under rim.

BIBLIOGRAPHY C. Nagel 1960.

### **265** TALL-NECKED JAR

Fig. 240c (upper left)

Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 63-56-2.

SOURCE Purchase, The Williams Fund, 1963.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H 6.7, rim Diam 5.0.

MANUFACTURE Studied by Stone, Frantz, and Dorman in 1982.

INSCRIPTION As **264**.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 1973: no. 24.

### **266** SEMI-RESTRICTED CUP

Figs. 240e, 241h

MMA 26.8.53 (P 119, 120, or 121).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H 5.1, Diam 8.35.

MANUFACTURE Rim attached separately. Hammer, pick, and file marks as well as delamination; parallel lines on bottom interior, see **268**.

INSCRIPTION Rectangular frame. Cartouche ring like **254-6**, **271**; engraving by sure hand with a fine point, but spacing still poor.

CONDITION Film of black and of red in interior.

### **267** SEMI-RESTRICTED CUP

Fig. 240e

MMA 26.8.54 (P 119, 120, or 121).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold (see Appendix 2).

DIMENSIONS H 5.1, Diam 8.3.

MANUFACTURE As **266**. Extensive delamination inside; intentional distressing outside.

INSCRIPTION Similar to **266** but panel not plumb. Extra stroke to proper left of panel.

CONDITION Red deposits analyzed by Wypyski as metallurgical cement, see p. 278.

BIBLIOGRAPHY N. Scott 1944: fig. 17; Illustrated London News 1945: 24; Hayes 1959b: fig. 77; Kayser 1969: fig. 4; Lesko 1977: 42.

## Catalogue Part C, Various Dates

### **268 SEMI-RESTRICTED CUP**

Figs. 222b, 240e

MMA 26.8.55 (P 119, 120, or 121).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H 4.95, Diam 8.1.

MANUFACTURE As **267**. Pattern of parallel lines on interior indicates metal was rolled (Stone).

INSCRIPTION Comparable to that on **267**.

CONDITION One spot on shoulder apparently dented and straightened out.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1939: 122, fig. 4; Winlock 1948: pl. 35a (upper right).

### **269 COMPOSITE JAR**

Fig. 240e

MMA 26.8.44 (P 70–1 or 189).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920 or 1922.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H 9.4, Diam 5.75.

MANUFACTURE Body appears made in one piece; point where neck meets body not well defined. Hollow foot separate, with vertical seam visible and lighter colored solder zone around join to body. Surface dull, hammer marks throughout, pick marks near rim. Occasional file marks; area of delamination on inner wall of neck.

INSCRIPTION Framed by two parallel lines on neck of jar; lines run entirely to rim, starting at base of neck. Sketchy execution, poor spacing of signs.

### **270 COMPOSITE JAR**

Figs. 240e, 241d

MMA 26.8.45 (P 70–1 or 189).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920 or 1922.

MATERIAL GOLD.

DIMENSIONS H 9.6, Diam 5.9.

MANUFACTURE More finished than **269**, but delamination and hammer, pick, and file marks are present nevertheless. Bowl and neck of vessel appear to be two separate parts but reinforcement probably accounts for this.

INSCRIPTION Similar to **269**.

CONDITION One dent in body.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1939: 122, fig. 4; Winlock 1948: pl. 35a (lower right).

### **271 COMPOSITE JAR**

Figs. 221c, 240e, 241c

MMA 26.8.46 (P 70–1 or 189).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920 or 1922.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H 9.9, Diam 6.0.

MANUFACTURE Rim made separately. Foot interior shows beads of solder along vertical seam; considerable tooling and file marks. Larger than **269–70**.

INSCRIPTION Placement and content as **269** but frame on four sides with a possible tick in upper corner. Double ring for cartouche; rectangular bar forms the tie, as on **262**.

CONDITION Surface blackened in areas.

## **JEWELRY**

**Rosette elements, Wady Qurud type (272–82);** see pp. 318ff.

### *Provenance*

All rosettes in this group have the standard early provenance (P 33, 84, 179, 181, 195, 198–9, 201, 203).

### *Previous assessment*

These rosettes were in the Great Headdress with the credit line, Purchase, Henry Walters and Edward S. Harkness Gifts, 1920.

### *Current understanding*

Rudolf Anthes wrote Lansing (then Curator) on Alexander Scharff's behalf when Winlock's publication of 1948 appeared. Anthes called attention to rosettes that Berlin had purchased in 1925–26 (**118**) which included an eleventh "die schon Moharreb Todrus als Fälschung bezeichnet hatte" (2 Nov. 1948, MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art). Scharff had written the entries of the Berlin register in the mid-1920s, and wrote Winlock also after the appearance of the latter's book:

I remember faintly that at the same time as the purchase in Berlin *one* rosette was added by the dealer, which surely was a modern forgery, but without anything further was impossible to distinguish from the 8 sure rosettes. So also on this territory have the fakers in Qurna already "worked." (letter of 13 Oct. 1948, MMA Dept. of Egyptian Art)

Presumably the rosette in question was of the type below that the author terms "Wady Qurud type," **272–82**. This categorization has taken many years of study, and was particularly aided by the recent expertise of goldsmith Robert Baines. It was difficult in part because genuine inlaid rosette elements had sometimes been cleaned or repaired (cf. **281–2**), and were highly compromised. In a few cases characterization remained difficult, notably with eight and one-half trapezoids in wig covering **114**, and the four trapezoids of **282**.

## Chapter 7

Essentially, the four hundred seventy-two horseshoe and four trapezoid elements in this section have the same construction as those from the Wady Qurud but differ in technical details. Thus it appears that the ancient and modern smiths worked in a similar manner and faced similar challenges, but that the modern one had less control and made use of techniques that the ancient one did not. In the modern examples, the gold is usually thin (Fig. 226a, p. 276), with very blistered interiors and flooded hard solder that has a coppery or tawny hue. Numerous coupons can be seen (Fig. 226a [left]: left row, bottom). Often the elements have a specular brightness, perhaps because the gold was heated too high during soldering. In other cases, there may have been an organic substance added that changed the gold color to metallic green, gray, or orange. The buttons were often stamped (Fig. 226a [left]: left row, center).

The elements in this group have very regularly shaped and pristine backs with sharp edges. They are sometimes of disturbingly uniform size (272, 276), and their spokes are made as Vs rather than individual bars (Fig. 226a [left]: left row, bottom; this feature in itself was not thought a sure sign of the forger). Thin rings were soldered in place with the help of binding wire (Fig. 226a [right]: upper right corner of photo), and there is no bedding material or inlay except in one group, where a crumbly filling may have been an attempt to mimic crizzled glass (279).

The eleven groups below were strung according to appearance in 1983, when their categorization (“ancient?” “modern?” “indeterminate?”) was still undecided. Since then, they have been identified as modern, with a few ancient rosettes mixed in panels 273, 276–8, and 281 (Fig. 243f shows three ancient rosettes at the top of the two proper leftmost rows). The trapezoidal group 282 is puzzling but in all probability modern.

### 272 FORTY-FIVE ROSETTES

Fig. 242a

MMA 26.8.117m.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS Panel H 5.3, W 14.5; rosette Diam 0.9–1.0.

MANUFACTURE Backs pristine; inner surfaces are gold-orange, green, or metallic gray, sometimes blistered. Wire-marked rings; buttons very flat. No inlay or cement.

### 273 ONE HUNDRED THIRTY-FIVE EMPTY ROSETTES

Fig. 242c

MMA 26.8.117l.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS Panel H 19.0, W 23.9; rosette Diam 1.2–1.7.

MANUFACTURE Blistered inner surface, metallic orange, gray, or green; loose solder coupons. V-spokes; thin wire-marked rings; most if not all buttons newly stamped. No inlay or cement.

ANCIENT First row on proper right, third and ninth from top; second row from right, top; fourth row from right, top. First row on proper left, ninth from top.

CONDITION One inlay set with wax.

### 274 TWENTY-SEVEN ROSETTES

Fig. 242b

MMA 26.8.117r.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS Panel H 9.5, W 8.8; rosette Diam 1.2–1.5.

MANUFACTURE All with thin wire-wrapped rings and pristine backs. Interiors with black scale. Most if not all buttons new.

CONDITION One inlay waxed in.

### 275 FORTY-FOUR ROSETTES

Fig. 242d

MMA 26.8.117k.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS Diam of rosettes 1.8–2.1.

MANUFACTURE Backs pristine and thin, very battered, too fragile to string. Stock very thin, often eaten through. Numerous solder coupons; many V-spokes. Black scale on some of the gold; blue cast on others a reaction to flux or residue of adhesive? Flooded solder, often pink; file marks. Most buttons newly stamped; many rings with marks of wire. Some elements with crumbly inlay like 279.

CONDITION One turquoise glass inlay reset.

### 276 THIRTY-THREE EMPTY ROSETTES

Fig. 243a

MMA 26.8.117n.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS Panel H 5.3, W 10.5; rosette Diam 0.9–1.0.

MANUFACTURE Similar to 272 but lighter-colored gold.

Pristine backs; wire-marked rings; buttons very flat; no traces of inlay or cement.

ANCIENT First row of proper left, third from top. Second row from proper right, top.

### 277 EIGHTY-EIGHT EMPTY ROSETTES

Figs. 226a, 243b

MMA 26.8.117o.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS Panel H 21.5, W 13.6; rosette Diam 1.1–1.7.

MANUFACTURE Backs pristine and thin, interiors blistered—one with an inner “floor,” one with numerous coupons. V-shaped spokes, wire-wrapped rings, newly stamped buttons.

ANCIENT First row on proper right: top, second, fourth, and eighth. Second row from proper right: top and ninth from top. Third row from proper right: top and fifth from top. Middle row: top. First row of proper left: second from top. Third row of proper left: third down.

CONDITION One inlay reset.

### 278 FIFTY-ONE ROSETTES

Fig. 243c

MMA 26.8.117p.

MATERIALS Gold, carnelian, jasper, turquoise glass.

DIMENSIONS Panel H 17.0, W 9.2; rosette Diam 0.9–1.5.

## Catalogue Part C, Various Dates

**MANUFACTURE** Thin backs blistered; loose coupons; V-spokes. Wire-wrapped rings, most buttons newly stamped, a few flat.  
**ANCIENT** First row of proper right: sixth down. Middle row: last rosette. First row of proper left: second from top.  
**CONDITION** Inlay (modern?) set with wax.

### **279 THIRTY-FOUR ROSETTES**

Fig. 243g  
MMA 26.8.117t.

**MATERIALS** Gold; crumbly inlay.  
**DIMENSIONS** Panel H 7.0, W 15.8; rosette Diam 1.2–1.5.  
**MANUFACTURE** Backs pristine but sometimes eaten through; inner surfaces orangish green. Some V-spokes, solder at apex in one instance. Most if not all buttons newly stamped; rings thin and marked by wire. Inlay is granular but not glassy.

### **280 TWO ROSETTES**

Fig. 243d  
MMA 26.8.117u.

**MATERIALS** Gold, resin.  
**DIMENSIONS** Diam of rosettes 0.9–1.3.  
**MANUFACTURE** V-spokes on one, with two coupons at center. Thin wire-tied rings; resin inlay. Flat button.

### **281 THIRTEEN ROSETTES**

Fig. 243f  
MMA 26.8.117s.

**MATERIALS** Gold, carnelian and jasper, turquoise glass.  
**DIMENSIONS** Panel H 6.0, W 11.5; rosette Diam 1.0–1.8.  
**MANUFACTURE** Inlays—set with thick wax—prevent full assessment, but these features indicate modern manufacture: a number of thin rings with wire marks; one element with spokes reinforced modernly; one back—with V-spokes—in mint condition (proper lower right); several minted buttons.  
**ANCIENT** Proper left row: top two elements. Second row from left: top.

### **282 FOUR TRAPEZOIDS FOR LEFT SIDE OF HEAD**

Fig. 243e  
MMA 26.8.117q.

**MATERIAL** Gold.  
**DIMENSIONS** Diam of rosettes 1.0.  
**MANUFACTURE** Negative characteristics are: pristine pale gold backs, often with file marks; rings usually hard-soldered on, several times with wire marks; rings with sharp edges (modern). Buttons flat. No inlay or cement. However, difficult to imagine how only a part of each element could be modern.

## **Rosette elements, round-petalled or inscribed (283–8); see pp. 276, 320**

### *Provenance*

All but group **288** has the standard early provenance.

### *Previous assessment*

These rosettes, usually with rounded petals and hieroglyphs on the reverse, are quite different from those of Wady Qurud-type above, **272–82**. Inscribed rosettes were noted by Carter in Luxor during the fall of 1916 (p. 47), and by Lansing in Cairo that December (Doc. 19, p. 36), although neither of those men considered the elements forgeries. Perhaps this type was meant, however, in Lansing's letter of March 1917 ("horseshoe shaped things . . . forged in large quantities of late," Doc. 21, p. 37). The Earl of Carnarvon may also have referred to the type in early 1919 (Doc. 28, p. 41), and Ludwig Keimer after 1927 (Keimer referred to seeing "une quantité considérable" of fake rosettes at different Luxor shops, above all with Mahmoud Mansour, 1949: 137f.).

Certainly by the time Winlock created the Great Headdress in 1937, the forty-three round-petalled rosettes the MMA had acquired were thought to be modern (**283–6**, not all inscribed; Winlock 1948: 15 note 5, 22). Winlock gave as his reasons the facts that the hieroglyphs were at right angles and that the placement of the side rings prevented intermeshing. Hayes referred to the MMA's examples in a letter of 1958 as "a tray-ful of such forgeries which we acquired for study purposes." According to Winlock, "a score" of other rosettes acquired in 1921 had already been melted down for restoration (loc. cit.); MMA records indicate that these numbered twenty.

In 1971, Alix Wilkinson suggested that Winlock's earlier designation as forgery might have been mistaken (1971: 219 note 3).

Group **287** was formerly included in the Great Headdress, but none of the other rosettes has ever been published. Groups **283–6** were not accessioned until 1983, and comprise the forty-three rosettes Winlock cited (1948: 15 note 5).

### *Current understanding*

The sixty-six items below have a different construction than the four hundred seventy-six of **272–82**. Here the perimeter of the element is walled by two strips (a deep, upside down U at the top, and a more shallow upside down U at the bottom: compare the configuration in an ancient example, p. 125), and spokes or loops forming rosettes

## Chapter 7

are placed within the open space. In most cases, a slightly curved wall is placed along the bottom edge of the rosette (curving upward) so that the petals appear to be circled in gold.

Two of the six groups have rosettes of ten petals formed from straight spokes: one has hieroglyphs on the back (288) and the other doesn't (287). Group 287 is more carefully made, but both have a similar construction, see below.

The other four groups have round petals for their rosettes. Group 283, with hieroglyphs, has each of its eight petals edged in gold. Groups 284 (with hieroglyphs) and 285 (plain) have every other of the ten petals edged. Group 286 has rosettes with only six petals; in one rosette two petals are outlined by one strip of gold, but in the remainder, each petal is framed in gold.

All the rosettes of this second type are inlaid with jasper. Further, all but one group has transparent blue glass undoubtedly colored with cobalt; that group (286) appears to have Egyptian blue.

### 283 TWENTY-FIVE INSCRIBED ROSETTES

Figs. 226c, 244a

MMA 26.8.117v (P 181).

SOURCE Rogers Fund, 1922.

MATERIALS Gold, jasper (sometimes with white patches), very translucent light blue glass undoubtedly colored with cobalt.

DIMENSIONS Panel H 7.6, W 8.6; rosette Diam 1.3.

MANUFACTURE Rosette with eight round petals inlaid with stone and glass. Within interior of empty elements, certain amount of flooding and blistering; elements orange, burned-looking; extra coupons. Solder by loops, a few of which are thin. A little filing, including on inlays; inlays chipped. Various hieroglyphs on backs formed by engraved lines from top surface. Placed so that the signs can be read, the following orientations result:

with rounded part of element on right: one with sign facing right, nine with signs facing left, ten with signs that could be read either way;

with rounded part of element on left: two with signs facing right, one with sign facing left, two with signs that could be read either way.

### 284 THREE INSCRIBED ROSETTES

Figs. 226b, 244c

MMA 26.8.117z (P 181).

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1922.

MATERIALS Gold, jasper, very translucent light blue glass undoubtedly colored with cobalt.

DIMENSIONS Diam of rosettes 1.2–1.3.

MANUFACTURE Five loops placed around every other petal, with extra pieces of gold edging the bottom of the flower. Tips of petals straight rather than rounded. Backs pristine, one cracked. Two elements have hieroglyphic signs oriented ninety degrees, made from top side; sign on third element unreadable. Rings have wire marks and hard solder. Cloisons crude, inlays too. Inlays ground, buttons flat.

CONDITION Resinous accretions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 15 note 5.

### 285 ELEVEN ROSETTES

Fig. 244d

MMA 26.8.117x (P 181).

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1922.

MATERIALS Gold, jasper, transparent blue glass undoubtedly colored with cobalt.

DIMENSIONS Panel H 3.9, W 8.3; rosette Diam 1.0–1.3.

MANUFACTURE Generally the scheme of 284, although only eight petals in one case. Rings substantial. Backs pristine and regular, two with tears. Buttons flat. Inlays roughly cut, ground.

CONDITION Resinous accretions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 15 note 5.

### 286 FOUR ROSETTES

Fig. 244b

MMA 26.8.117y (P 181).

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1922.

MATERIALS Gold; jasper; Egyptian blue(?) in cusps and between petal points.

DIMENSIONS Panel H 3.2, W 3.2; rosette Diam 1.3.

MANUFACTURE Rosette of six round petals, with an extra curved wall along the bottom edge. Back plates thin, edges sharp. Lead-soldered rings, some with wire marks. Very flat buttons. Surface of inlay ground, often chipped.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 15 note 5.

### 287 SEVEN ROSETTES

Fig. 244e

MMA 26.8.117w (formerly in 26.8.117: P 33, 84, 179, 181, 195, 198–9, 201, or 203).

SOURCE Purchase, Henry Walters and Edward S. Harkness Gifts, 1920.

MATERIALS Gold, jasper with yellow streaks, transparent blue glass undoubtedly colored with cobalt.

DIMENSIONS Panel H 4.8, W 5.2; rosette Diam 1.3.

MANUFACTURE Straight spokes form cloisons for ten petals; interior curved wall forms bottom edge of rosette. Backs thin but pristine, low carat gold; buttons domed. Side rings thin and wire-marked. Surface of inlays ground.

CONDITION Resinous accretions.

### 288 SIXTEEN INSCRIBED ROSETTES

Figs. 226d, 244f

MMA 58.153.4.

SOURCE Purchase, Frederick P. Huntley Bequest, 1958.

MATERIALS Gold, jasper, translucent purply-blue glass.

DIMENSIONS Diam of rosettes 1.5.

MANUFACTURE Scheme of 287 but more crudely made.

Back edges sharp; hieroglyphs formed there by wires.

Most signs can be read right or left but three are definitely oriented right and two are oriented left. Wire marks and hard solder on many rings. Buttons newly stamped. Inlay very crudely cut and ground; excess sandy cement.



**Broad collar units, shield-shaped elements (289–91); see p. 321**

*Provenance*

Items **290** and **291** have the standard early provenance; a single example of **291**-type appeared on the art market in 1979 (Christie, Manson & Woods 1979: lot 66).

One element was purchased in 1958 with Wady Qurud provenance (see **289**). It had slightly different details than **290–1**, but matched a group of elements given to the MMA earlier in the century. Those elements were acquired by J. P. Morgan from Mohammed Mohassib between 1909–12, and were on loan in the MMA from 1912–13 (L 1239.23). In 1917 they were given to the MMA by Morgan's son, J. Pierpont Morgan, two years after the elder Morgan's death.

*Previous assessment*

All elements were considered ancient and used in the composite multicolored collar (pp. 169f., above). See Winlock (1948: pl. 11) and Hayes (1959b: 133) for Winlock's restoration, and Aldred (1971: pl. 65), A. Wilkinson (1971: pl. 34), and C. Andrews (1990: fig. 103) for Scott's that included the Morgan elements.

*Current understanding*

Parallels for the shield-shaped elements **289–91** lie in the Amenhotep III–Amarna rather than Tuthmoside period, both in representations (N. G. Davies 1923: pl. 23; T. Davis 1907: pl. 9) and on the collar from KV 55 (T. Davis 1910: pl. 21). Note that the latter has three rounded cloisons as opposed to one rectangular and one semi-circular inlay separated by a gold strip (Aldred 1971: pl. 71, cf. pl. 65; Müller and Thiem 1998: fig. 69). Compare also some pendants excavated in Cyprus (Murray et al. 1900: pl. 5) and others purchased from the Salt collection in 1835 (C. Andrews 1990: fig. 60).

Other details do not support a Tuthmoside date for the elements below either: the use of gold and silver together, as well as the use of dark red inlay (both more common starting with the reign of Amenhotep III); inclusion of engraved irrelevant *ms*-hieroglyphs, sometimes upside down (Fig. 227); hard soldering, sharp edges, ill-fitting inlays, waxy cement, and file marks on the metal as well as inlays.

Two silver backs from the Morgan gift were tested (**289**); they had a high silver content (92.0–92.2%) with a little gold (2.2–2.3%), and the remainder was copper (see Appendix 2). The other four backs tested—two elements from **290** and two from **291**—showed very high silver composition (98.5–99.9%) with no gold and the remainder copper (also Appendix 2). There are no known parallels for such a composition among the admittedly few, published analyses of ancient Egyptian silver (Mishara and Meyers 1974: Table 1 Group 1; Gale and Stos-Gale 1981: 111f.). The gold parts of these same fittings were not high karat.

While the analytical evidence thus damned the metal fittings, a clear identification of the glass was not possible. All glasses looked similar in having no signs of weathering at the same time that they bore considerable file marks and were often ill-fitting, sometimes having convex surfaces. Brill—on the basis of microscopic examination—stated that the glass surface itself, and the bubbles and stones within, did not suggest an ancient Egyptian date for any of the inlays (communications, 3 and 30 Nov. 1999). None of the inlays has the quality of the blue inlay in a drop element published in Lilyquist and Brill (1993: 34 no. 10 [133 above]).

When eight separate inlays were sampled, however (Appendix 3), six of them had compositions that fell within the range of Dynasty 18 glasses as published by Lilyquist and Brill (cf. the copper glasses of Appendix 3 with Lilyquist and Brill 1993: 36–9, nos. 2, 6, 8, 11, 14, 19, 24, 28, 32; and cf. the cobalt glasses of Appendix 3 with Lilyquist and Brill 1993: nos. 5, 9–10, 16, 20, 25, 29, 34). This applied to cobalt inlays in **291**, **289** (element 1, with a slightly high level of Na<sub>2</sub>O), but also **290** where Brill said there was no weathering at all in a series of fine bubbles on the surface (element 2). If these three glasses are to be considered ancient, their poor physical characteristics must be accounted for, and a glass source for the forger as well. Brill states that Roman and Islamic cobalt-colored glasses were soda-lime, and modern glass would, in all likelihood, be also. The analyses, therefore, cannot be definitive for determining date (communications, 16 Apr. and 30. Nov. 2001).

As for the turquoise glass inlays, three fell within and two without the compositional range of published 18th dynasty glasses. Of the two falling without, that from **289**'s element 2 was low in Na<sub>2</sub>O, MgO, and Cl; was high in Al<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub>; lacked Sb<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub> for opacity; and had absolutely no MgO. This glass was also high in PbO, where lead appears

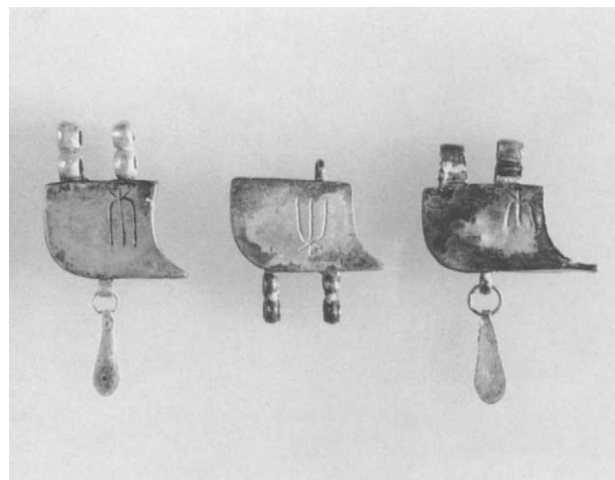


Fig. 227. Modern shield-shaped backs with *ms*-hieroglyph, 1:1. Left to right, Cats. **289** (MMA 17.190.1970a), **290**, **291**

otherwise in 18th dynasty glasses as lead antimonate. The second atypical inlay (**291** element 2) was high in  $\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3$ , low in Cl, had only a trace of  $\text{Sb}_2\text{O}_3$  for opacity, and again had no MgO. To identify the source of opacity, Wypyski looked for fluorine and arsenic ( $\text{F}$ ,  $\text{As}_2\text{O}_3$ ) and found quite a high percentage of fluorine in both inlays, corresponding to their absence of magnesium. Surprisingly, while the second inlay was more translucent than the first—despite the fact that it had a trace of antimony—the first could not be visually distinguished from the three turquoise inlays that had fallen within the range of 18th dynasty glasses.

Two copper-colored glasses from the MMA's Department of Islamic Art were then analyzed (also Appendix 3), to see if such glass might have been the source for the two fluorine glasses, or even those that appeared consistent with 18th dynasty glasses. Samples were taken from two glass rods which had formerly been thought to be ancient Egyptian because of the similarity of their material to Egyptian copper-colored glass (Cooney 1981). According to Stefano Carboni (communication, May 2000), turquoise opaque glass was produced during the 12th–13th centuries, and colonnettes of this material decorated the Mamluk Cairo mosque of Sheikh Mu'ayyad (died ca. 1420 AD). Cooney suggested that glass repairs to that mosque were made in the late 19th century, and thus that the earlier Islamic glass was imitated in more modern times. In Carboni's estimation, MMA 17.194.2466 is more the color of the earlier glass, and its pinched shape in fact reflects the shape of a column. According to Wypyski, the composition of neither rod is typical of medieval Islamic glasses because of their rather high sodium and very low magnesium content.

One final test was made, from a translucent turquoise glass made and purchased in the Cairo bazaar about 1978 (Appendix 3). The composition was not dissimilar to 18th dynasty Egyptian glass except for low chlorine and potassium, but barium was present.

In conclusion, two turquoise inlays are modern on the basis of composition. One of these is identical in appearance to three turquoise inlays that compositionally fall within the range of 18th dynasty glasses. Three cobalt-colored glasses fall within the compositional range of 18th dynasty glasses, but do not appear to be so on the basis of their surface, lack of weathering, stones, and bubbles; glass in element 1 of **289** is especially problematic.

All inlays are poorly shaped and have abundant file marks.

#### **289** TWENTY INLAID ELEMENTS WITH DOUBLE SUSPENSION RINGS

Figs. 227 (left), 245 (top)

MMA 17.190.1970a, 58.153.18.

SOURCE Nineteen pendants, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917. One pendant, Purchase, Frederick P. Huntley Bequest, 1958.

MATERIALS Silver, gold, ivory or bone, copper-colored glass, cobalt-colored glass; see Appendixes 2, 3.

DIMENSIONS H of element 1.1 (without rings), W 1.7.

MANUFACTURE Backs are silver, with the remaining metal-work gold (side walls, strip and triangle on top surface, suspension loops, drop pendants). Backs soldered to side walls clumsily, with gold wall overlapping itself at proper rightmost point of element. Double suspension rings are rounded, thick, and have file marks. File marks also occur liberally on gold triangles.

On the lower edge of each element is a thin ring, hard-soldered closed, to which a small drop-shaped pendant has been attached. This small pendant-type is made of three parts: back, raised front, and ring at top juncture. The solid back is cut for an air hole, each element is worn, a red coating appears to be silver sulfide, and Cleveland/Grossbard observed PGE inclusions in several instances. (These features speak for the authenticity of the small pendants.)

Each shield-shaped element has a rectangular inlay of turquoise glass fitted into the top cloison, a semicircular dark blue inlay fitted into the cloison below it, and a flared white inlay to their right. The inlays are polished; some dark blue examples are convex. Most inlays have file marks, especially the white. The dark blue glass is generally opaque, although in several elements it is translucent and in two it has white striae. Edges of the white

inlay are very sharp; several are notched at the top so that there is no inlay under the gold triangle.

Cement is a sandy waxy mixture.

INSCRIPTION Hieroglyphic *ms*-sign on back of each, right side up.

CONDITION Some surface deposits. The single element 58.153.18 lacks a double-bead suspension loop, while the remaining loop is damaged; back plate fragmentary.

#### **290** TWENTY INLAID ELEMENTS WITH SINGLE SUSPENSION RING

Figs. 227 (center), 245 (second from top)

MMA P 35.

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIALS Silver, gold, ivory or bone, copper-colored glass, translucent cobalt-colored glass; see Appendixes 2, 3.

DIMENSIONS H of element 1.0 (without rings), W 1.7.

MANUFACTURE Backs silver, remaining parts gold. Double loops less substantial than **289** but also rounded, and are on bottom rather than top side of elements; edges appear cut. Gold strip and triangle on surface of element filed; side wall overlap is on bottom, between rings. One small off-center loop is on top. Silver backs filed, *ms*-signs engraved.

All inlays ill-fitting and with file marks. Cobalt glass translucent; nine examples have brown surface that Brill states contain a conglomeration of fine bubbles in which there is no weathering; one of these inlays was analyzed. White inlays often have notch at top.

Cement is a sandy, waxy mixture.

INSCRIPTION On back, hieroglyphic *ms*-sign upside down on each.

CONDITION Surface deposits.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 21 no. D.

## Catalogue Part C, Various Dates

### 291 ELEVEN INLAID ELEMENTS

Figs. 227 (right), 245 (third from top)  
MMA P 36.

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIALS Silver, gold, jasper, copper-colored glass, cobalt-colored glass; see Appendixes 2, 3.

DIMENSIONS H of element 1.0 (without rings), W 2.0.

MANUFACTURE Backs silver, remaining parts gold. Silver backs thinner than 289–90, according to X ray. Side wall overlap at bottom. File marks, bubbly surface, sharp edges. Double loops less substantial and slightly flattened,

with binding-wire marks on them. One small loop below, soldered closed, holding a drop pendant composed of three parts—back, raised front, and ring at top juncture. No signs of wear.

Turquoise glass and blue glass—all but two translucent—again ill-fitting. File marks.

Cement is a sandy waxy mixture.

INSCRIPTION On back, small hieroglyphic *ms*-sign, right side up.

CONDITION Surface deposits.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 21 no. B.

### Broad collar units, elements with vase-shaped motif (292); see p. 321

#### *Provenance*

Standard early provenance.

#### *Previous assessment*

Winlock used these elements in the composite multicolored collar (1948: pl. 11), along with the shield-shaped elements 290–1 discussed above. He and other authors cited in that discussion considered the elements ancient.

#### *Current understanding*

Parallels have not been found for the elements or pendants. Against a Tuthmoside date are the dark red and turquoise combination and the complicated design. There is also a question of function: the vertical, rectangular shape; broadly set, heavy suspension rings; and wide half-moon pendants lend themselves to the flared shape of a broad collar even less than the shield-motif elements above. Against ancient Egyptian manufacture are the fanciful design, too-substantial suspension rings, minted backs, non-economical use of gold walls, and very visible solder joins.

### 292 TWENTY-FIVE INLAID ELEMENTS

Fig. 245 (bottom)  
MMA P 34.

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIALS Gold, jasper, turquoise-colored glass.

DIMENSIONS H of element 1.2 (without rings), W 0.8; pendant W 0.8.

MANUFACTURE Each element has a vertical back plate with curved bottom edge; this plate is relatively thin and has a mottled appearance in X rays. The vertical walls form a vase-shaped cloison below, and two back-to-back Ps above; the stems of the Ps flank the broadest point of the base. An additional, horizontal wall separates the vase from the semicircles of the Ps, and a tightly rolled strip fills the space to either side of the vase's rim. To the top are attached two small loops, and to the bottom, one.

At the top of the element there is a gold granule where the top of the Ps meet. Two substantial suspension rings

are attached above the Ps, and a small ring is attached to the bottom of the element. The thickness of the elements is very even, with the exception of two examples.

Attached to the lower loop on the element is a jump ring whose ends are hard soldered. Connected to this ring is a substantial suspension ring that is hard soldered to each side of a half-moon-shaped pendant. This pendant is formed of a raised top and flat, pierced back. The top is sometimes smaller than the back. Wire marks on the pendant indicate that binding wire was used when loop was soldered to pendant.

The vase-cloison is filled with jasper, and the upper part of each P is filled with turquoise glass. Small bits of the glass fill the spaces to either side of the vase's neck. The cement is waxy and sandy.

CONDITION The rectangular backs of the main part and the half-moon-shaped backs of the pendants have a minted quality. Some accretions on the pendants.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 22 no. G.

### Broad collar units, *nefer*-elements (293); see p. 321

#### *Provenance*

Apparently from the early purchases.

#### *Previous assessment*

These elements were not strung until Scott added them to the composite *nefer*-collar in 1959 (see p. 170, above). She recognized that the shape was typologically different from other *nefers*, and that these might not be authentic.

## Chapter 7

### *Current understanding*

Aside from the inlays, the present determination as modern rests on features of the *nefer*-sign: diamond-shaped heart, and circle at top of windpipe.

#### **293** TEN INLAID ELEMENTS

Fig. 246

MMA 26.8.135b.

**SOURCE** Apparently from early purchases, but exact date and source unknown.

**MATERIALS** Gold, yellow glass (two examples), blue glass presumed cobalt-colored (three examples), bluish green vitreous material (two examples), unknown paste (three examples).

**DIMENSIONS** H of each element 1.5–1.6.

**MANUFACTURE** Suspension rings are fastened to top and bottom. Multiple inlays fill spaces in all but one example; filed.

**CONDITION** Two gold elements have tears on the back where windpipe thickens towards top (one with yellow glass, one with unknown inlay).

**BIBLIOGRAPHY** Aldred 1971: pl. 66; A. Wilkinson 1971: pl. 33a; C. Andrews 1990: fig. 102.

### **Broad collar units, two groups of beetle elements (294–5); see p. 321**

#### *Provenance*

The two groups below were purchased in 1958 and 1963 with a Wady Qurud provenance; those of 1963 were strung with modern African beads.

#### *Previous assessment*

Believed to be ancient, the beetles were strung by Scott into the composite multicolored collar (see p. 170, above), along with the shield-shaped elements **289** discussed above.

### *Current understanding*

Beetle amulets have been found in graves dated as early as Dynasties 1 and 5 (Reisner 1908: pls. 6, 9; Hassan 1936: pl. 52.2; Rigault 1999; see further Keimer 1931, 1936 [“coléoptères”], and C. Andrews 1994: 10, 23), and although several examples were in an early Dynasty 18 tomb at Thebes (Carnarvon and Carter 1912: 53, pl. 46.2 no. g, MMA 26.7.1372), the best parallels for the gold-cloisoned elements with dark blue inlay below are from the 6th dynasty tomb of Queen Iput at Saqqara (Firth and Gunn 1926: 12, pl. 15b no. 5; Vernier 1925: CG 52749). The latter elements are inlaid with lapis; their height without rings measures 2.3, their width 0.6. The author could not examine these amulets microscopically or radiographically, thus it is impossible to say whether any beetle below is technically comparable and likely to be of the same date.

No parallels at all have been found for the half-moon-shaped pendants, which also occur on **292**. Their horizontal shape does not lend itself to the radiating shape of a broad collar, and their physical characteristics indicate modern work.

#### **294** TWENTY-FOUR INLAID BEETLES

Fig. 247 (above)

MMA 63.15.1a.

**SOURCE** Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1962.

**MATERIALS** Gold, lapis lazuli (in four elements), dark blue glass, undoubtedly cobalt-colored (in twenty elements); a few small pieces of faience.

**DIMENSIONS** Average H of element 2.3 (without rings).

**MANUFACTURE** Gold of fairly even thickness; X ray shows it to be thin. Sixteen of the elements showed white flecks that Cleveland/Grossbard suggested could be in the bedding material. Backs made separately from sides, occasionally an additional cloison in the head area. Air holes drilled into backs. Upper and lower suspension rings hard-soldered on, the bottom one often showing wire marks. Half-moon-shaped pendants made of raised front, flat back with drilled air hole, and hard-soldered suspension ring; half-moons show

considerable filing. As with **295**, only the heads have single pieces of inlay.

**CONDITION** A few inlays missing.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY** Hayes 1963: 66.

#### **295** TWENTY-FOUR LESS SUBSTANTIAL INLAID BEETLES

Fig. 247 (below)

MMA 58.153.11.

**SOURCE** Purchase, Frederick P. Huntley Bequest, 1958.

**MATERIALS** Gold; dark blue glass, undoubtedly cobalt-colored; a few pieces of faience.

**DIMENSIONS** Average H of element 2.1 (without rings).

**MANUFACTURE** Beetles less substantial than **294**. Gold not of standard thickness; X rays revealed white flecks in two elements, as in **294**. Narrow backs are bent up to form side walls; two strips divide the interior space into three cells. Hard-soldered suspension ring at top and bottom;

## Catalogue Part C, Various Dates

some rings filed, others—with wire impressions—show they were bound when soldered. Some rings reinforced.

The bottom ring is attached to a wire loop from which a half-moon-shaped pendant hangs. Each pendant has a raised top, flat back with drilled air hole, and a very crude suspension ring.

The opaque blue glass inlay is of varied appearance: some is granular, some homogenous, some light, some dark. Single pieces fill only the beetles' heads; at least two crudely cut pieces of glass are used to fill all other cloisons.  
CONDITION Many inlays missing; also, a few rings and pendants.

### **Broad collar units, two groups of inlaid drop elements (296–7); see pp. 322f.**

#### *Provenance*

Standard early provenance.

#### *Previous assessment*

The group of eleven drops, **296**, were thought modern by Winlock in 1943, along with five additional examples. A note in Winlock's hand at the MMA reads "I believe today—Tuesday May 4 1943 at 10:10 a.m.—that these are false"; it has the signatures of two departmental witnesses.

Of the group of nine drops, **297**, Winlock wrote on the same date, "I don't like these either."

#### *Current understanding*

The author agrees with Winlock about the eleven drops of **296**. Although they are more substantial than **298**, there is nevertheless evidence of modern manufacture. However, she considered ancient the additional five he rejected; they were strung in falcon and lotus composite collars **129–30** in 1983.

The color scheme of **297**'s inlays is unknown in the Tuthmoside period.

#### **296 ELEVEN INLAID DROP ELEMENTS**

Fig. 249

MMA 26.8.220 (P 197); accessioned 1983.

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1922.

MATERIALS Carnelian, felspar, translucent blue glass; one trapezoidal-shaped inlay of ancient turquoise glass.

DIMENSIONS H of drop 2.65 (without rings).

MANUFACTURE Cloisons have fairly sharp angle between side walls and back, creases in side walls, and occasional splitting in walls and backs. Back surface has fine texture; beaten on cloth? Suspension rings marked with line from jeweler's binding wire that was used to hold rings in place when fastened to drop; metal used for rings was rolled (Baines). Solder drops and file marks.

Inlays ill-fitting, usually convex. Blue glass varies from quite translucent to opaque with white streak.

#### **297 NINE MORE NARROW INLAID DROP ELEMENTS**

Fig. 251

MMA 26.8.219; accessioned 1983.

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund.

MATERIALS Gold, opaque yellow glass, jasper, a red brick-like material, translucent blue glass.

DIMENSIONS H of element 2.6 (without rings).

MANUFACTURE Drops slender, hull-shaped, with creases in sides. Extra pieces of gold lie on surface at top and bottom; suspension rings attached opposite those points. Crosswise strips draped over edges; these are slightly angled, very flat, and of even width. File marks on all gold parts.

Yellow glass inlaid into top cloison, translucent blue glass into bottom; in the middle, four elements have jasper, and five have a red brick-like material.

CONDITION Reddish residue around suspension rings: the remains of oxide flux? (Baines).

### **Broad collar units, two groups of empty drop elements (298–9); see pp. 275, 297, 322f.**

#### *Provenance*

Standard early provenance.

#### *Previous assessment*

Winlock (1948: 19f., pls. 9, 41c) placed these with the falcon terminals **129** as a composite collar for everyday use.

#### *Current understanding*

Comparative studies were undertaken of MMA drops with traces of ancient inlay (later strung into **129–30**) and drops of thinner metal having no indication of ever having been inlaid (subsequently strung into **298–9**). Radiography

## Chapter 7

showed that the empty drops were indeed of thinner gold, and SEM analysis showed differences in texture. Visual examination showed differences in shape (the majority of empty ones have very straight sides and crimped edges along the curve), weight (the empty drops are lighter), and random punch marks (Figs. 228–9; most dots are scattered, rather than grouped and centered in a few denominations).

### **298** ONE HUNDRED ELEVEN EMPTY DROP-SHAPED ELEMENTS

Figs. 224 (below), 248 (right, center, and below left), 250  
MMA 26.8.59b–i (P 130).

SOURCE Purchases, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H of element 2.4 (without rings).

MANUFACTURE Gold is quite thin; elements have a tinny sound when handled. Creases in walls; top edges sometimes pushed back; file marks. Suspension rings often have traces of binding wire; solder, generally where rings join cloison, is pinkish, often blistered. Horizontal bands of even width lie flat on the surface. Dots in the bottom surface are scattered randomly from inside by flat-surfaced punch. No sign of ever being inlaid. General impression is of mass production. Dots occur as follows:

- b, twenty elements in three rows: six dots each;
- c, eighteen elements in five rows: four dots each;
- d, thirty elements in five rows: five dots each;
- e, ten elements in four rows: seven dots each;
- f, twenty-eight elements in five rows: three dots each;
- g, one element: nine dots;
- h, one element: two dots;
- i, three elements in one row: three dots each.

CONDITION No residue, generally unworn.

### **299** TWENTY-THREE SLENDER AND EMPTY DROP-SHAPED ELEMENTS

Figs 228 and 248 (three groups in upper left corners)  
MMA 26.8.59j–l (P 85).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H of element 2.5 (without rings).

MANUFACTURE More slender in shape than **298**, with heavier stock and sharper angle between backs and sides; cross bands more curved. Interiors have a shiny, dark reddish purple cast; surface is blistered. Radiograph shows metal to be thicker than **298**, but thinner than elements considered ancient. Solder is pale yellow. The tool used to make dots was larger and flatter than that for **298**.

Dots occur as follows:

- j, six elements in one row: three dots each;
- k, seven elements in one row: five dots each;
- l, ten elements in one row: four dots each.

CONDITION No residue, and no evidence of ever having been inlaid.

## **Four pendants (300–3); see p. 324**

### *Provenance*

Standard early provenance.

### *Previous assessment*

Winlock believed all four pendants were ancient (1948: 27), as did Hayes (1959b: 133f.). The former scholar did have questions, however. Because of the unique form of the *menat*-shaped example (**300**), he wondered whether the object wasn't part of a more complicated piece of jewelry. The Sekhmet-pendant **301** seemed poorly worked to him, without wear on the suspension ring. (A. Wilkinson wondered if the pendant could have been a pectoral substitute, 1971: 138.) His assessment of the Maat-pendant **302** was more positive: he found it less crude than the Sekhmet-pendant, and noted wear on the suspension tube. But for the *shen*-amulet **303**, he considered the four (cobalt-colored) glass inlays crude, and removed them in 1939 because he thought them modern.

### *Current understanding*

As Winlock noted, the *menat*-shaped pendant **300** is unique (see description below). In addition, its composition is not known in the 2nd millennium BC, when refining was not practiced. The pendant is 99.6% gold and has no silver, therefore, is close to the 23½ karat used in Egypt during the early part of the last century (Lucas 1913: 88). According to Lucas, this standard was purer than anything met with in England—where 22 karat was the highest purity—and was used in Egypt chiefly for bracelets and for veil nosepieces.

The Sekhmet-plaque **301** has various negative technical features (outlined below) but also has anomalous iconographic features: a very round sun disk, a front-heavy uraeus with a thick body jumping to a thin line, a top-heavy goddess with tiny hands and feet, and an inorganic scepter.

The Maat-pendant **302** also shows poor iconography: the shrine is not detailed, the hand emerges from the knee, the proportions of the wig are mean.

Concerning pendant **303**, the *shen*-amulet was popular in late Middle Kingdom royal and private burials at

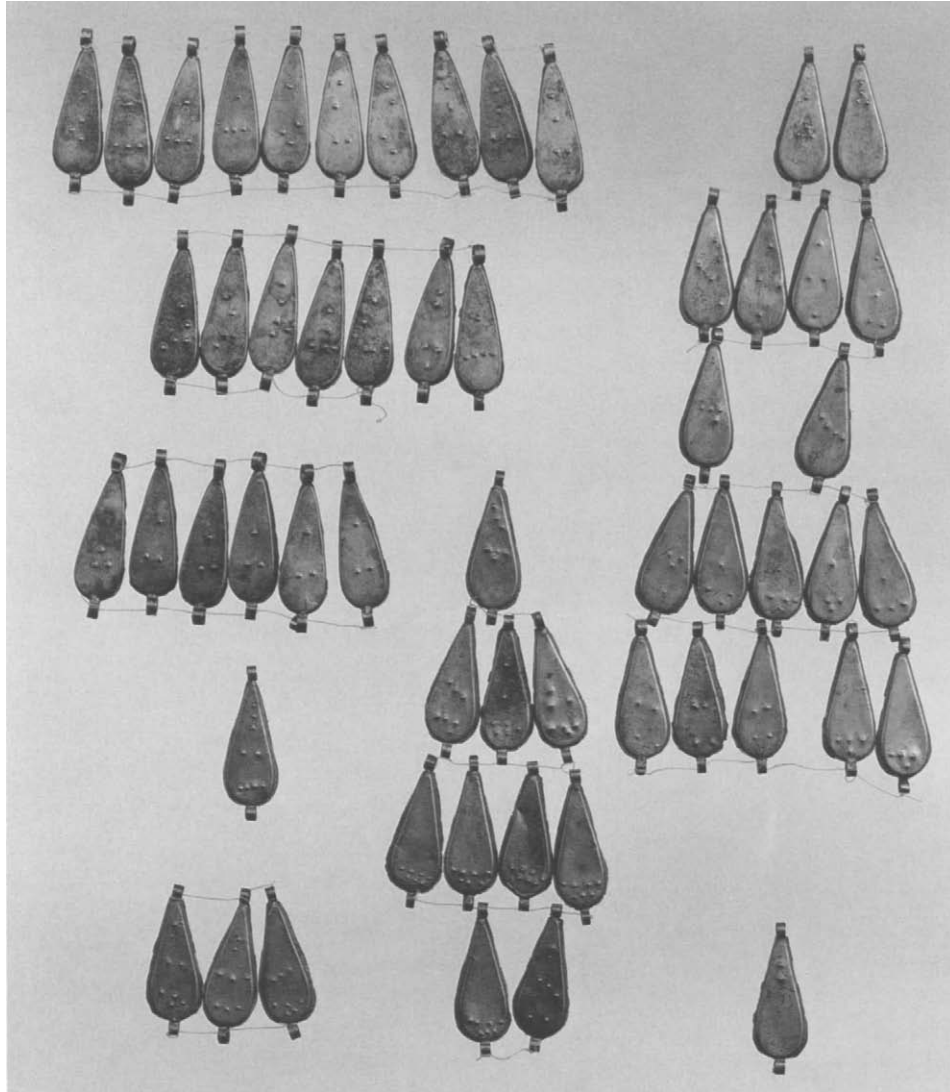


Fig. 228. Eight groups of modern empty drops with punch marks in backs, 2:3. Three groups upper left are Cat. **299**; remainder are Cat. **298**

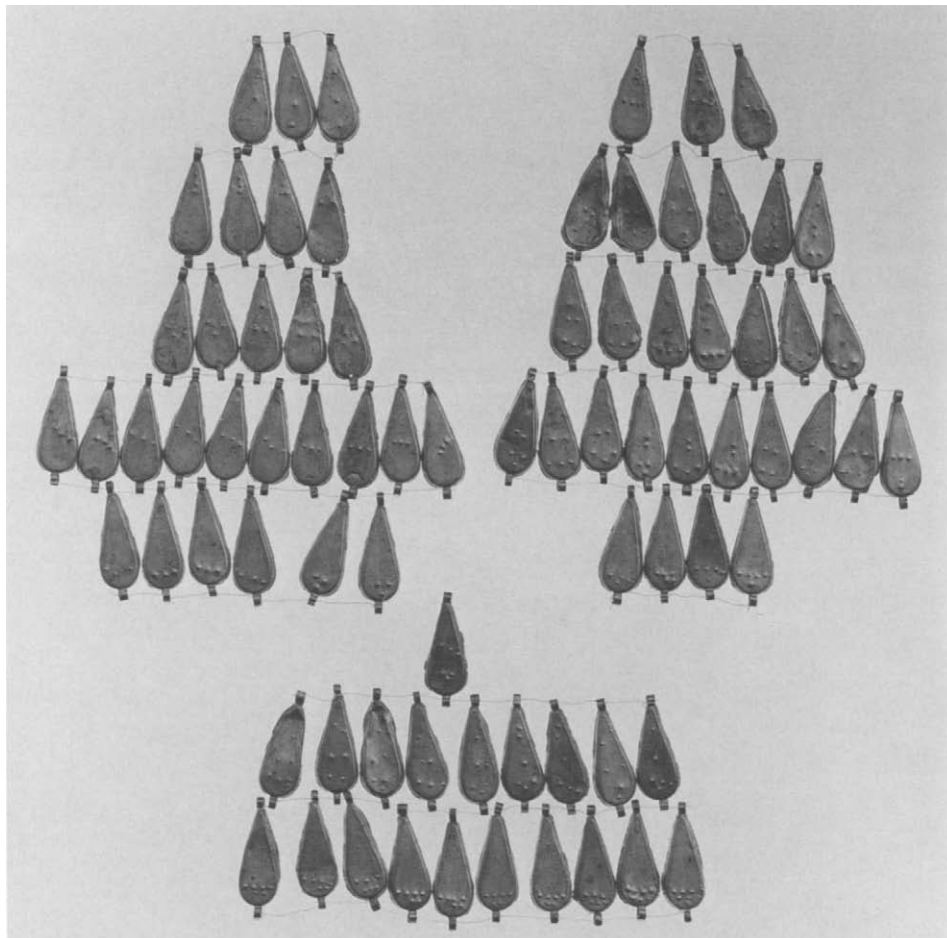


Fig. 229. Three groups of modern empty drops with punch marks in backs, Cat. **298**. 2:3



Dahshur (Vernier 1925: CG 52922, 52957), Lahun (Brunton 1920: pls. 2–3), Lisht (Mace and Winlock 1916: pl. 22), Abydos (Garstang 1901: pl. 3, Bourriau 1988: no. 163), and Thebes (Carnarvon and Carter 1912: pl. 51). No excavated examples have been found dating later than that period. The amulet-type is also present in the Hyksos group purchased by the MMA (68.136.23). A suspension tube that functions as a sliding clasp equips the Dahshur, Lahun, Lisht, and Hyksos group examples.

When this *shen*-amulet was acquired, its blue inlays were quite unevenly shaped, the lowest piece lying over and deflecting the top plate that covers the ties. In addition, the circular central wall did not hold the carnelian disk tightly, and thus indicates that the wall was subsequently pressed into shape.

Comparison of this amulet with examples of Seneb-tisy, Sithathoryunet, Renyseneb, and the Hyksos group in the MMA shows differences (Fig. 230). Amulet 303 alone has an exceptionally wide outer ring, wall around the carnelian inlay canted inward, scoring on suspension tube with sharp tool, tiny hole in back plate from front to back, and one end of C-shaped wall far from tie.

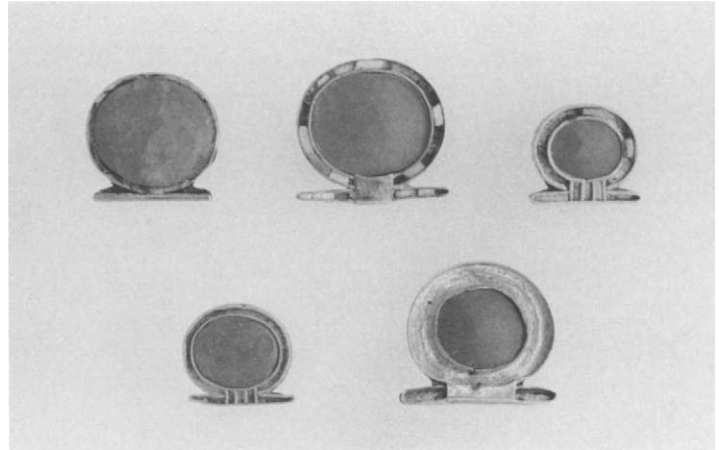


Fig. 230. Various *shen*-amulets in MMA, 1:1. Left to right: top row, Renyseneb, two of Sithathoryunet; bottom row, Hyksos group, Cat. 303

### 300 MENAT-SHAPED PENDANT

Fig. 252a

MMA 26.8.204 (P 53).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Gold (see Appendix 2).

DIMENSIONS H 5.0.

MANUFACTURE As illustrated in Winlock (1948: pl. 42b) and in Fig. 252a, the object is made of three separate parts: (1, left in the illustrations) a rectangular “lid” with a loop on top that has wires emerging from it, and a sleeve inside the lid holding a tube that projects downward; (2, right in the illustrations) a round “base” with wire attached to the outside, with an upright tube fitted into the base that slides over the first tube; and (3, center in the illustrations) a sheet of gold rolled into a sleeve that covers the tube, thinner than the tube and battered by comparison. The suspension ring on (1) is formed of four U-shaped wires. The lid and base are each constructed of pieces. The base has a tiny hole punched into one corner of a long side that has been reinforced with an additional inner wall. The hole is reminiscent of holes on the star ornament 235 and *shen*-amulet 303; the purpose of these holes is not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pls. 12h, 42b.

### 301 SEKHMET-PENDANT

Fig. 252b

MMA 26.8.73 (P 99a).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Gold (pale).

DIMENSIONS H 5.6, W 3.5.

MANUFACTURE A simple plate has a suspension ring hard-soldered at the top, grasping the plate from either side. A blunt steel tool was used to form the decorative line, and a file was used to enhance delineation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Lansing 1940: fig. 9; Winlock 1948: pl. 12j.

### 302 SHRINE-SHAPED PENDANT WITH MAAT FACING RIGHT

Fig. 252c

MMA 26.8.74 (P 99b).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Gold (pale).

DIMENSIONS H 3.0, W 2.25.

MANUFACTURE A simplified and at the same time finer version of the Maat-plaques in 308, with tube for suspension. The differences are: the goddess faces right, her right hand holds an ankh, and the plaque has only a vague shrine shape. The lines were engraved with a blunt chisel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 12i.

### 303 SHEN-AMULET PENDANT

Figs. 230 (lower right), 252d

MMA 26.8.139 (P 181).

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1921.

MATERIALS Gold, carnelian.

DIMENSIONS H 1.7, W 1.8.

MANUFACTURE A *shen*-shaped back plate has three side walls fastened to it: an inner circular one that doesn't quite meet at the bottom; an outer, less circular one that has a larger space between its ends; and a flattened C-shaped strip whose ends terminate roughly where the *shen*'s tie joins the sun disk. The joins of the rings and the C-shaped wall are covered by a flat sheet that overlaps the tops of the cloisons. The outer ring and C-shaped wall fall within the outline of the back plate. The back has a transverse tube, scored vertically to appear as if it were made of seven loops. At the point between disk and tie, there is a tiny hole made front to back, of unknown use. There is noticeable excess solder joining back plate to walls and in fastening tube to back plate; this solder occurs in the presence of extensive file marks. Baines thought a good deal of heat had been used.

Inlay is slightly domed and thin; the bezel is bent inward to hold inlay in place.

CONDITION All residue of cement removed from outer cloisons; scratch marks within.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 13n.

**Amulets, flies, and flies or lotuses (304–5);** see p. 324

*Provenance*

The gold flies **304** have the standard early provenance; the inlaid flies or lotuses **305** were purchased in 1970 with a Wady Qurud provenance and were suspended on a modern chain when acquired.

*Previous assessment*

Winlock believed the gold flies **304** were ancient (1948: 23f.), as did Hayes (Hayes 1959b: 133), Aldred (1971: 215 no. 86), and Scott (N. Scott 1964: 225). Those amulets were strung with faceted gold beads **316**, a few lap-joint barrels of **317**, and ring beads **211**.

*Current understanding*

In Egyptian jewelry, amulets of different types are usually strung with beads of different types (as cited on p. 252; cf. also a group from Saqqara, Kanawati et al. 1984: 64 §S83:130, pl. 41). Single-type amulet series, however—as for the five groups **304–8** below—are known. They occur in the Old Kingdom (Hassan 1936: pl. 52.2; Rigault 1999), Middle Kingdom (Capel and Markoe 1996: no. 25, nine lapis Tawerets), and certainly New Kingdom (Dunham and Janssen 1960: 48 28-1-73 viii; MMA Seankhkara cemetery 1016, MMA 25.3.311d, e).

Concerning fly amulets in ancient Egypt, there seem to have been several types (on symbolism, see C. Andrews 1994: 63). Small examples are known in Mesopotamia already in the 3rd millennium BC (Pittman 1998: 110–2), and Petrie states that they occur in Egypt in the Predynastic period (Petrie and Mace 1901: 26, 34 B 323). In the 2nd millennium BC, a group of flies was surely used with other amulets and beads at Lisht (LNP 805, MMA 08.200.39 and 15.3.412, twenty faience), Saqqara (Cairo JdE 51273, different materials including gold), and Buhen (Randall-Maciver and Woolley 1911: 137, 223 no. 10271, pl. 54, at least sixteen faience; 238 no. 10898b, two gold, see Doxie 1997: no. 61). Only one or two examples of small flies were found at Ghurab (Brunton and Engelbach 1927: 14, pl. 21.61, Ashmolean 1921.1364, faience), Mirgissa (Vercoutter 1970: 241, pl. 26.26, two gold), and Semna (Dunham and Janssen 1960: 96 no. 24-3-505 e, 97 no. 24-3-356 o, fig. 55, both faience). At Qustul, three were found with assorted other items (B. Williams 1992: 120, pl. 49c, glazed steatite); at Thebes, three of Egyptian blue and one of silver were also accompanied by other amulets and beads (Carnarvon and Carter 1912: pl. 73.50, MMA 26.7.1374).

In greater numbers, flies were strung in the New Kingdom with two strands of ball beads: examples were found at Abydos (Peet 1914: 62 W2, pl. 14.4, six faience) and Sedment (Petrie and Brunton 1924: 23, pl. 48.8, fifteen silver).

Although all of the flies above have different shapes and details, they are generally comprised of two or three parts—head and wings, or head, prothorax, and wings. The body may be striated horizontally or vertically, and the wings may be striated directionally, diagonally, or even cross-hatched. All have holes through the head or body rather than a suspension ring at the top.

A second type of Egyptian fly amulet is larger and occurs in pairs; this must be what Dedi received as a military reward (A. Wilkinson 1971: fig. 49). Wilkinson cites several examples found at Kerma and Buhen (loc. cit., pp. 98f.); two others were excavated at Abydos (Bienkowski and Tooley 1995: fig. 75, gold leaf-covered copper), and two—of gold and silver—are in the Ahhotep group (Vernier 1925: CG 52692; H, 4.4). This type is flat and simple, with only the head and wings delineated. This type also has holes through the fly, like smaller flies, rather than a suspension ring at the top.

There are, in addition, a few fly amulets with atypical characteristics. Four small gold flies from Ajjul have suspension rings at the top (Petrie 1934: 7 §17, pls. 15, 16.63–6), and three gold examples from Tawosret's tomb—sized between the two basic types—are comprised of more than three parts (Vernier 1925: CG 52677; H 1.7).

The thirty-three flies below (**304**) are different from all those above, although sharing some of their features. First of all, they have separate suspension rings at the top, not an unknown feature on pendants, and the rings are, in fact, formed like some excavated parallels (the back plate extends upward slightly, and then a C-shaped ring fits against it above the front plate, forming a complete ring). But the fly amulets below are shaped like upside down Vs, with individually raised parts within the V outline. The parts include two eyes, three knobs below them, a vertically-striated body made of a triangle divided horizontally into two parts, and, finally, two diagonally-striated wings. The eyes and knobs are larger than the two-part body below them.

In addition, each pendant is exceptionally like the next. Most air holes are in the upper right corner of the back plate near the ring; a few are in the upper left, and a few do not go through the sheet. X rays revealed the metal to be quite thin, with three spots of radio-opaque material—at the head and at each wing tip. Upon investigation, the cause of these spots was revealed to be coupons of hard solder, probably a copper-silver alloy (Stone).

## Chapter 7

The thirty-three flies are similar to, but slightly different from, two examples seen on the art market in the 1980s where the air hole was in the center of the back plate (p. 114, Fig. 88d).

The second set of amulets (305)—purchased in 1970—is quite different but is also considered modern. These amulets are more decorative and may represent lotuses rather than flies; the round cloison at the top speaks for a fly head more than the calyx of a lotus. On the other hand, the triangular shapes below the heads conform with neither fly nor lotus; this ambiguity is a negative feature.

The MMA owns a second group of inlaid lotus-like pendants that lacks straightforward cloison formation and has ambiguous design (MMA 15.119.6). These pendants were a gift in 1915 from Mrs. Emma B. Andrews, Theodore M. Davis' companion in Egypt, and are quite finely made. Each has a back plate that extends upward to form a tab against which a suspension ring is joined, not unlike the detail on the set of thirty-three flies. Perpendicular to the back plate are strips forming six individual cloisons. The resulting design is recognizable as a lotus, but the blossom has a broader shape, fewer petals, and a more rounded base than lotus pendants from Tanis (Montet 1951: pl. 28f.; Ministère des affaires étrangères 1987: 243). The inlays on the MMA pendants are transparent green glass streaked with white, ground on the surface so as to appear opaque. Superficially like Roman glass (the jewels were acquired as "Empire with Roman glass inlay"), their cement is waxy and sandy. A larger, more substantial version with different inlay was auctioned in New York as "six gold and cloisonné lotus pendants of modern origin" (Sotheby's New York 2000: lot 144). The gold work of the latter was very competent except for file marks around the edges.

### 304 THIRTY-THREE FLIES

Fig. 253a

MMA 26.8.64a (P 37).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Gold (see Appendix 2).

DIMENSIONS H of fly including ring 2.0, W of fly 1.1.

MANUFACTURE Metal has gray patches among orangish green areas that are reminiscent of colors on modern rosettes 272–82, perhaps from high heat or use of organic coating. Holes often at wing tips and in head area; some open seams; two wing tips with reinforcements. Excess solder; wire-wrapped rings.

CONDITION Several crushed. Previously strung with 211, 316, selective 317. One fly not accounted for in 1998.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1935: fig. 13 and 1948: 24, pl. 14f; N. Scott 1964: fig. 5.

### 305 NINE INLAID FLIES OR LOTUSES

Fig. 253b

MMA 1970.169.71–79.

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1970.

MATERIALS Gold, red glass, jasper(?), turquoise-to-light green glass, blue glass.

DIMENSIONS H of elements 0.8–1.1.

MANUFACTURE The pendants are of three sizes: two large, four medium, and two small. The medium and small sizes have rounded tops and flared bottoms, while the large size has a more constricted shape. Each pendant has a solid back and an oversized ring fastened somewhat below the top. The ring's placement forces the top of the pendants to pitch forward rather than to lie parallel to the wearer's body.

On the top surface, the walls that make up side and internal cloisons are of different thicknesses. One strip forms a round cloison at the top, and attached to it on either side is a second, longer strip that sometimes forms three, sometimes only two, points below. In the case where three points are formed, two back-to-back Vs then divide the space between the points and the round cloison into four triangles. When the outside strip forms only two points below, two correctly-oriented Vs form four triangular cloisons within.

The round cloison is filled with red inlay, the other four spaces with greenish glass or, in one case, blue glass undoubtedly colored by cobalt. Some of the greenish glass has strong parallel striae. The cement is waxy and sandy but in one case looks ancient.

File marks on the surface of glass and gold.

CONDITION Tip of one element missing, as are some of the inlays. Signs of wear.

## Amulets, Tawerets and falcons (306–7); see p. 325

### Provenance

Standard early provenance.

### Previous assessment

Winlock believed the Tawerets 306 and falcons 307 were ancient (1948: 23f.), as did Hayes (Hayes 1959b: 133) and Aldred (1971: 215 no. 86). These amulets were originally strung into the *nefer*-collar (see p. 169, above), later as individual strings with ring beads.

### Current understanding

The Tawerets and falcons below share similar technical features: use of hard solder, filing, and use of oversized, pristine suspension loops on the back plate. There are a few drilled air holes and a few examples of coupons aiding attachment of suspension rings.



Fig. 231. Various Taweret amulets, 2:1. Left to right, Cat. 306, two from 1982–88 art market, Cat. 134

The falcons of 307 are unusual in being oriented left, but not unique in this. A group of small gold birds without crowns was excavated at Buhen (Randall-Maciver and Woolley 1911: 201, 234 no. 10752, *fronstispiece*), and the Carnarvon–Carter excavations in Assasif tomb 37 yielded several individual amulets with this atypical orientation (MMA 26.7.1375, burial 53; MMA 26.7.1384, chamber B). However, the indeterminate fat crown, round eye, and very large beak below together create an unshapely form.

### 306 TWENTY-SEVEN TAWERETS

Figs. 231 (left), 254 (below)

MMA 26.8.208 (P 86).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS L as strung ca. 20.5, H of Tawerets 0.95.

MANUFACTURE Pendant consists of a front plate formed by a die, a flat back plate soldered to it, and a ring attached to the upper part of the back plate. Organic residue within, and waxy green substance along many joins; join between back and front sometimes filed. In several instances a corner of what was no doubt originally a rectangular back plate has been folded onto the front. Rings oversized, with very sharp edges; sometimes there is excess hard solder around them, occasionally blistered (like the surface of boiled milk). In most elements, there is a hole in the back plate; this may have been cut out, punched with an awl toward the interior, or drilled from

the inside out, the displaced gold then flattened into a very regular donut on the surface.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 14d.

### 307 THIRTY-NINE FALCONS FACING LEFT

Fig. 254 (above)

MMA 26.8.209, .210 (P 160).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold (see Appendix 2).

DIMENSIONS L as strung ca. 35.0, H of falcons 1.5.

MANUFACTURE Construction comparable to 306, with oversized, freshly cut rings, several types of air holes, green corrosion at seams, flooded ring attachment, and filed edges. Here, however, a few excess bits of the front have been folded to the back, there are blistery surfaces, and a file has been used to sharpen the wing delineation. Wire on crown has draw marks.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 14b–c.

## Amulets, Maat-shrine plaques (308); see p. 325

### Provenance

Standard early provenance.

### Previous assessment

Winlock believed these plaques ancient (1948: 23f.), as did Hayes (Hayes 1959b: 133), Aldred (1971: 215 no. 86), and Scott (N. Scott 1964: 225). They were always strung as a necklace with ring beads.

Aldred proposed that they had been formed by “hammering gold sheet into a mould incised with the squatting figure of the goddess Maet.” A. Wilkinson suggested that they were replacements for pectorals, not known from the tomb (1971: 137f.). Reeves described them as “wholly modern” in an illustration of 304 and 306–7 (Reeves 2000: 150). His judgment was based on “style, technique, material, and feel” (communication, 11 June 2001).

### Current understanding

“Blue shield-shaped plaques, each bearing a figure of Maat” were noted in a New Kingdom burial at Saqqara (Quibell 1907: 9 no. 165). However, the shrine below is poorly shaped; the ankh is perched on the knee joint; there is poor delineation of the head; and the leftward orientation is unusual. To these formal considerations can be added technical points: engraving, labored joining (Baines), and hard soldering with little control.

## Chapter 7

### 308 SIXTEEN SHRINES WITH MAAT FACING LEFT

Fig. 255

MMA 26.8.65 (P 38, 147).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold (see Appendix 2).

DIMENSIONS W of plaques 1.4.

MANUFACTURE Shape of plaque similar to Maat-pendant 302 except goddess oriented left here.

Tube fastened on back runs entire width of cornice. Flooded solder at that point is porous and scraped away along top edge of amulet. Lines were engraved, and no impression is seen on the back. Proper right-most plaque has a faint drawing on the back, done with a very fine point.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 14e; N. Scott 1964: fig. 5.

### Bracelets, pair with box clasps (309); see p. 326

#### *Provenance*

Standard early provenance.

#### *Previous assessment*

Winlock saw these as roughly fashioned without signs of wear, and suggested they had been made for the tomb (1948: 32). Hayes believed them ancient, from the coregency of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III (1959b: 104, 134).

#### *Current understanding*

As seen below, the design is inorganic and depends entirely on the liberal use of solder. Furthermore, the hammer work has more to do with the creation of surface texture than with the formation of a bracelet, and, according to Stone, the frosty surface probably results from artificial etching (see general technical comments on objects believed modern, pp. 271–8).

Paleographically, the signs are large, round, and ineptly shaped. Both inscriptions face right; a linear rather than columnar orientation for the signs would be expected. The inscription type is unknown for jewelry, and may reflect a temple inscription. As indexed by Meeks (Meeks 1980: 24), blocks from Hatshepsut's red chapel at Karnak have a columnar inscription where Amun is termed *ḥr-ib ipw[t].f* and *m ipwt.f* (Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 363 §640, 366 §647). That the bracelet inscriptions were ever accepted as genuine is remarkable.

### 309 PAIR OF INSCRIBED BRACELETS WITH BOX CLASPS

Fig. 257

MMA 26.8.131, .132 (P 40).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS OF EACH Diam 6.15, W 2.2.

MANUFACTURE The band is slightly flexible, and there is a certain amount of delamination. The long edge is turned down to form a relatively neat hem; an oblong plate is perpendicularly soldered to each end; a tube is soldered on the outside of it. This strip is shaped into a circle and closed by a box-shaped clasp. The clasp is comprised of an inner sleeve that slides into an outer housing. A pin with peened ends pierces the two parts to keep them together (see 217). Baines noted that one pin was drawn wire, bearing the imprint from rough pliers.

The clasp is attached to the band as follows: a plate is perpendicularly soldered to the outer edge of both sleeve and housing; to it are soldered two rings that fit on either side of the tube soldered to each end of the band.

The hieroglyphs are engraved, curiously appearing as sunken lines on the underside as well as the top side. INSCRIPTION “Good god (*m3<sup>c</sup>t-k3-r<sup>c</sup>*), beloved of Amun, the foremost of his *ipwt*” (*ipt* is commonly translated “harem” but the word is also associated with other architectural locations).

CONDITION Washed, according to Museum records.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Bracelet 26.8.131: Lansing 1940: fig. 10 (center left); Winlock 1948: pl. 18b (right). Bracelet 26.8.132: Lansing 1940: fig. 10 (center right); Winlock 1948: pl. 18b (left).

### Bracelets, pair with hinges (310); see p. 326

#### *Provenance*

Standard early provenance.

#### *Previous assessment*

Winlock thought the items were possibly made for the tomb but in everyday style (1948: 32, pl. 18a). As illustrated there, 26.8.133 is on the left, 26.8.134 on the right (as in N. Scott 1964: fig. 14, Kayser 1969: fig. 216, Aldred 1971: 215, pl. 85). Hayes also considered the bracelets ancient (1959b: 134).

## Catalogue Part C, Various Dates

### *Current understanding*

These bracelets are condemned on the basis of etched frosty surface, excess solder, plates on the ends of the band in an illogical design, and engraving as on **309** and vessels **251–71**. Furthermore, the wire of the hinge is drawn, according to Baines. Framing lines of inscription on inner surface can be seen on outer.

Paleography is very poor, similar to some gold vessels although generally more sketchy (Figs. 241b–c, e–g; see introductory remarks to gold vessels, pp. 283f.). Inscription type as well as bracelet format no doubt copied from inlaid ornaments **141–3**.

### **310** PAIR OF INSCRIBED HINGED BRACELETS

Fig. 256

MMA 26.8.133, .134 (P 94).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1920.

MATERIAL Gold (Appendix 2 for 26.8.134).

DIMENSIONS OF EACH Diam 6.0, W 3.2.

MANUFACTURE Each half is a semicircular band with a thickened edge on all sides. To each plate was soldered

one or two wire coils. When the coils interlock, a pin can close them. Curiously, the pin slides upward, resting against a knob soldered at the top edge of the bracelet.

INSCRIPTION “Son of Ra Djehuty-mes [with Gardiner O34], beautiful of form.”

CONDITION Washed, according to Museum records.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Lansing 1940: fig. 10 (top); A. Wilkinson 1971:103f., pl. 27c.

### **Spacers (311–3);** see p. 327

#### *Provenance*

Standard early provenance.

#### *Previous assessment*

These acacia-seed spacers were originally correlated with the clasps **215–6** and understood as parts of two belts (Winlock 1948: 35f., pl. 20b). A few acacia beads of carnelian and turquoise glass (**151–2**)—as well as many orange-, blue-, and turquoise-colored reproductions—were used with them. In 1958, 203 newly purchased gold acacia beads were added (321; Aldred 1971: 207, pl. 63). See the discussion of those below.

### *Current understanding*

The spacers are comprised of beads formed like **321–2** and then hard-soldered one above the other to make a total of seven beads per unit. A bead in spacer 26.8.118c was sectioned, and extensive solder was found in the join that had a different silver-to-gold ratio than the bead, i.e., it was hard-soldered (Stone). On the exterior, this solder was often filed away. Porous texture seen in X ray is attributable to this solder.

### **311** TWELVE SEVEN-BEAD ACACIA-SEED SPACERS

Fig. 260b (top)

MMA 26.8.118a (P 161).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS L 15.7.

CONDITION Some dented.

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS L 7.8.

CONDITION Only five beads remain of each spacer.

### **312** SIX FRAGMENTARY ACACIA-SEED SPACERS

Fig. 260b (middle)

MMA 26.8.118b (P 161).

### **313** SIX FRAGMENTARY ACACIA-SEED SPACERS

Fig. 260b (bottom)

MMA 26.8.118c (P 161).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold (see Appendix 2).

DIMENSIONS L 7.8.

CONDITION Only two beads remain of each spacer.

### **Clasps (314–5);** see p. 326

#### *Provenance*

Standard early provenance for both items.

#### *Previous assessment*

Winlock understood the sliding clasp **314** as part of a long belt, and thought there were obvious signs of wear (Winlock 1948: 36f.).

## Chapter 7

As for the inlaid buckle **315**, he thought it the clasp for a girdle that incorporated beads **197**, **199**, and **203** (1948: 37, pl. 21; followed by Hayes 1959b: 136, fig. 73). Winlock considered the workmanship crude, and judged the inlay of the *hṭp*-shape to be decayed glass.

Scott separated varied beads from the clasp in 1958, and used the buckle with newly acquired gold melon beads **319** to form a different girdle, as illustrated in Kayser (1969: fig. 210) and A. Wilkinson (1971: 135 pl. 47a); see also C. Andrews (1990: 142).

### *Current understanding*

While it is true that the inner part of the sliding arm of **314** is bent, the surface of the metal and the sharpness of the edges do not show signs of wear.

Sliding clasps are found among Tutankhamun's jewels (see one example in Metropolitan Museum of Art 1976: no. 31). The design of the clasps described below, however, is overly complicated. A number of pieces have been cut from thick metal and then joined, and thinner or smaller pieces have been added to make snug fits. In these respects, the workmanship is reminiscent of that on gold vessels **251–71**, where rims were sometimes cut separately and soldered on, rather than being beaten and rolled outward.

The design of **315** is clumsy (see below); the manufacture is very poor. File marks are on exterior, blistered surface within.

#### **314** SLIDING CLASP

Fig. 259

MMA 26.8.120 (P 161).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1921.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS H 8.9, W 0.8, Th 0.5; spacing between holes 1.4–1.7.

MANUFACTURE Stationary element is made of the following parts, as indicated in Winlock's illustration (Fig. 259 [right]): two thick-walled parallel strips (termed a–b here); a narrower strip joining them along the front long edge (c); a wall that fully closes the bottom end (d), and half a wall that closes the top (e); a fillet along the inner face of the open edge of a and b. Six holes were punched through c from the inside out; the burrs on the outside were flattened into very regular rings. Striations were probably formed from filing.

The sliding element is made of a thick-walled strip (here termed *a*) with a half wall attached perpendicularly to it at the top end (*b*). A thinner strip (*c*)—bent into a U, its ends rounded—is attached perpendicularly to *a*, the top of the U attached to *b*. On the exterior of one arm of the U, a thin strip (*d*) is joined perpendicularly along its length. On the other arm, two bars are attached, with that at the top end (*e*) twice as long as that at the bottom end (*f*).

There is excess flooding at the same time that there are open seams. Donuts around most holes.

CONDITION No evidence of tarnish film; minimal wear.

Some residue in crevices could be flux (Frantz).

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pls. 20c, 42e.

#### **315** INLAID BUCKLE

Fig. 258

MMA 26.8.80 (P 54).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1919.

MATERIALS Gold (see Appendix 2), agate.

DIMENSIONS W 3.95, H 3.6.

MANUFACTURE Back plate is *hṭp*-shaped, with perpendicular strip around circumference and seam at proper right corner. On back side, a crude *ḥnh* and *dd* in raised relief. Below this is joined a semicircular agate inlay mounted in a gold strip. On the proper right end of the *hṭp*, an additional strip has been attached; a gold ring is soldered on it. There is a second gold ring below it, soldered to the upper corner of the cloisoned inlay. At the opposite end of the buckle, a "nail" has been soldered; its head projects forward and its shaft is bent around to the back. File marks.

Diamond shape filled with quartz grains. Agate inlay convex on both sides; polished.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: pl. 21.

**Loose beads (316–22);** see pp. 305, 327f.

### *Provenance*

The faceted and lap-joint beads **316–7** have a standard early provenance, although the latter were not strung until 1958 when Scott arranged them with carnelian barrels—also from the early purchases—as 26.8.212 (see **137–40**).

The gold acacia, melon, and filigreed beads were all acquired as later purchases. One group of acacia beads and one group of melon beads were acquired in 1958 (**319**, **321**); a second group of each was purchased in 1970 (**320**, **322**). The filigreed beads were acquired in 1966 (**318**). These 1958–70 purchases were alleged to have come from Wady Qurud.

### *Previous assessment*

The faceted beads **316** were earlier strung with fly amulets **304** and beads **211**, **317** selective.



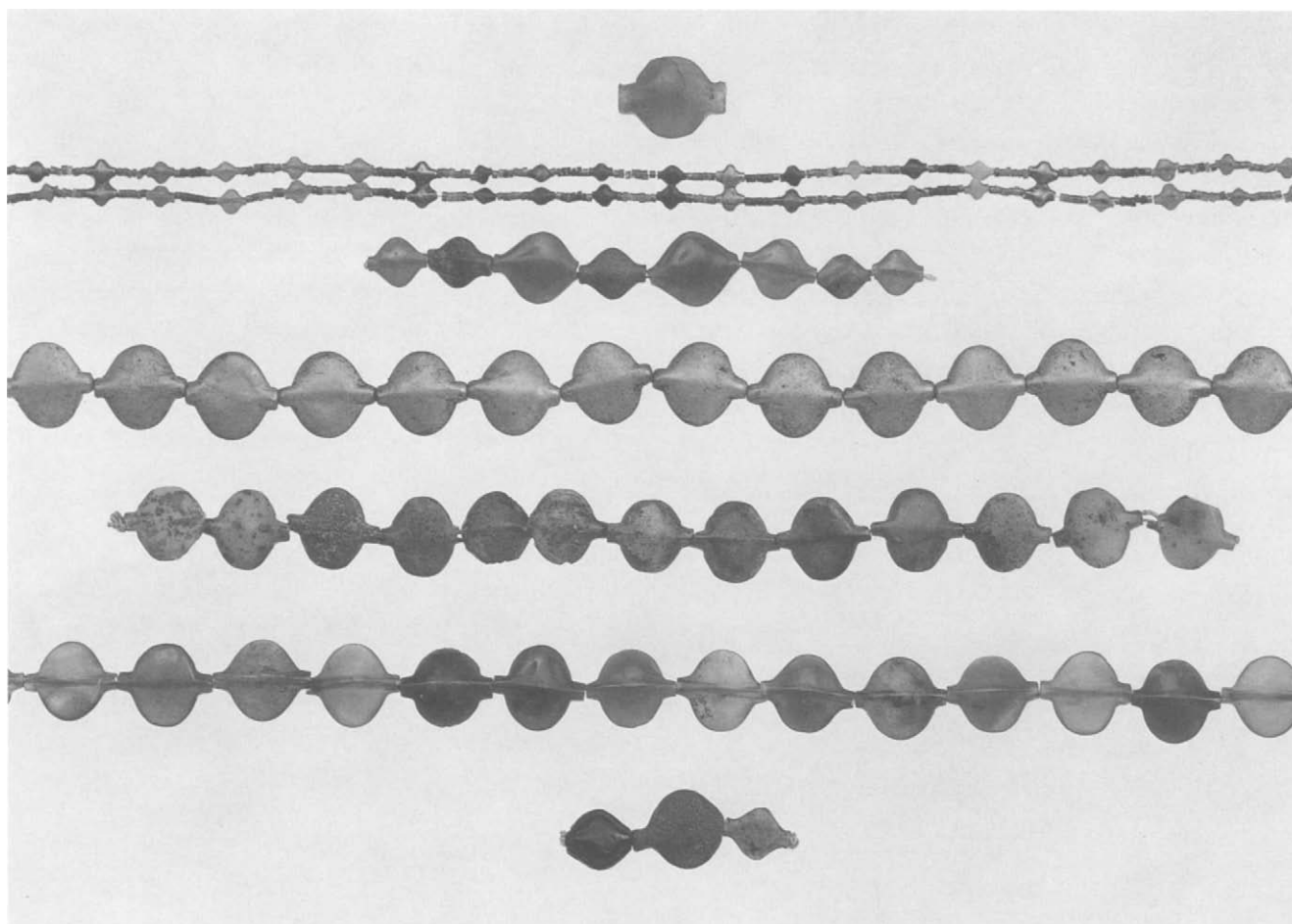


Fig. 232. Various acacia-seed beads in the MMA, 1:1. Top to bottom: Hyksos group, Senebtisy, LNP 884, Cats. **321**, **152**, **151**. Bottom group shows 1919-22 resin and felspar purchases at ends, see p. 113

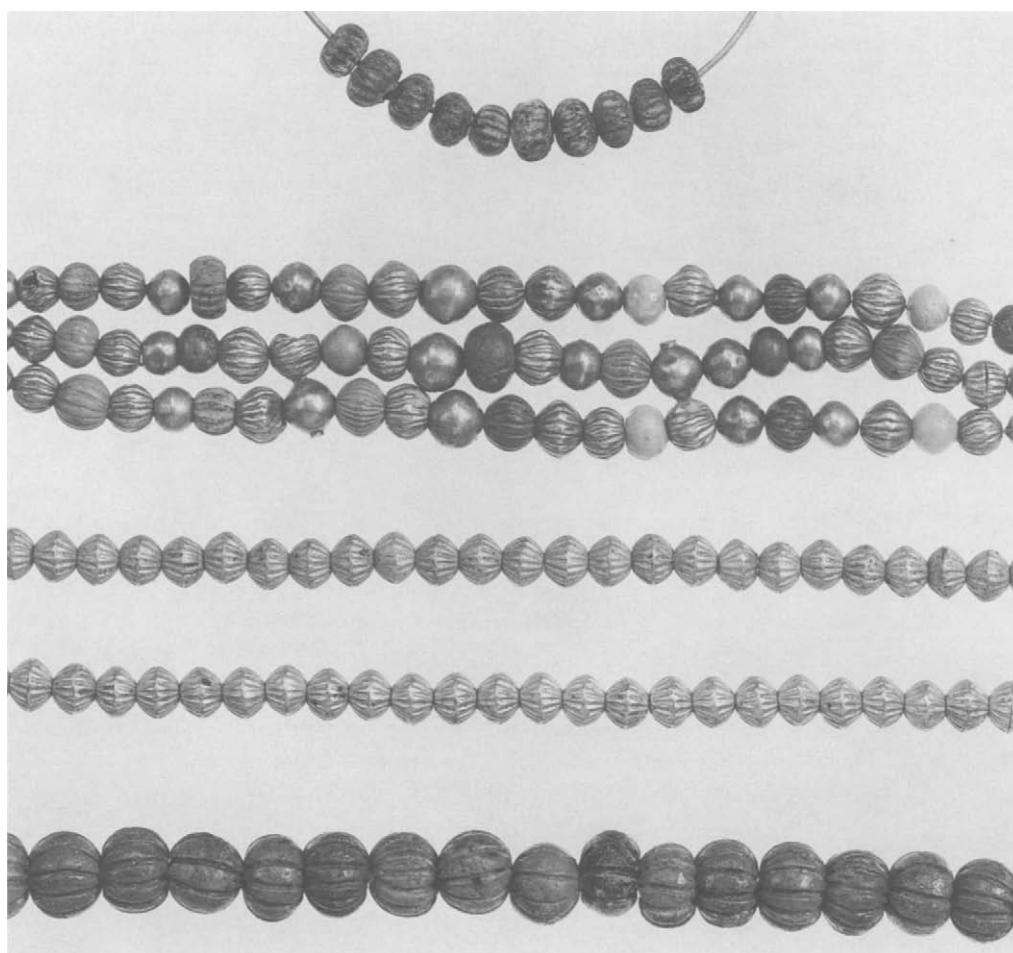


Fig. 233. Various melon beads in the MMA, 1:1. Top to bottom: Cats. **31**, **153**, **319**, **320**, and Carnaravon-Carter Assasif tomb 37

## Chapter 7

The lap-joint beads **317** were strung about 1959 with carnelian barrel beads (most now in **140**). This string was disassembled in 1983; the lap-joint beads became **317** with the addition of six similar beads from the fly necklace (see **211** and **304**).

Once the melon beads **319–20** were acquired, Scott strung them with the *hnp*-buckle **315** for use as a girdle (A. Wilkinson 1971: 135, pl. 47a).

The acquisition of the gold acacia-seed beads **321–2** allowed rearrangement of previous reconstructions. The MMA had acquired gold acacia-seed spacers in the early part of the century (**311–3**) but only a handful of carnelian and turquoise glass beads of similar shape (**151–2**). Thus Winlock had had to make use of many reproductions to reconstruct a belt (1948: 35f., pl. 20a). When 205 individual gold acacia beads came to light in 1958 (**321**), Scott was able to form two similar belts (Hayes 1959b: 135; N. Scott 1964: 232; C. Andrews 1990: 142 [not illus.]). At that time, one belt was numbered 26.8.118a (Aldred 1971: 207f., pl. 63) and the other 26.8.118b (A. Wilkinson 1971: 135, pl. 47c).

### *Current understanding*

The faceted beads **316** are unusual, although one excavated group of gold examples has been located: it was found by Reisner in New Kingdom–3rd Intermediate period tomb A 533 at El-Ahiwa (Phoebe Aperson Hearst Museum 6-22900; J. Knudsen communication, 27 Apr. 2002). Each of those beads has six facets, and appears to have gold sheet over a core.

Faceted gold beads without excavated context have been noted in the MMA (ten that look similar to those from El-Ahiwa, with dark gray sandy core: 10.130.2996), in the Cairo Museum (nine, with a brown core: 21/11/21/9), and at auction (twenty, said to have iron oxide cores: Christie, Manson & Woods 1979: lot 60). Petrie stated that at least twenty were found with Ptolemy Philadelphus tetradrachms, but all were registered as “purchased” (S. Quirke communication, 4 Sept. 2000; Petrie 1927: 3 §6, pl. 1; Petrie Museum of Archaeology 40653). A group of Egyptian blue faceted beads—also in the Petrie Museum, 4266—is registered as from Naqada.

The manufacture of the beads, as described below, is not ancient.

The closest parallel found for the lap-joint type in **317** was in BSA tomb 610 at El-Ghirza (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam E.27-28.1913). Barrel beads from there are thin gold foil that overlap without a lap joint. A wrap-around bead, slightly barrel-shaped, is in MMA 26.7.1384 from Carnarvon–Carter tomb 37, chamber B.

No parallels of any date were found for the lap-joint; the technology is modern, see below.

Nor have ancient excavated parallels been found for the filigreed beads **318**. Similar, although larger, examples of filigreed beads exist from the later first millennium BC (Vernier 1927: CG 53187, 53189, 53193 [from Dendera]). Some filigreed beads were with the faceted beads in the Petrie Museum cited above, but were also without good context. According to Marilyn Jenkins-Madina, filigree occurs in Iranian jewelry of the 11th–12th centuries AD, and is used in the 20th century as well (communication, June 2000).

Wypyski analyzed the beads (Appendix 2) and Stone observed, “the beads are made of gold heavily alloyed with copper and a trace of silver. They are not diffusion-bonded but hard-soldered together with a different gold alloy, since the silver content of the solder is much higher than that of the beads. To hide what must have been a distinct color difference, the beads were then surface enriched, almost certainly artificially. . . . This . . . suggests that the beads are no earlier than Medieval in date.” X rays showed a porous texture.

Concerning melon beads **319–20**, Stone believes that the two halves of each bead were made in a steel die, due to the regularity of the grooves. They were hard-soldered around the circumference, and excess solder was then filed away. Both groups have a reddish organic coating on the surface; it is especially plentiful on **319**. A sample from the latter chemically matched the contents of ointment storage jars (Shedrinsky et al. 1991).

The melon beads are photographed in Fig. 233 with two Wady Qurud groups thought ancient as well as with a faience string from Carnarvon–Carter Assasif tomb 37 burial 13 (MMA 26.7.1365; Carnarvon and Carter 1912: 71, pl. 73.13).

The acacia-seed beads of **321** have a duller look than those of **322**, partly because an organic red substance was spread on their surfaces but also because those surfaces were artificially etched (Stone). Baines believes that the formation of the beads in both groups was the same. Each half of a bead was beaten into a die, then soldered around the exterior with the help of jeweler’s binding wire that held the two sides together. The excess solder that formed around the projecting ends was usually removed by filing. A bead from **321** was sectioned in 1982; a good deal of modern hard solder was found in the join (Stone). These beads are lighter in weight than those of **322**.

Figure 232 shows the beads of **321** compared with two acacia-seed groups surely from Wady Qurud (**151–2**), two late Middle Kingdom groups in the MMA (Senebtisy, MMA 07.227.130; LNP 884, MMA 22.1.126), an example from the purchased MMA Hyksos group (68.136.24), and two individual beads from the 1919–22 Wady Qurud purchases.

## Catalogue Part C, Various Dates

### **316** TWENTY-SEVEN FACETED BEADS

Fig. 261b

MMA 26.8.64b.

SOURCE See discussion on p. 252.

MATERIAL Gold (see Appendix 2).

DIMENSIONS L of string 21.0.

MANUFACTURE Each bead has eight flat surfaces. Several have slits at both ends and opposite each other, indicating that halves formed in a die had been joined. Considerable solder on surfaces. Fine lengthwise striations are from modern filing. Holes at either end are pushed inward.

CONDITION Facets polished from wear.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winlock 1948: 24, pl. 14g.

### **317** TWENTY-NINE LAP-JOINT BARRELS

Fig. 261a

MMA 26.8.212b (P 96 according to Scott).

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS L of string 21.0.

MANUFACTURE Tube of sheet gold with overlapping tabs, crimped into a barrel shape. X ray showed porous texture. A few have marks of wire binding, applied to hold shape when being soldered.

CONDITION Some file marks noted; organic residue.

### **318** SIXTEEN ROUND FILIGREED BEADS

Fig. 261c

MMA 66.2.4.

SOURCE Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1966.

MATERIAL Copper alloy (see Appendix 2).

DIMENSIONS Diam of bead 0.7.

MANUFACTURE Two halves joined around circumference, decorated with soldered gold wire circles.

CONDITION Wear around holes and on wires.

### **319** TWO HUNDRED SIXTY-ONE MELON BEADS

Figs. 233 (third from top), 261d

MMA 58.153.13.

SOURCE Purchase, Frederick P. Huntley Bequest, 1958.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS L as strung 12.5 m, W of bead 0.6.

BIBLIOGRAPHY N. Scott 1964: 231.

### **320** FORTY-FIVE MELON BEADS

Figs. 233 (fourth from top), 261e

MMA 1970.169.1–.45.

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1970.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS L as strung 68.0, W of bead 0.6.

### **321** TWO HUNDRED FIVE ACACIA-SEED BEADS

Figs. 232 (fourth from top), 260a

MMA 58.153.14.

SOURCE Purchase, Frederick P. Huntley Bequest, 1958.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS L as strung 2.575 m; bead H 1.2, W 1.3.

### **322** TWENTY-FIVE ACACIA-SEED BEADS

Fig. 260c

MMA 1970.169.46–.70.

SOURCE Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1970.

MATERIAL Gold.

DIMENSIONS L as strung 31.5; bead H 1.2, W 1.3.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Perhaps Keimer 1949: fig. 1.

## OBJECTS OF UNDETERMINED FUNCTION

### **Two inlays(?) (323–4); see p. 328**

#### *Provenance*

Standard early provenance.

#### *Previous assessment*

The provenance of these items was queried, so they were not accessioned until 1983 for the purpose of completeness.

#### *Current understanding*

The glass piece appears to be an inlay but the purpose of the stone object is not known.

Concerning the identification of the stone, George Harlow of the American Museum of Natural History states that Egypt has the potential for nephrite formations, for example as small deposits in the Red Sea rift zones, but he is not aware of documented sources (communication, 17 Nov. 2000).

## Chapter 7

### **323** SEGMENTED OVAL INLAY

Fig. 262 (bottom)

MMA 26.8.218 (P 200b); accessioned 1983.

SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1922.

MATERIAL Translucent pink glass (Wheeler).

MANUFACTURE Sides and bottom ground, top polished.

CONDITION Scratches in polished surface.

DIMENSIONS 3.9 x 5.1.

### **324** CRESCENT-SHAPED INLAY

Fig. 262 (top)

MMA 26.8.217 (P 200a); accessioned 1983.

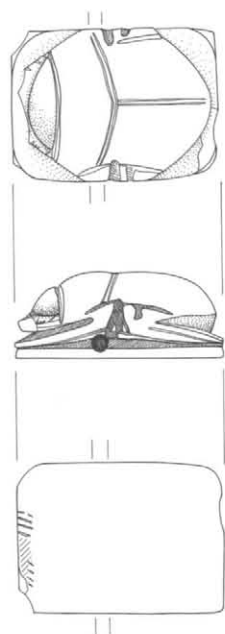
SOURCE Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1922.

MATERIAL Most probably green nephrite (Harlow communication, 23 Apr. 2001).

DIMENSIONS 3.0 x 4.0.

MANUFACTURE Asymmetric shape. Parallel planes are very flat; planes and outer edge are polished. Inner edge has file marks.

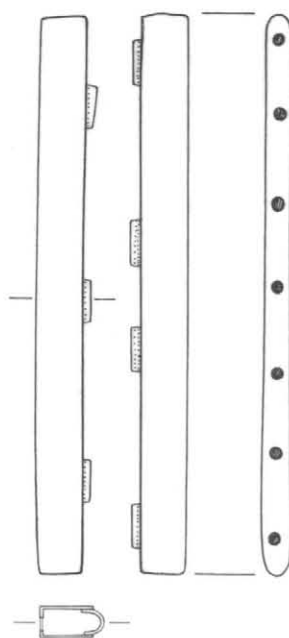
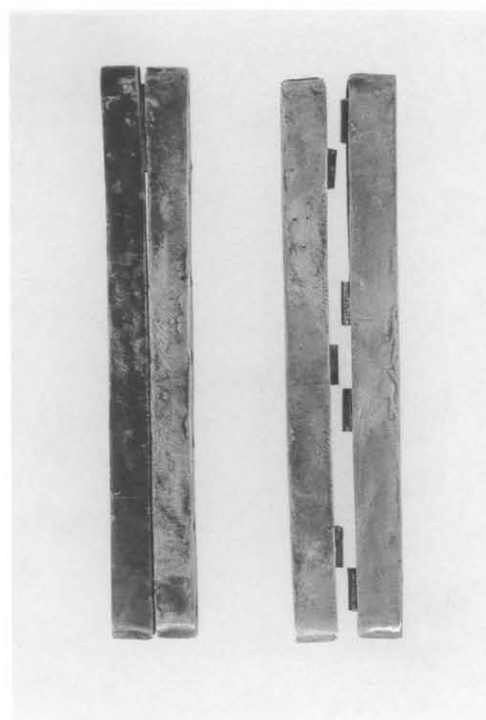
CATALOGUE PART C  
INDETERMINATE,  
PRE-TUTHMOSIDE, AND  
POST-TUTHMOSIDE TO  
LATER NEW KINGDOM  
DATE



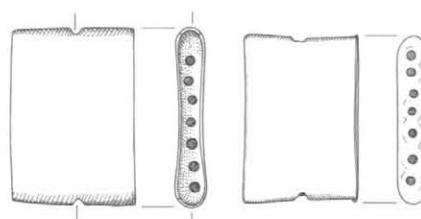
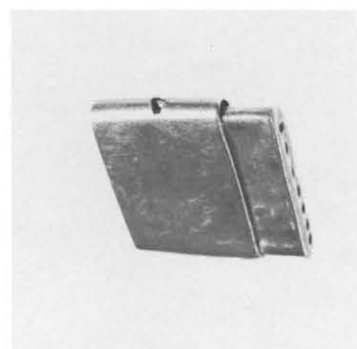
a. Lapis lazuli scarab, Cat. 214, 1:1



b. Five unidentified amethyst objects. Left to right: Cats. 221, 219, 218, 220, 222



c. Two gold loop-and-pin clasps, Cats. 215 (left photo) and 216 (right photo with drawing). Photos and drawing, 1:1; section, 1.5:1



d. Gold box-shaped clasp, Cat. 217. Drawing on right is shown with exterior view of its strip with holes. Drawing of sleeve on left is shown with interior view of its strip with holes. 1.5:1

Fig. 234a–d. Various objects of indeterminate date



a. Electrum uraeus, Cat. 223

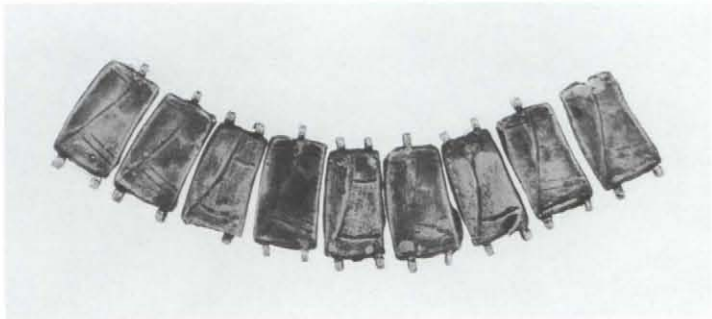
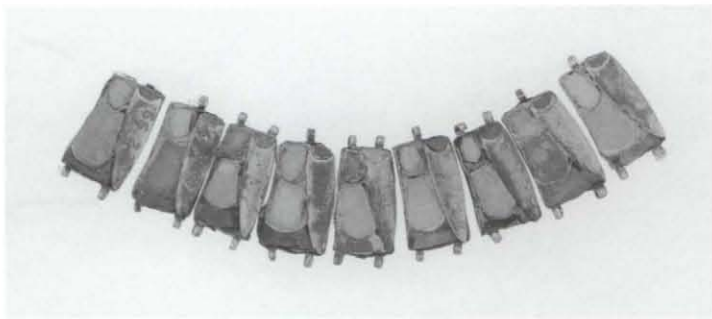


b. Felspar-inlaid fish, Cat. 225



c. Gold vultures and ankh-sign, Cat. 224. Drawing, 1.5:1

Fig. 235a-c. Three pre-Tuthmoside pendants, 1:1



a. Front and back of inlaid leaf-shaped collar elements, Cat. 227



b. Gold ear or hair ring, Cat. 226. Scale approximate



c. Gold shrine-shaped pendant, Cat. 228. Front: left and center; back: right. Drawing, 1.5:1



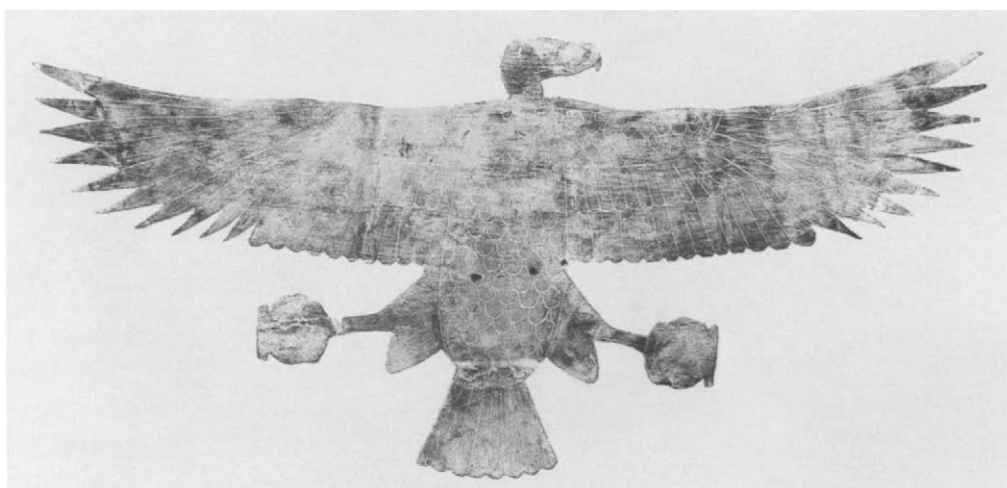
d. Red faience beads, Cat. 229

Fig. 236a-d. Post-Tuthmoside to later New Kingdom jewels, 1:1

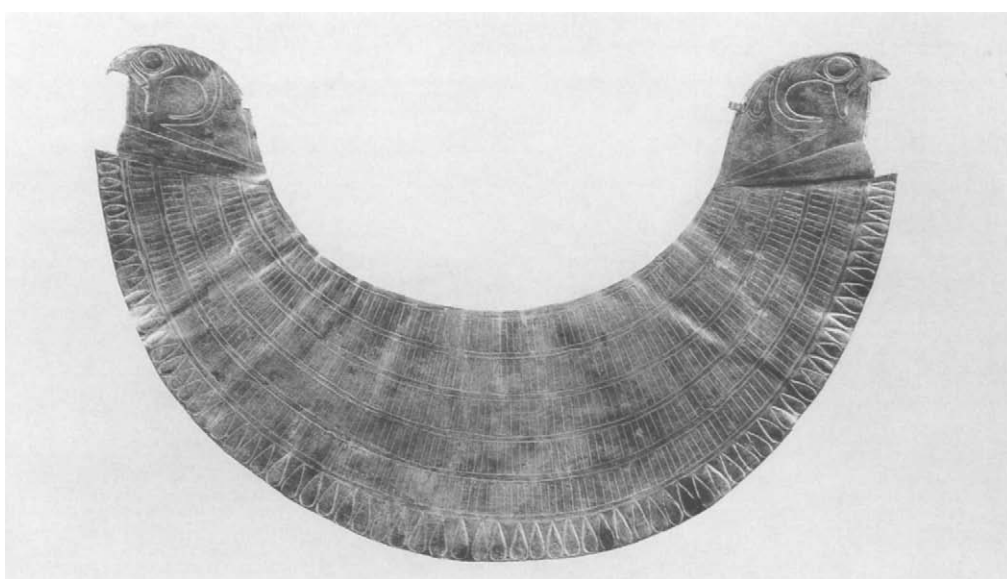


CATALOGUE PART C  
MODERN DATE

Catalogue Part C, Various Dates



a. Vulture breastplate, Cat. 231

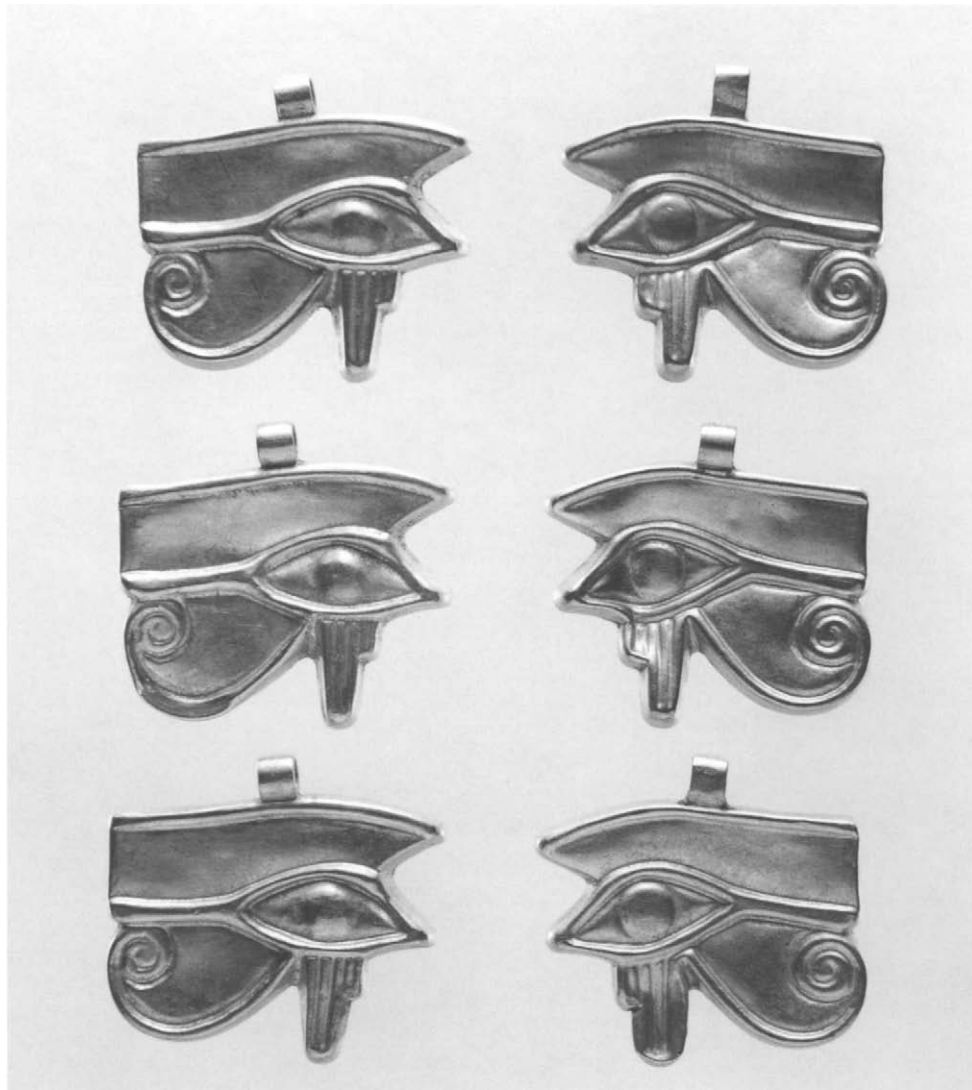


b. Falcon collar, Cat. 230

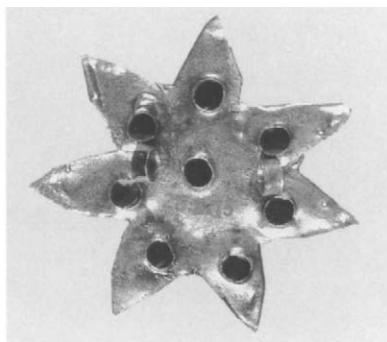
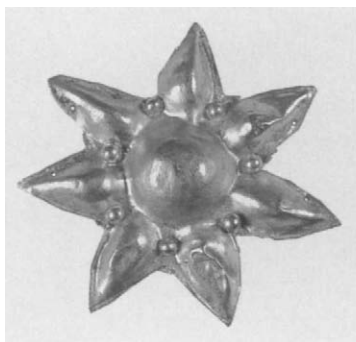


c. Bandage amulet, Cat. 232

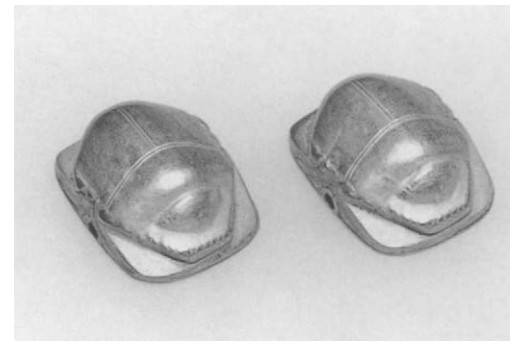
Fig. 237a–c. Set of modern gold sheet amulets, 1:3



a. Six gold *wadjet*-eye pendants, 1:1. Left to right: top, Cats. 239, 244; center, 241, 242; bottom, 240, 243



b. Gold star appliqué, Cat. 235. 1:1

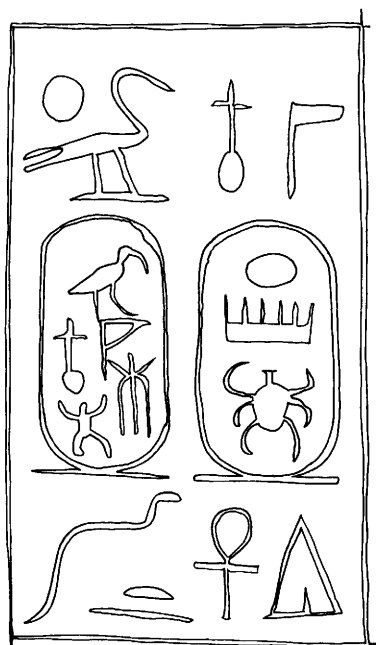


c. Two gold scarabs, Cats. 234 (left), 233 (right)

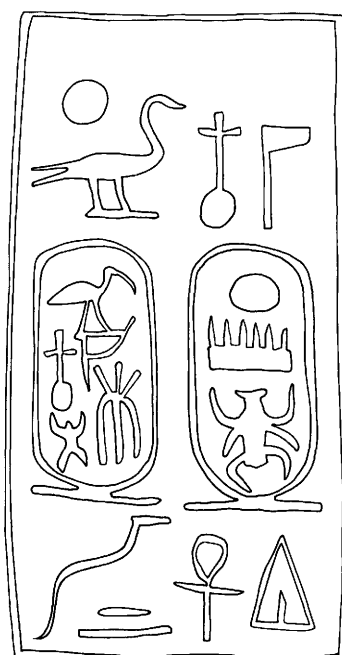


d. Three Hathor-cow plaques, 1:1. Left to right: Cats. 238, 236, 237

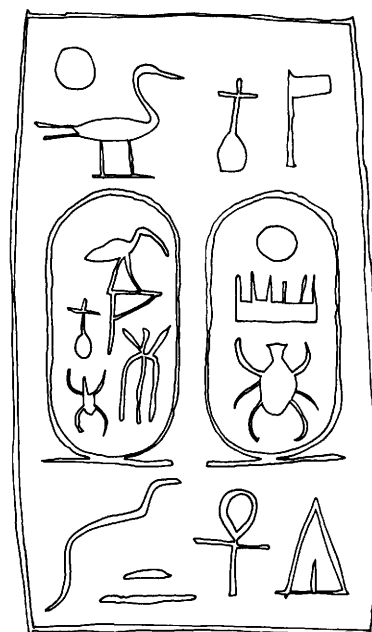
Fig. 238a–d. Modern gold items



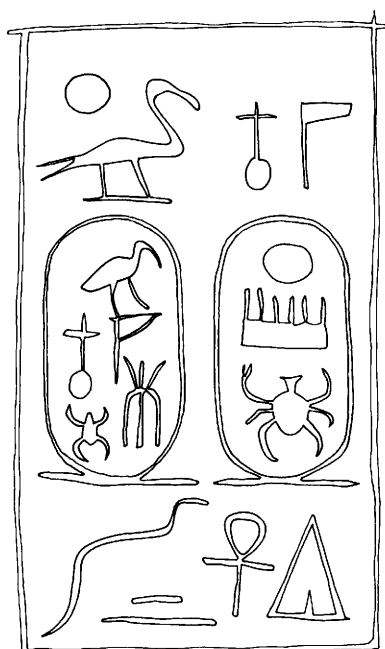
a. Cat. 245; see Cat. 75



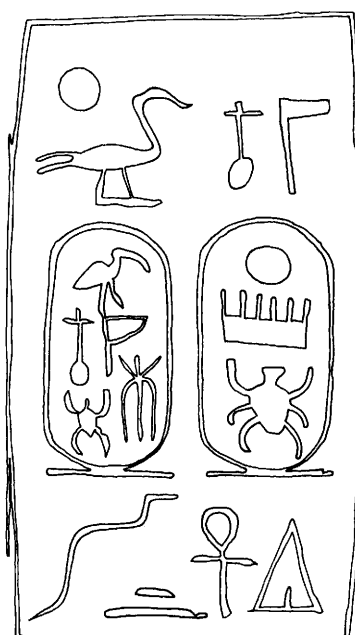
b. Cat. 246; see Cat. 76



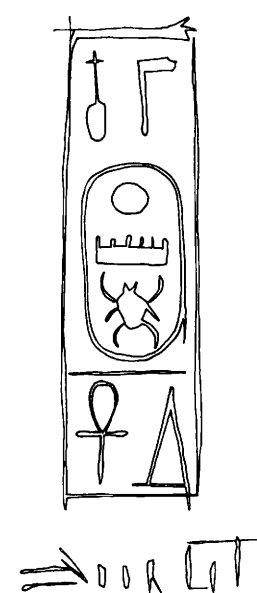
c. Cat. 247; see Cat. 77



d. Cat. 248; see Cat. 78

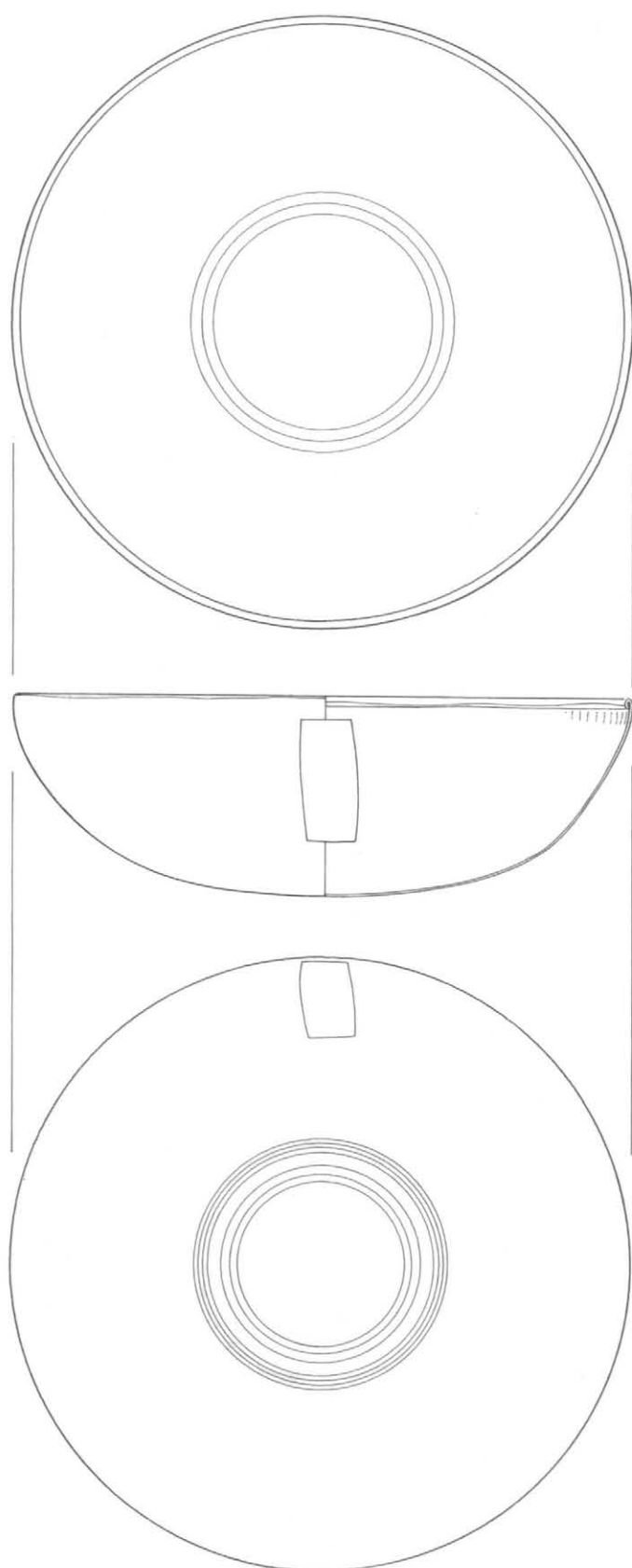


e. Cat. 249; see Cat. 71

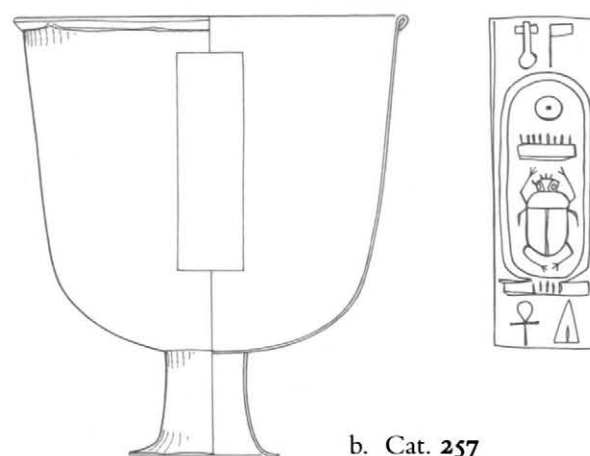


f. Cat 250; see Cat. 69

Fig. 239a–f. Modern inscriptions on ancient storage jars, 1:1



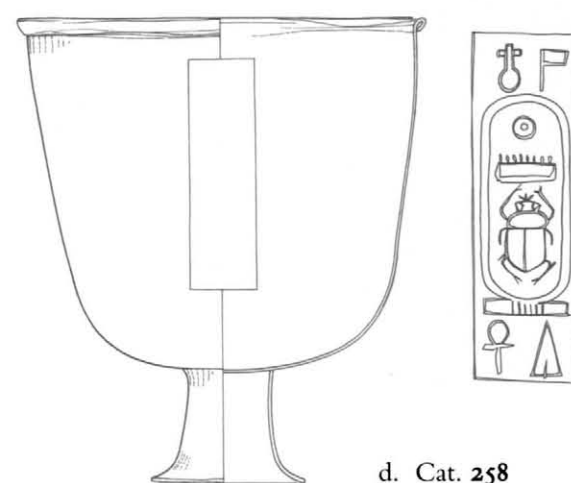
a. Cat. 251



b. Cat. 257



c. Above, Cats. 265 (left), 259 (right)  
Below, Cats. 264 (left), 258 (right)

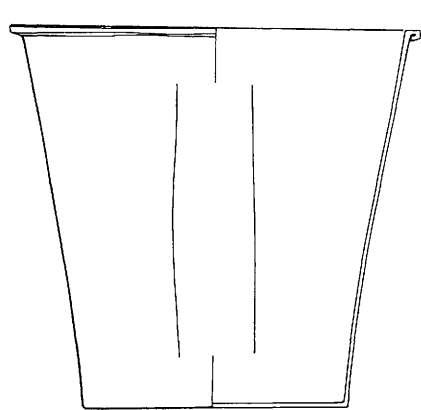


d. Cat. 258

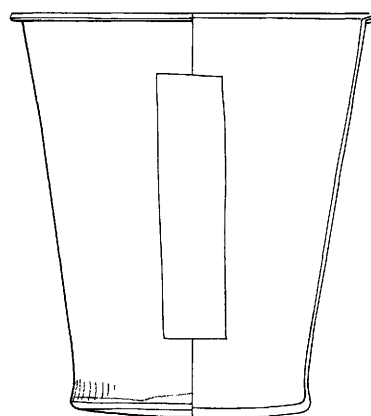


e. Cats. 251-7, 260-3, 266-71

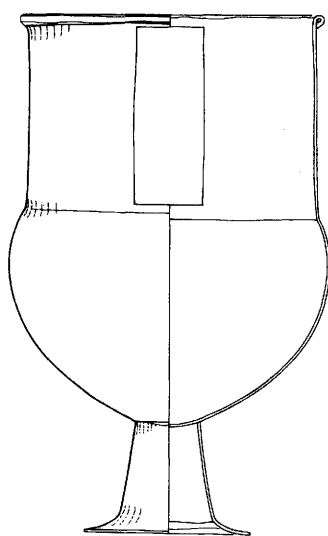
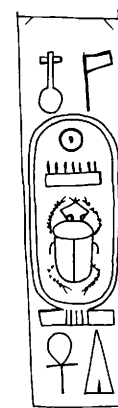
Catalogue Part C, Various Dates



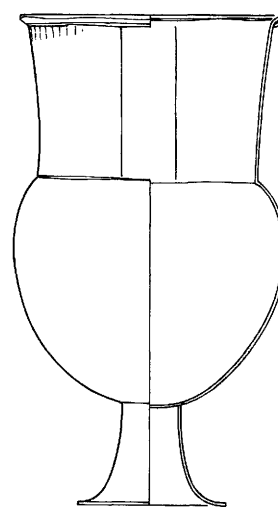
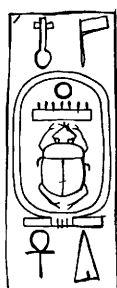
a. Cat. 261



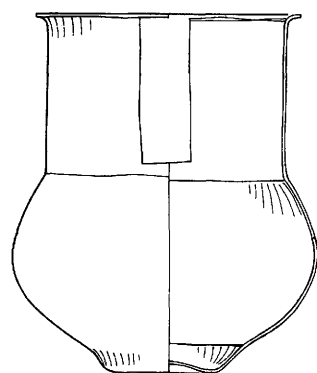
b. Cat. 262



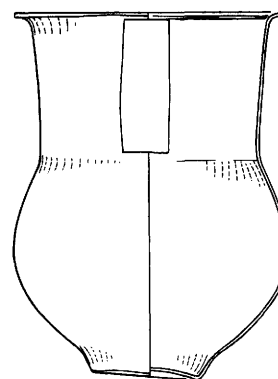
c. Cat. 271



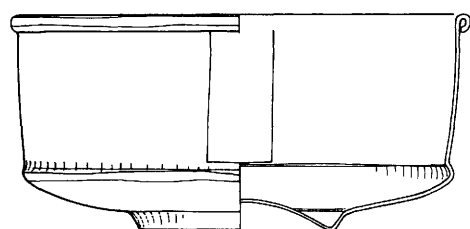
d. Cat. 270



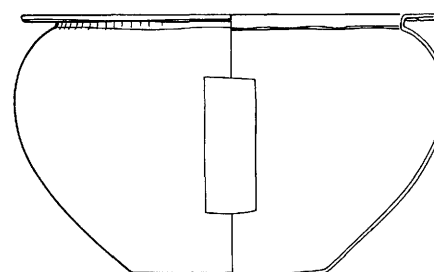
e. Cat. 263



f. Cat. 264



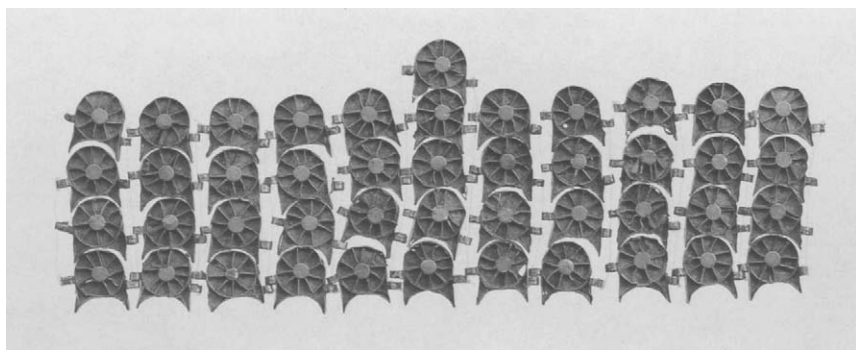
g. Cat. 255



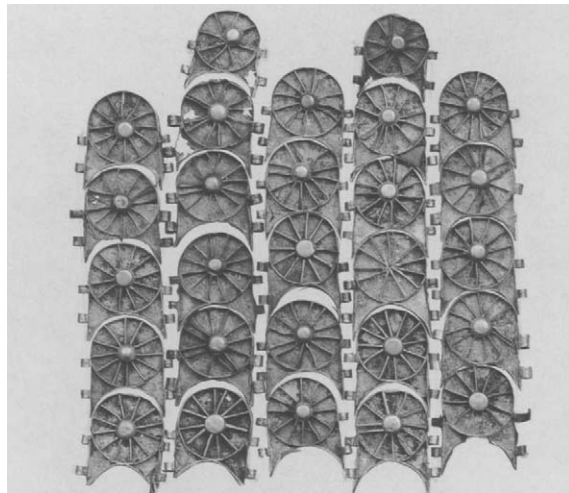
h. Cat. 266



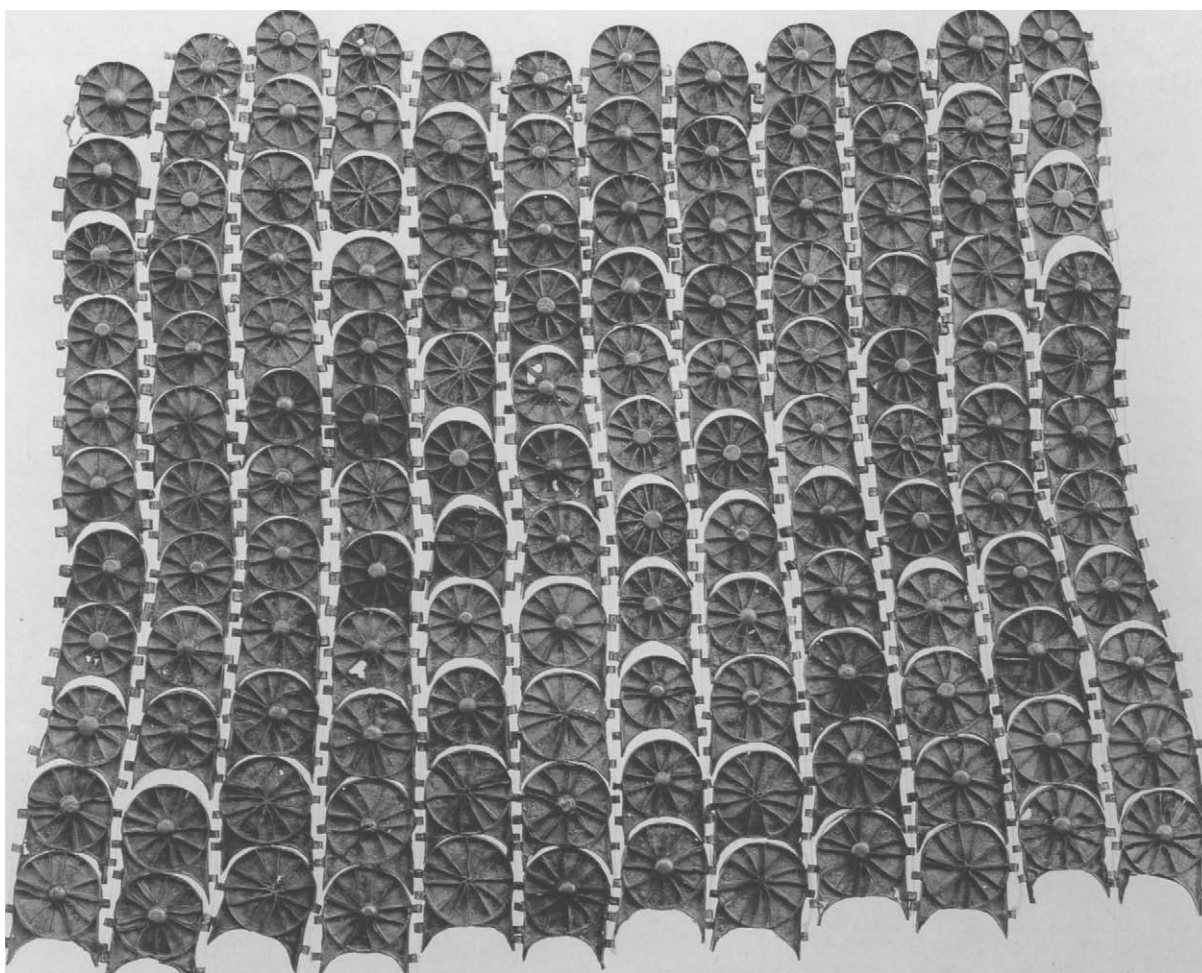
Fig. 241a-h. Modern gold vessels. Profiles 2:3, inscriptions 1:1



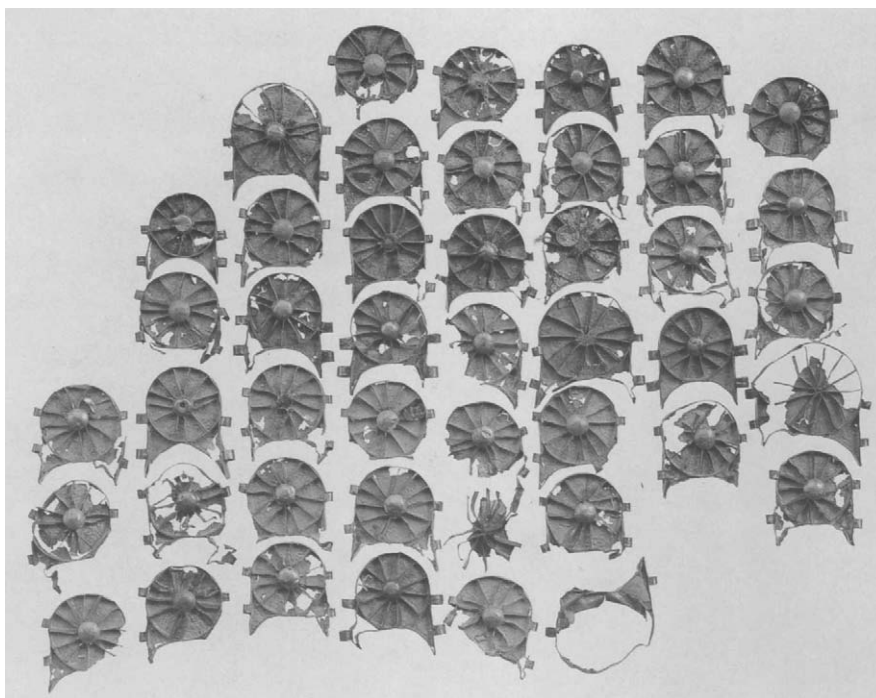
a. Cat. 272



b. Cat. 274



c. Cat. 273

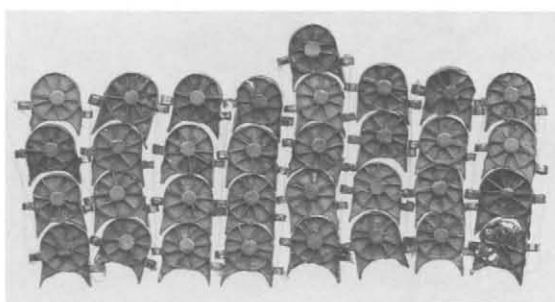


d. Cat. 275

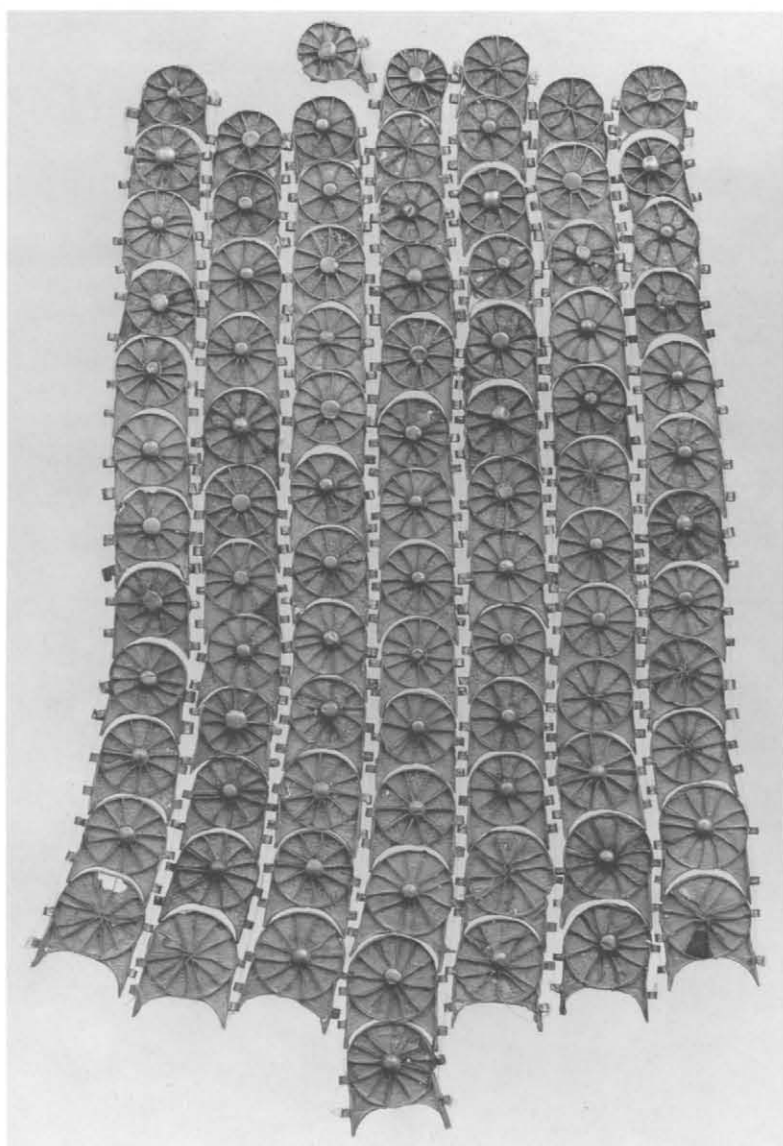
Fig. 242a-d. Four groups of Wady Qurud-type rosettes, modern manufacture. 2:3



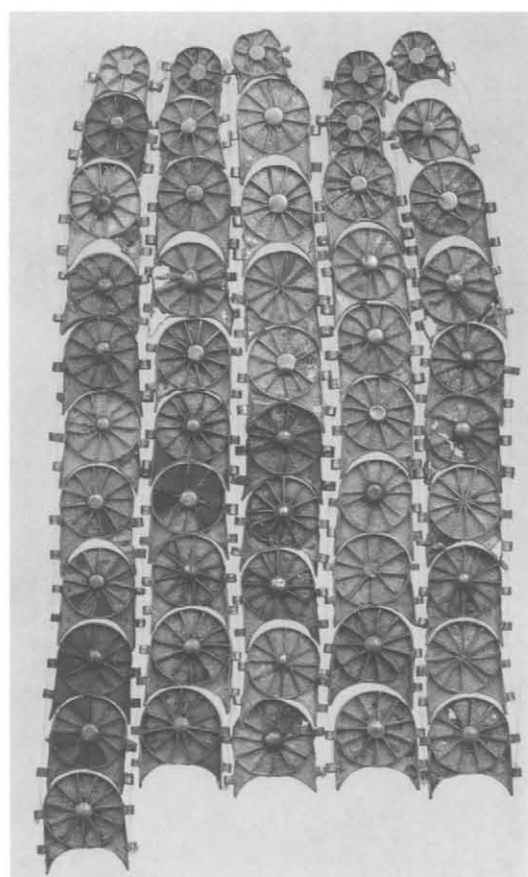
Catalogue Part C, Various Dates



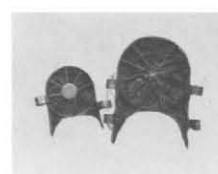
a. Cat. 276



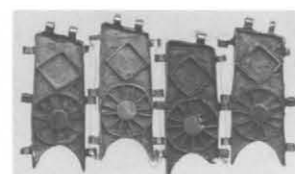
b. Cat. 277



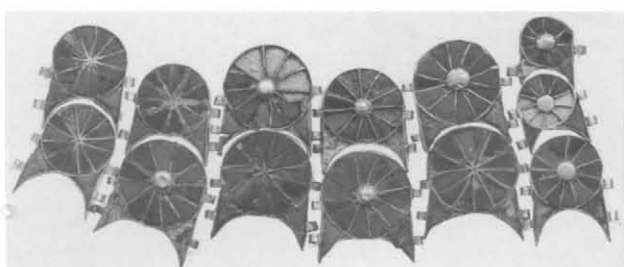
c. Cat. 278



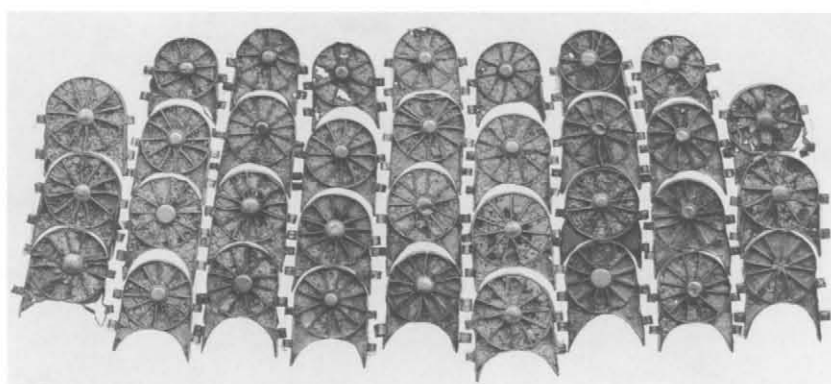
d. Cat. 280



e. Cat. 282

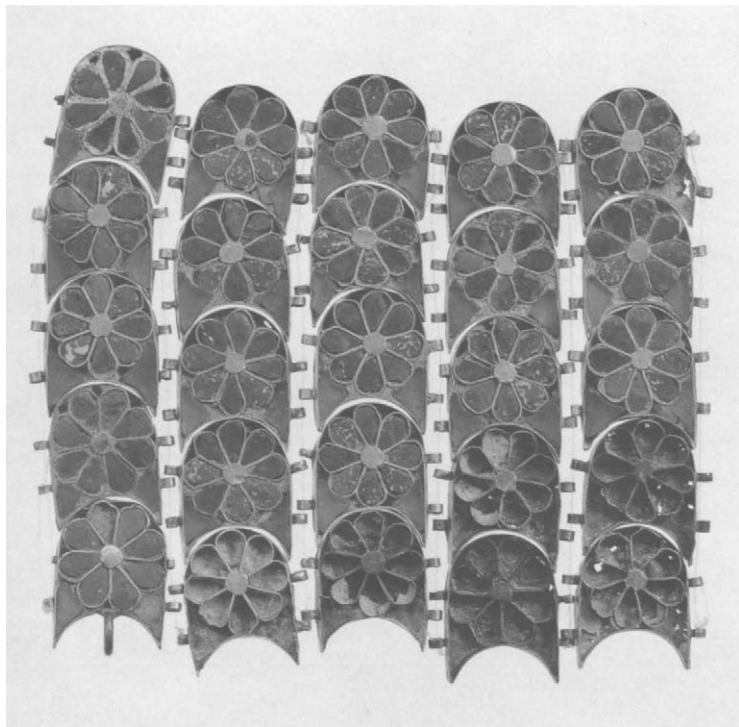


f. Cat. 281

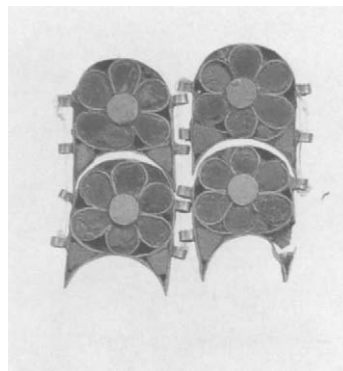


g. Cat. 279

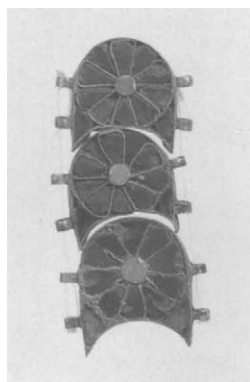
Fig. 243a-g. Seven groups of Wady Qurud-type rosettes, modern manufacture. 2:3



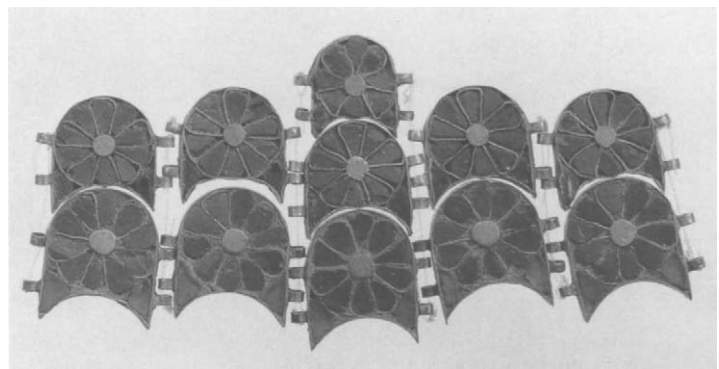
a. Cat. 283



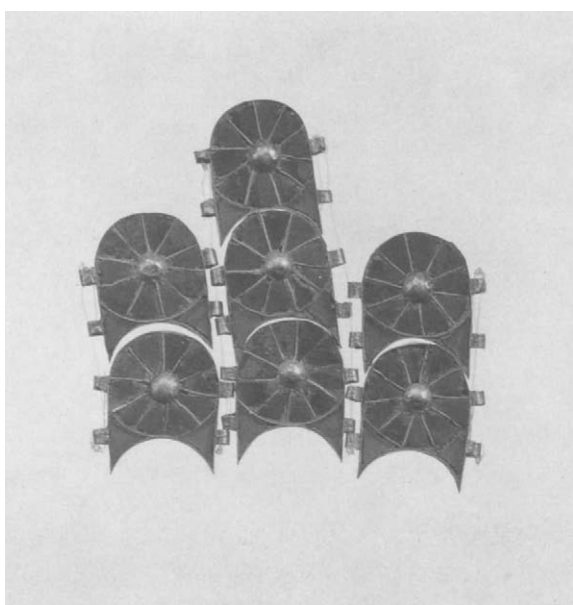
b. Cat. 286



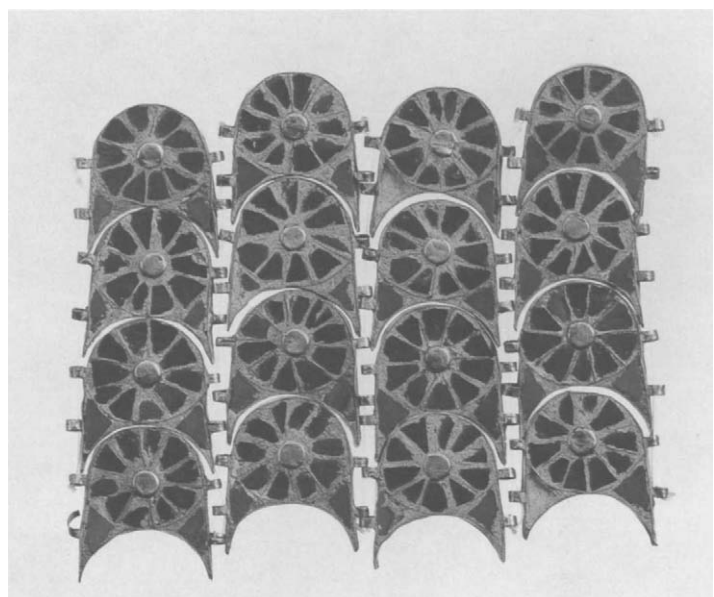
c. Cat. 284



d. Cat. 285



e. Cat. 287



f. Cat. 288

Fig. 244a-f. Six groups of modern rosettes with round petals and/or hieroglyphs, 1:1

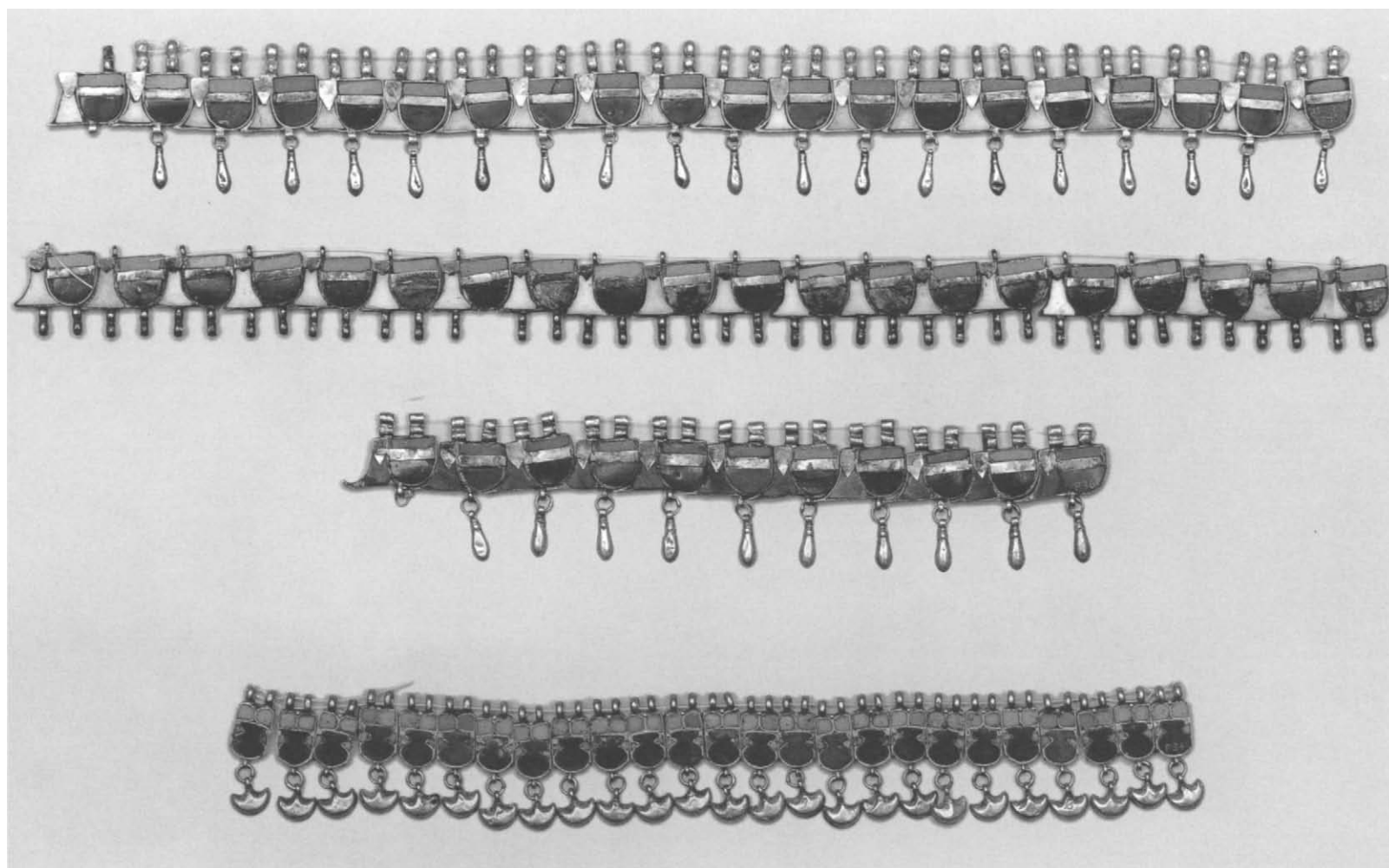


Fig. 245. Four groups of modern inlaid elements, approximately 2:3. Top to bottom: Cats. 289, 290, 291, 292

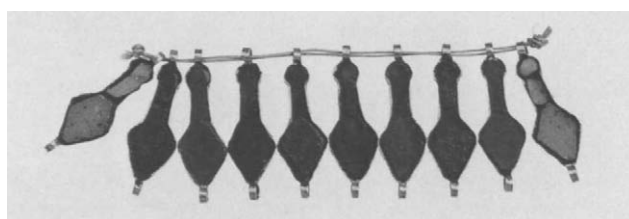


Fig. 246. Modern inlaid *nefers*, Cat. 293, 1:1

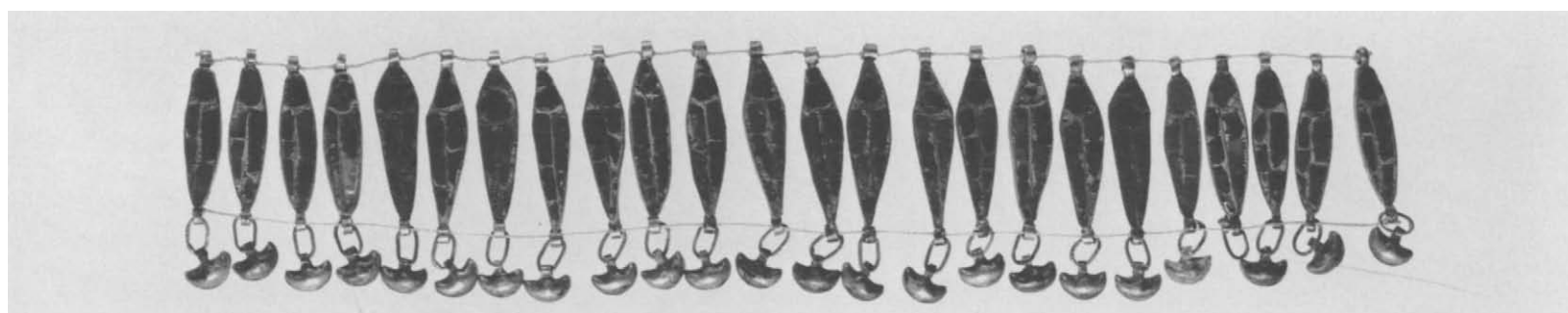
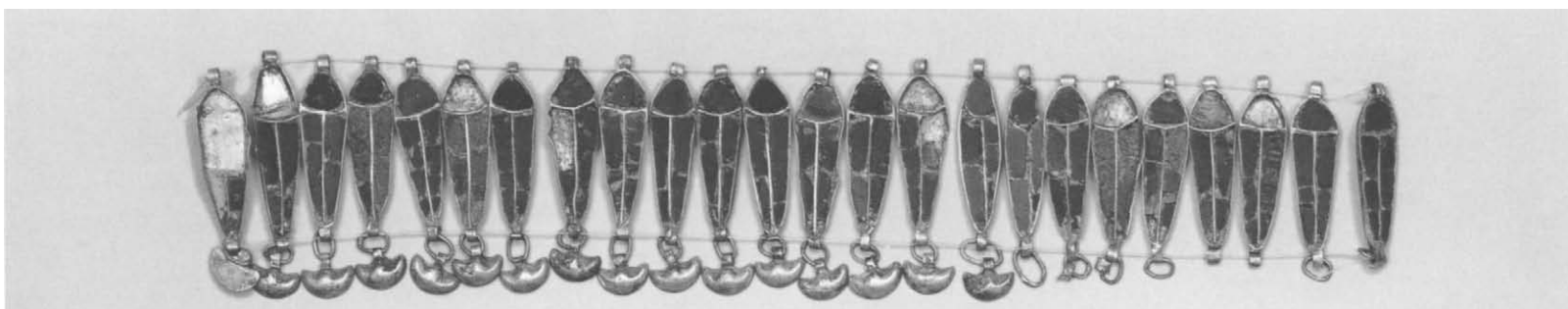


Fig. 247. Two groups of modern inlaid beetles, 1:1. Above, Cat 294; below, Cat. 295



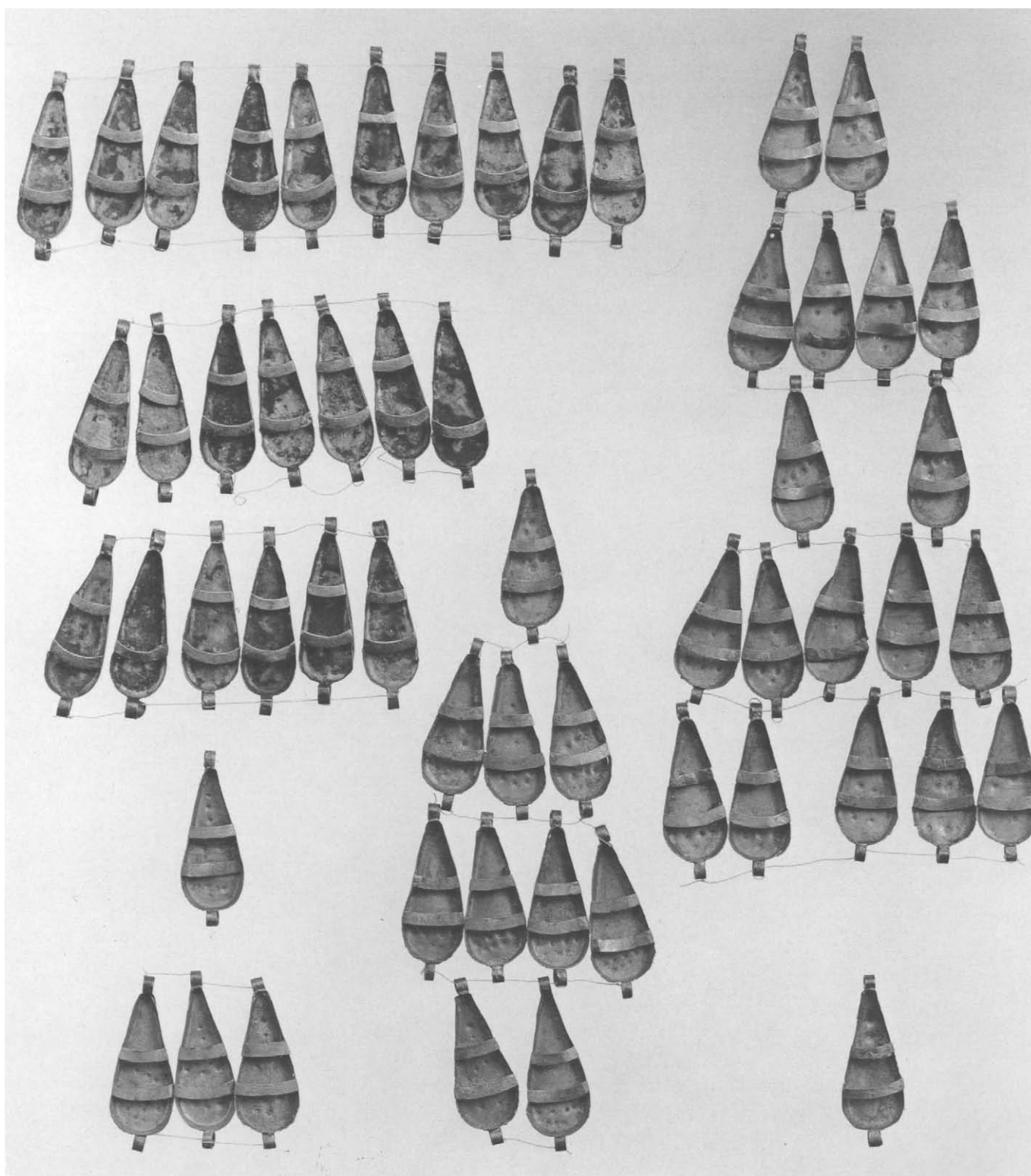


Fig. 248. Groups of modern drop-shaped elements with punches in backs, 1:1. Cat. 299, three groups in upper left; remainder, Cat. 298

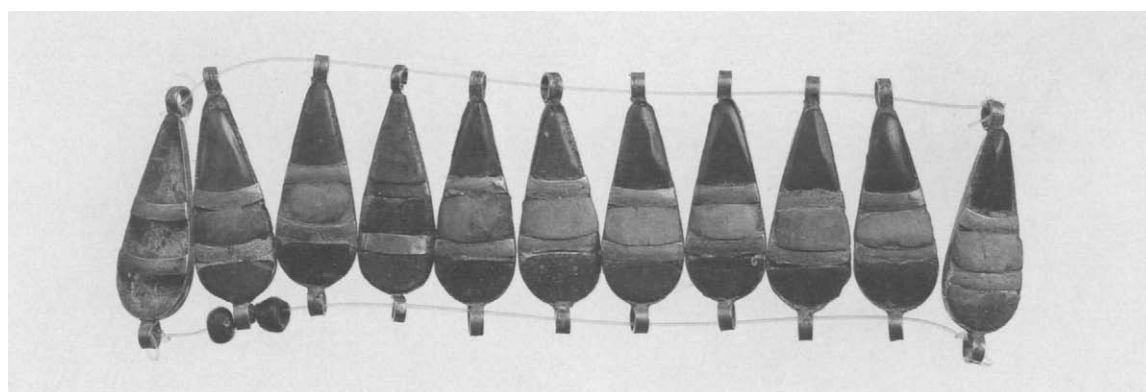


Fig. 249. Modern inlaid drop-shaped elements, Cat. 296. 1:1



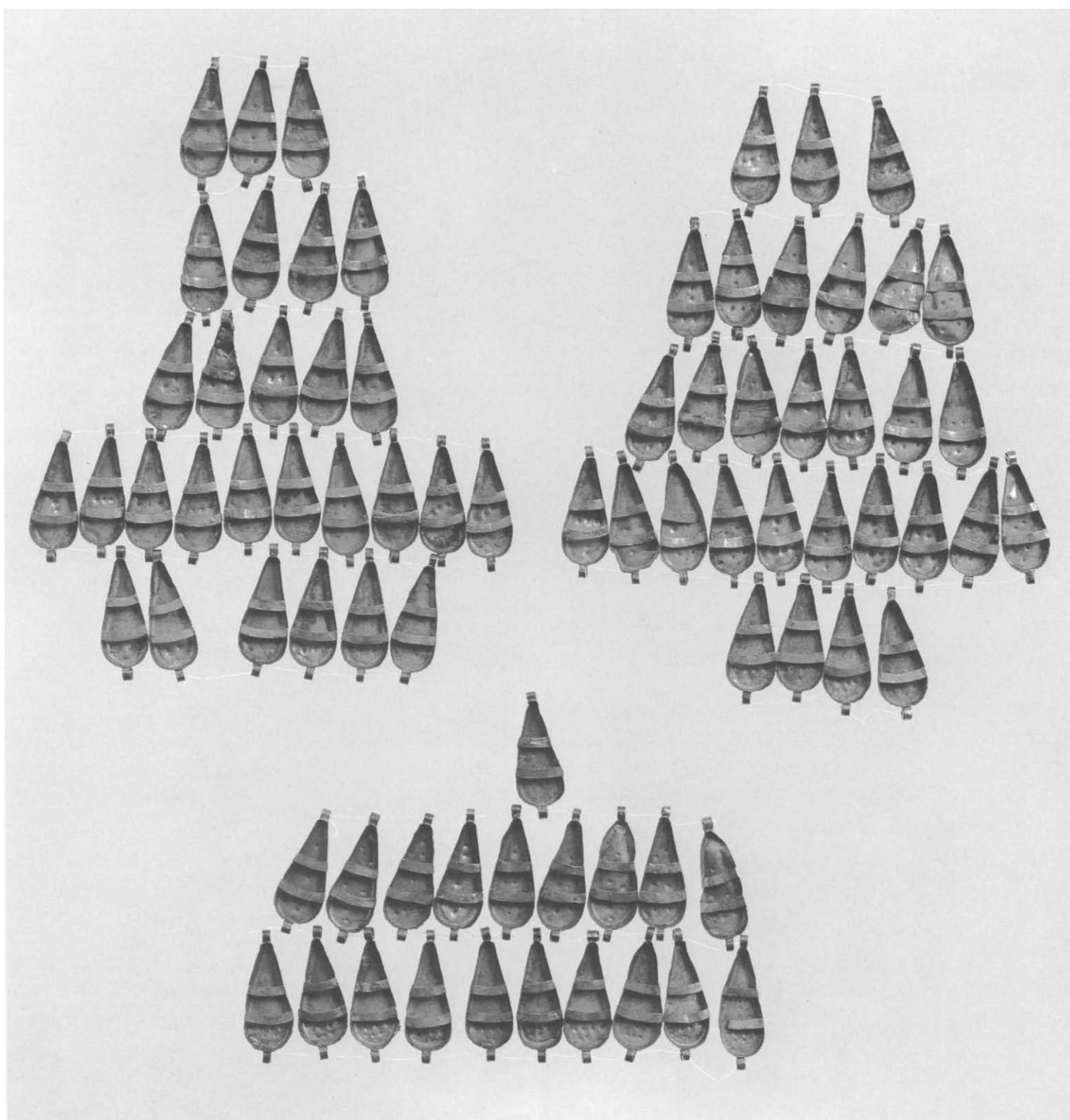


Fig. 250. Three groups of modern drop-shaped elements with punches in backs, Cat. 298. 1:1

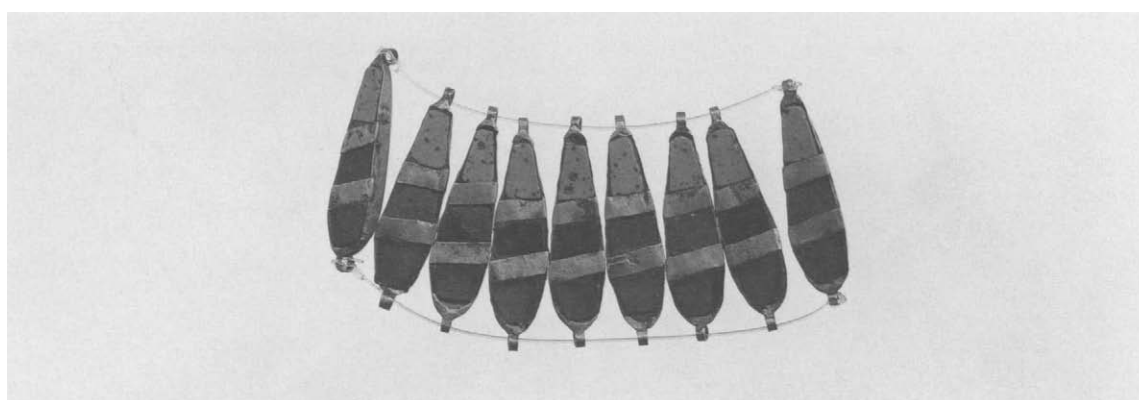
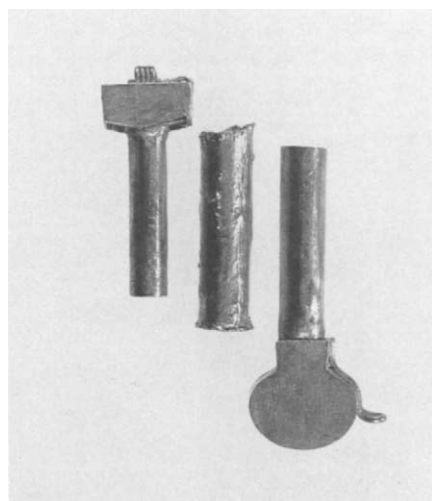


Fig. 251. Modern inlaid drop-shaped elements, Cat. 297. 1:1

## Chapter 7



a. Gold *menat*-shaped pendant, Cat. 300



b. Sekhmet-pendant, Cat. 301

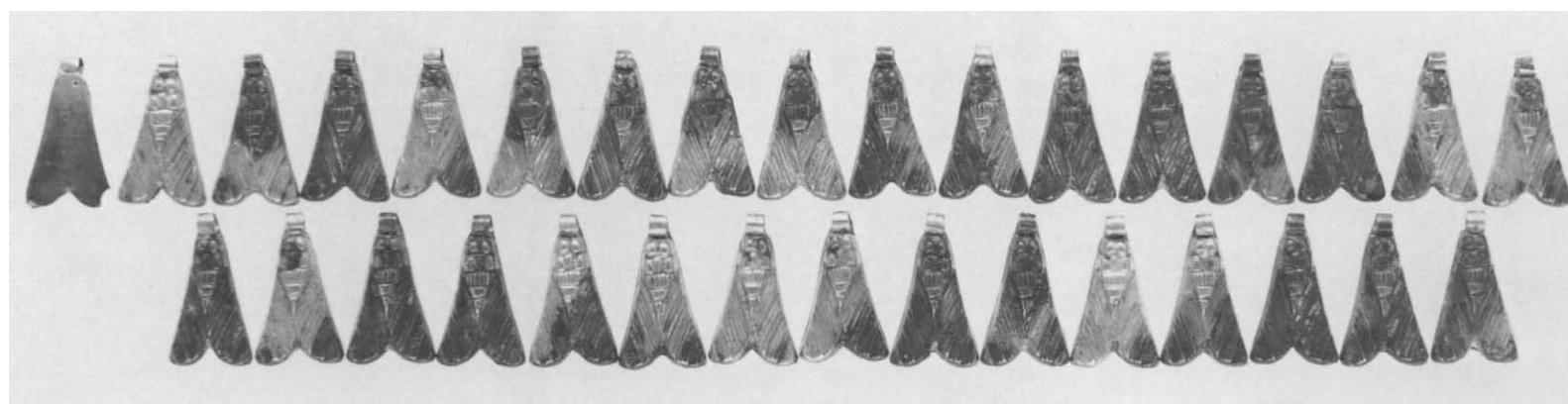


c. Maat-pendant, Cat. 302

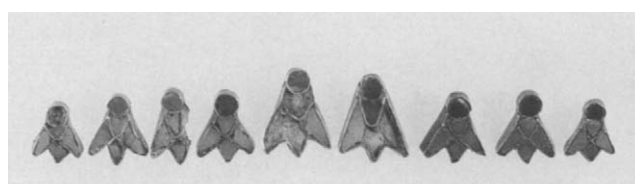


d. Inlaid *shen*-amulet, Cat. 303

Fig. 252a–d. Four modern gold pendants, 1:1



a. Group of fly-shaped amulets, Cat. 304



b. Series of fly or lotus amulets, Cat. 305

Fig. 253a–b. Two groups of modern amulets. 1:1



Fig. 254. Two groups of modern amulets, 1:1. Above, falcons, Cat. 307; below, Tawerets, Cat. 306

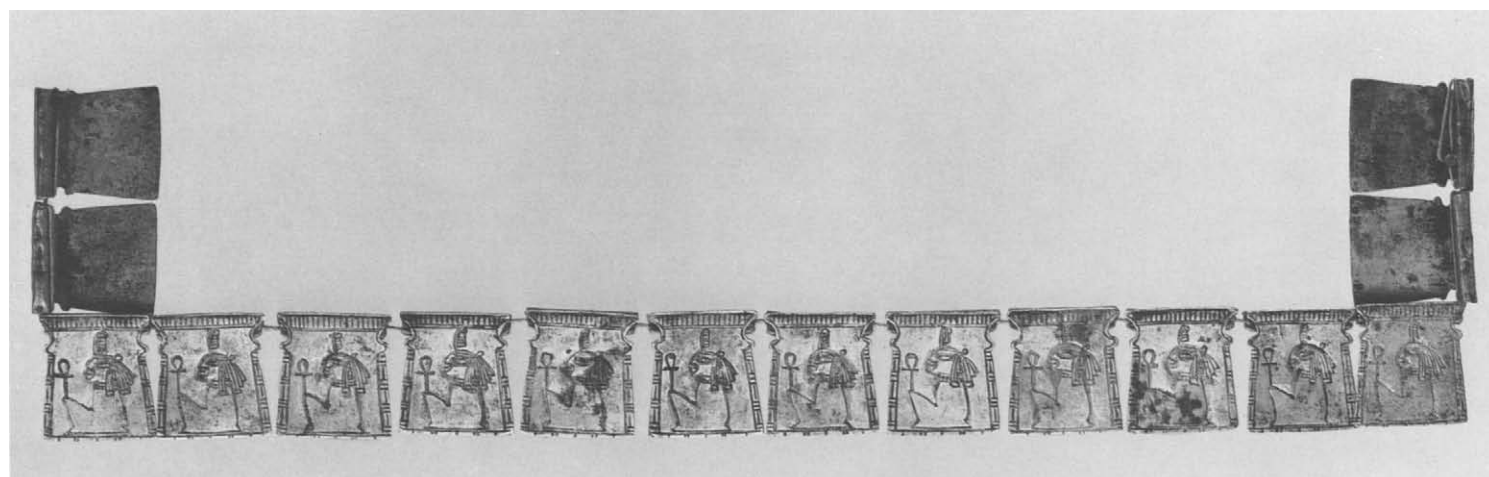


Fig. 255. Modern gold Maat-plaque amulets, Cat. 308. 1:1



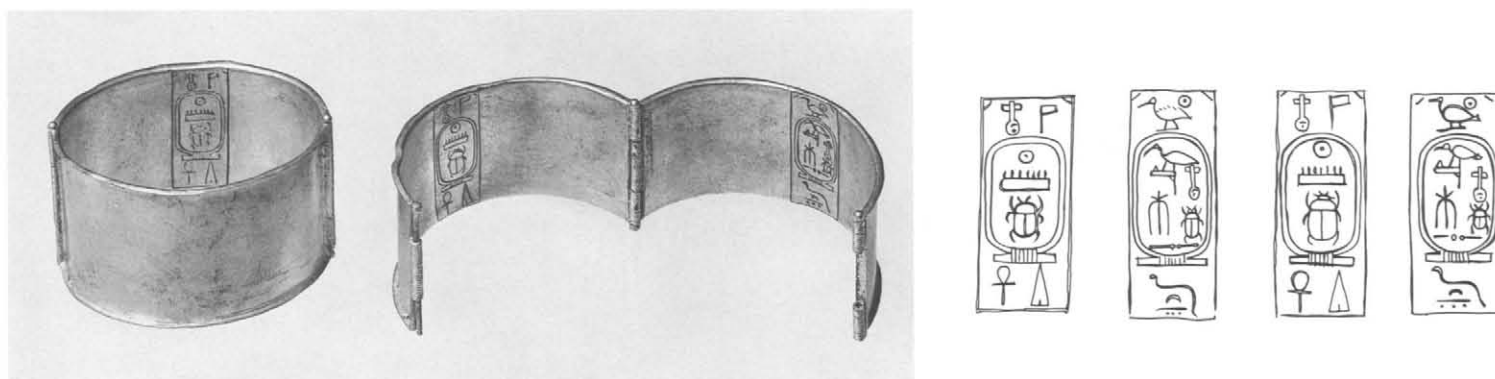


Fig. 256. Photos and inscriptions of two modern hinged gold bracelets, Cat. 310. Left in each group, MMA 26.8.133; right in each group, 26.8.134. Inscriptions, 1:1

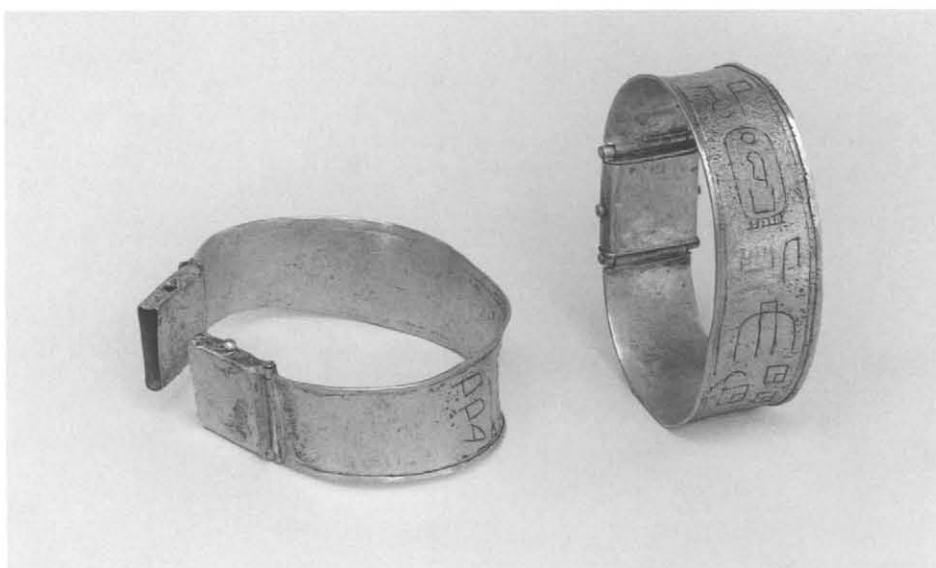
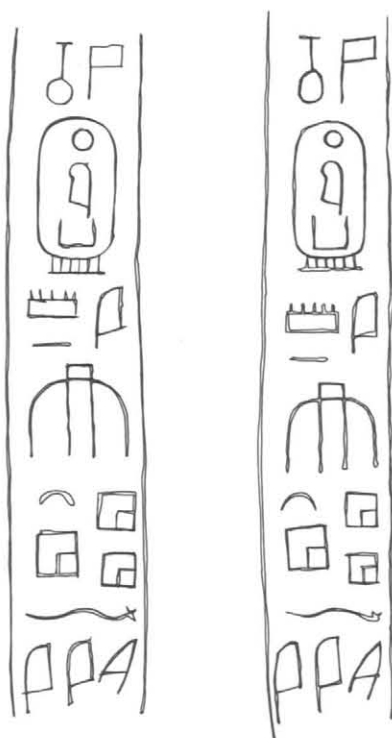


Fig. 257. Inscriptions and photos of two modern gold bracelets with box-shaped clasps, Cat. 309. Left in each group, MMA 26.8.131; right in each group, MMA 26.8.132. Inscriptions, 1:1

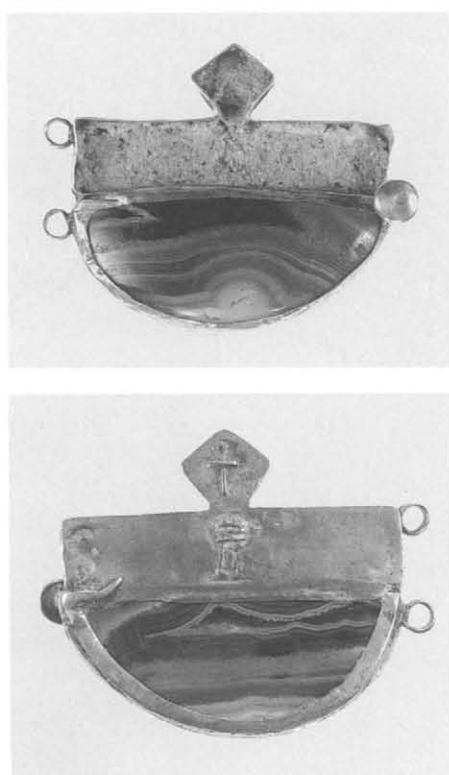


Fig. 258. Front (above) and back (below) of modern inlaid buckle, Cat. 315, 1:1

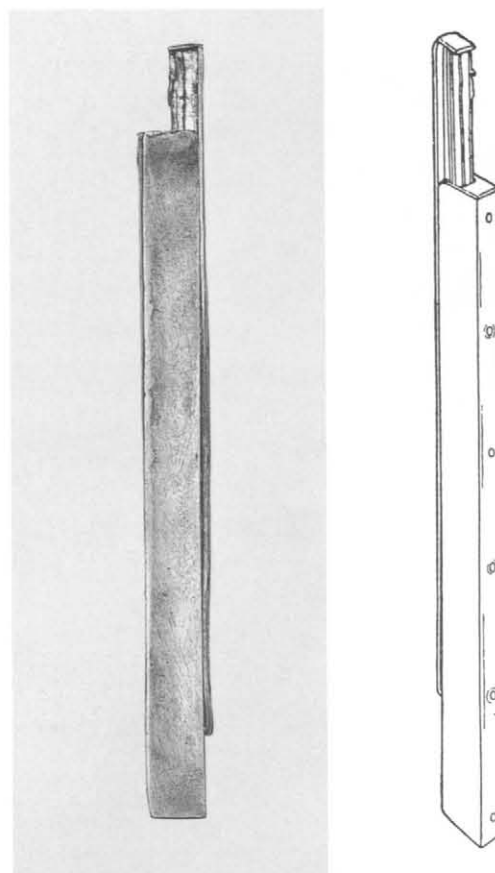


Fig. 259. Photo and drawing of modern sliding gold clasp, Cat. 314, 1:1

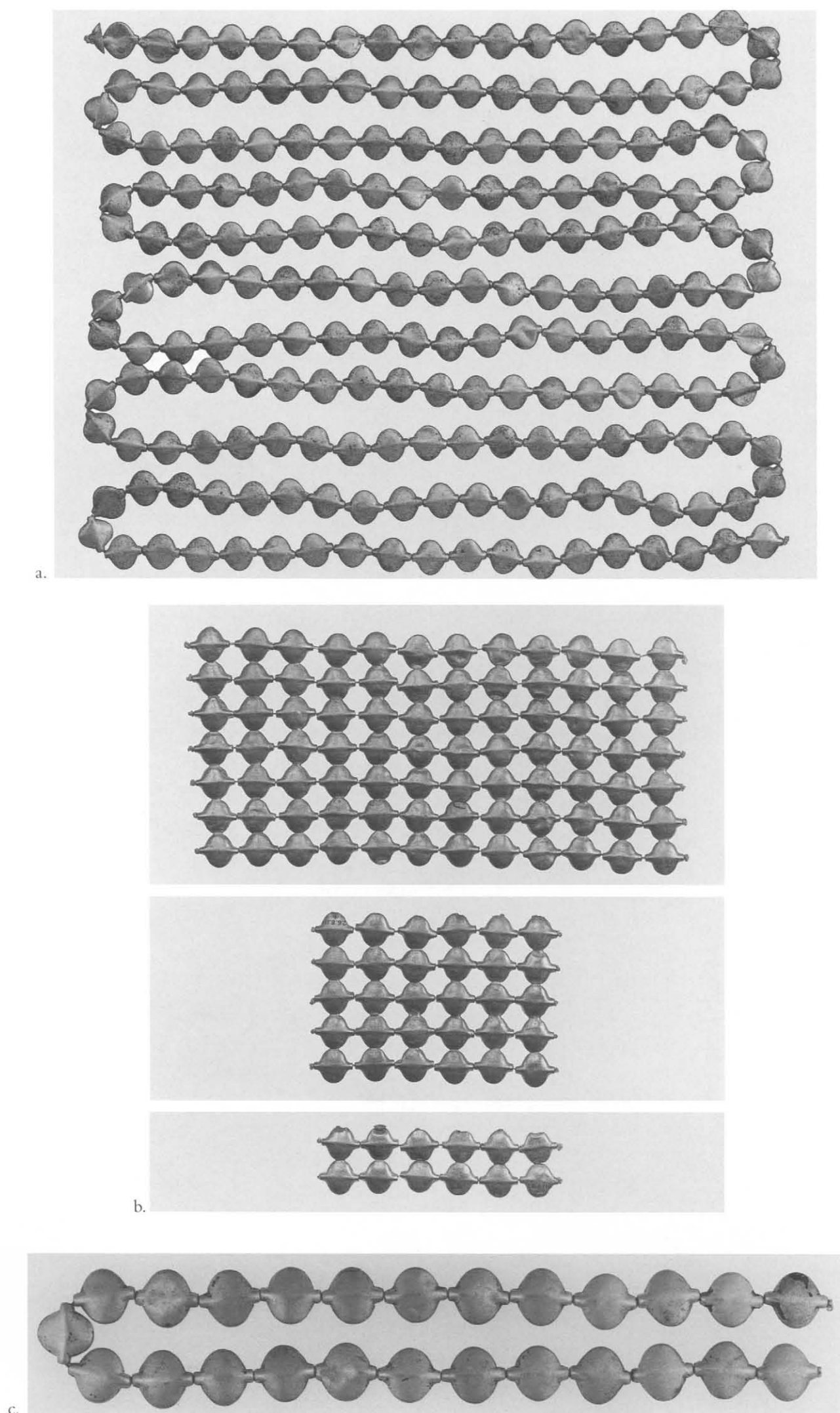
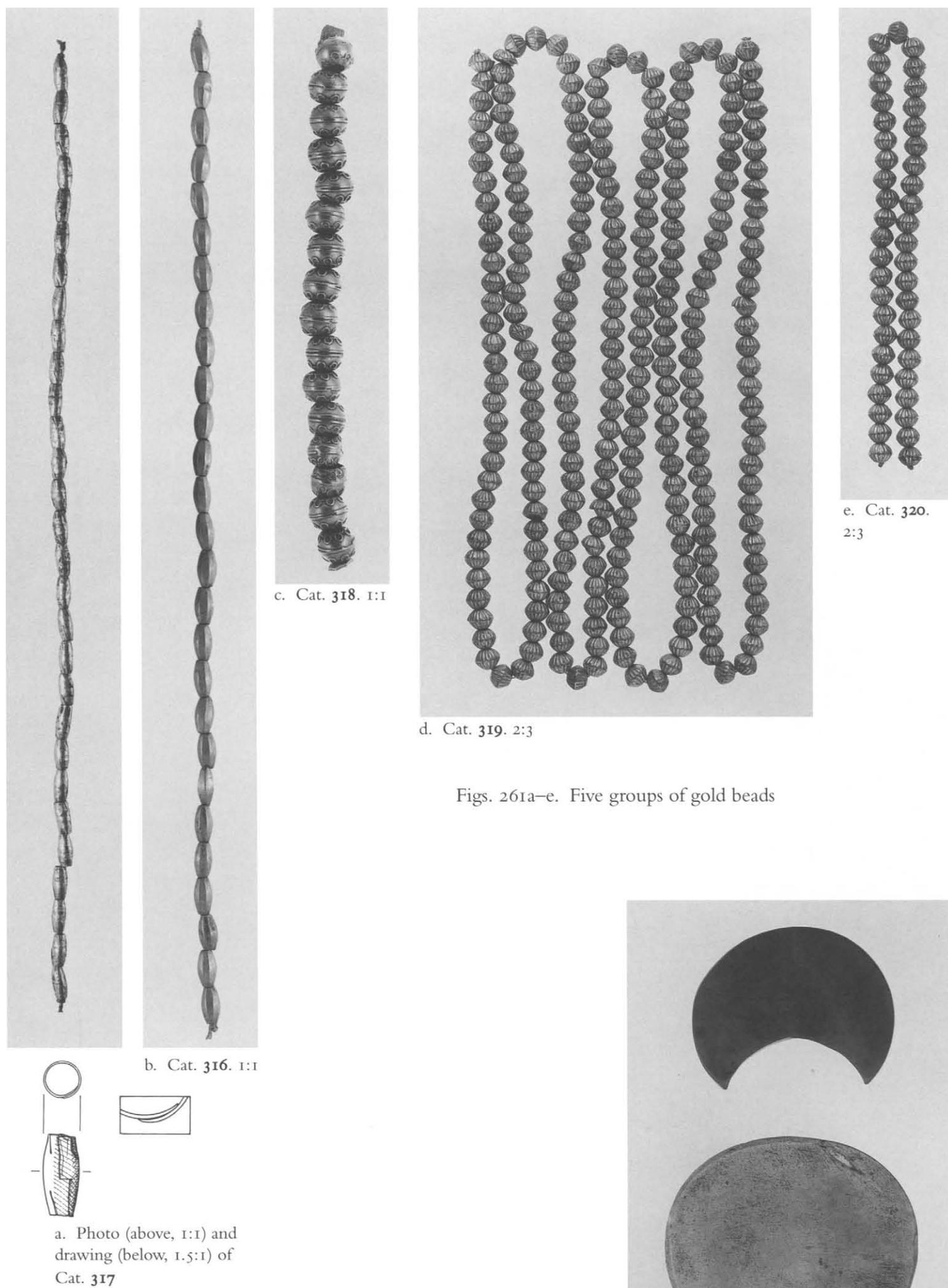


Fig. 260a-c. Modern gold acacia seeds. a. Individual beads, Cat. **321**, 2:3. b. Three groups of spacers, Cats. **311**(top), **312** (middle), **313** (bottom), all 2:3. c. Individuals beads, Cat. **322**, 1:1



## CHAPTER 8. SPECIFIC DISCUSSIONS AND OVERVIEW

### SPECIFIC DISCUSSIONS

#### THE NAMES OF THE FOREIGN WIVES, JAMES E. HOCH

The names of three *hmt nswt* are carved in hieroglyphs on funerary items alleged to be from the Wady Qurud tomb: twelve canopic jars (Cats. **I–I2**; Figs. 263a, 264a, 265a), three libation jars (Cats. **I3–5**; Figs. 263b, 264b, 265b), and three heart scarabs (Cats. **I6–8**; Figs. 263c, 264c, 265c). Several scholars have offered informal translations of the names, as provided to me by Christine Lilyquist: Peter Dorman, Cathleen Keller, Thomas Logan, and Ira Spar at the MMA; and Wilhelm Gernot, Manfred Görg, John Huehnergard, and Ran Zadok. Two of the names seem to occur in hieratic ink script on pottery sherds excavated by the MMA at the tomb in 1988 (see below). All judgments have been based on photographs and drawings provided to me. Reconstructed words or hypothetical forms are preceded by an asterisk (\*); numbers in bold preceded by a *p* (e.g., **pI**) refer to the Pottery Register of Chapter 3.

#### Hieroglyphic writings

First we shall deal with the hieroglyphic inscriptions on objects thought to have come from the tomb, as shown in the figures listed above. Virtually all scholars have agreed that two of the three names appear to be Semitic. The third has been thought to be Hurrian, but Semitic derivations have also been suggested. Without listing every suggestion to be found in the literature or in personal communications, a brief summary of the most plausible derivations is presented here. It should be noted that the interpretation of foreign names is fraught with hazards because, unlike foreign words, the names have no semantic context and one must rely strictly on etymology. This is difficult enough in the original languages, but complicating the task is the use of the Egyptian script. For these reasons, none of the interpretations can be certain.

#### \*Manuwai

Helck compared this name with the Hurrian name Minenaia (1971: 363), but, as T. Schneider has suggested (1992: N 268), the presence of *w* makes this suggestion unlikely. Schneider proposed a connection to the Semitic root *mnw*, “to put to the test”; II, “to make someone wish”; V, “to desire,” and cites the following Amorite names: Manawum, Manuwum, Manuwatum, Manutum, and the woman’s name Manawa. I. J. Gelb (1980: 25, 323) associated these names with the root *mnw*, “to count” and “to love.” Several scholars have proposed a derivation from the root *nwh* “to exalt, praise,” with an interchange of *h* and *’aleph*. The form would then be a D-stem participle. Another attractive connection would be to the Hebrew root *\*n’y* and its probable by-form *\*nwy* “to be beautiful.” The form would again be a D-stem participle.

What has troubled all scholars who have proposed a Semitic derivation of the name is the lack of a feminine ending in *-t*, which one expects. It is, however, possible that we are dealing with a shortened name, which can often end in *-ay* or *-’a*.

#### \*Manhata

This name has been associated with a number of Semitic roots, some with no justification, and these have been adequately refuted in the literature (e.g., T. Schneider 1992: N 271). Among the best candidates is the root *nwh* “to exalt, praise,” with the hapax legomenon in Hebrew *noah* “eminency” (Ex. 7:11). This root is well attested in Arabic. Schneider cites the Old South Arabic names *nht* and *nhtm* (loc. cit.), which have been compared to the Arabic root *nhw*, from which are derived nouns meaning “intellect” and the like. A less likely, but attractive, connection would be to the root *\*n’y*, “to be beautiful.” Although not impossible, this derivation would require an interchange between *’aleph* and *h*. In all of the above proposals, the form is interpreted as a D-stem participle, which takes the prefix *m-*.

#### \*Maruta

Herbert Winlock proposed a connection to the Hebrew and Aramaic name Marta, which has descended as Martha, in English (1948: 3). This seems preferable to Wolfgang Helck’s association with the Hebrew root *\*mry*

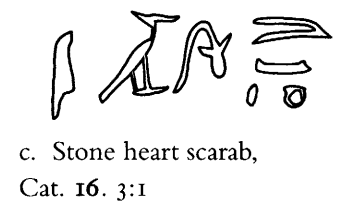
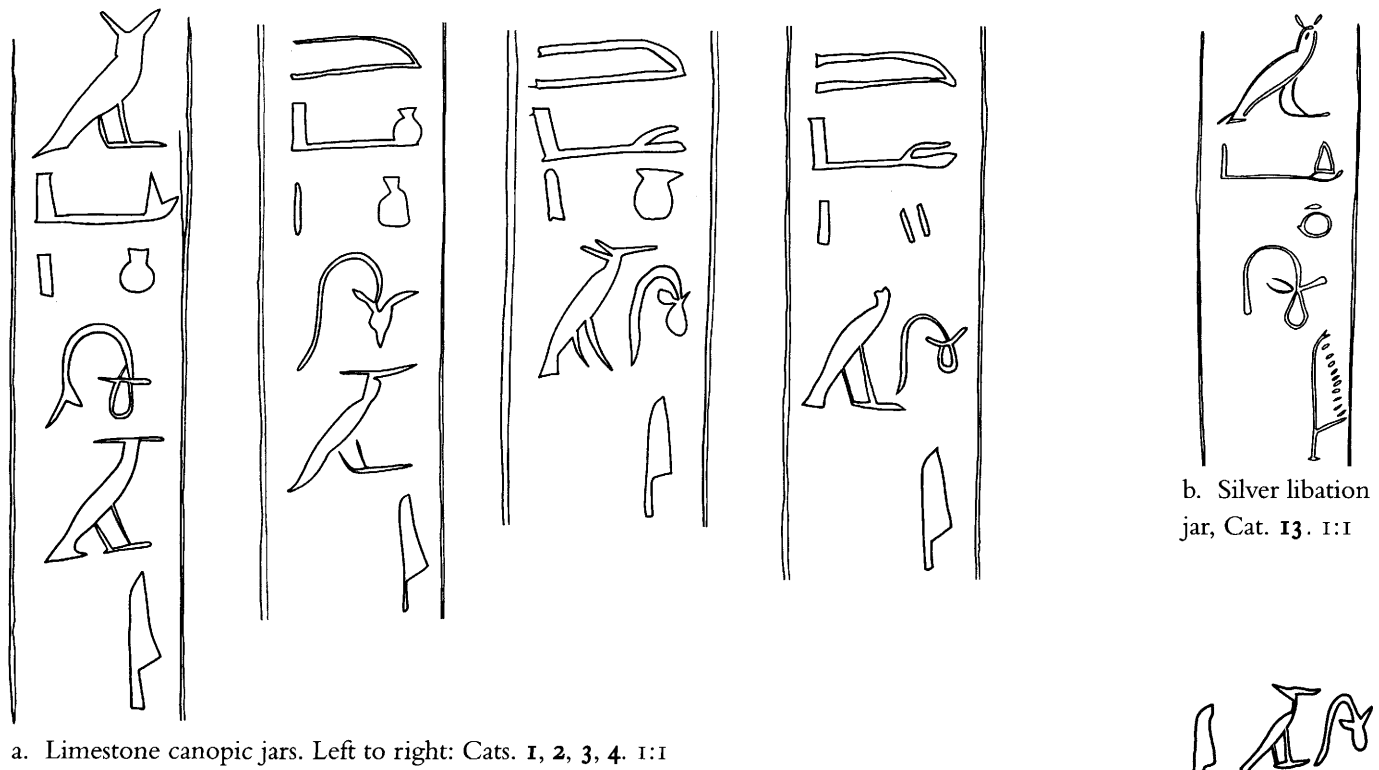


Fig. 263a–c. Manuwai's name on various art market objects

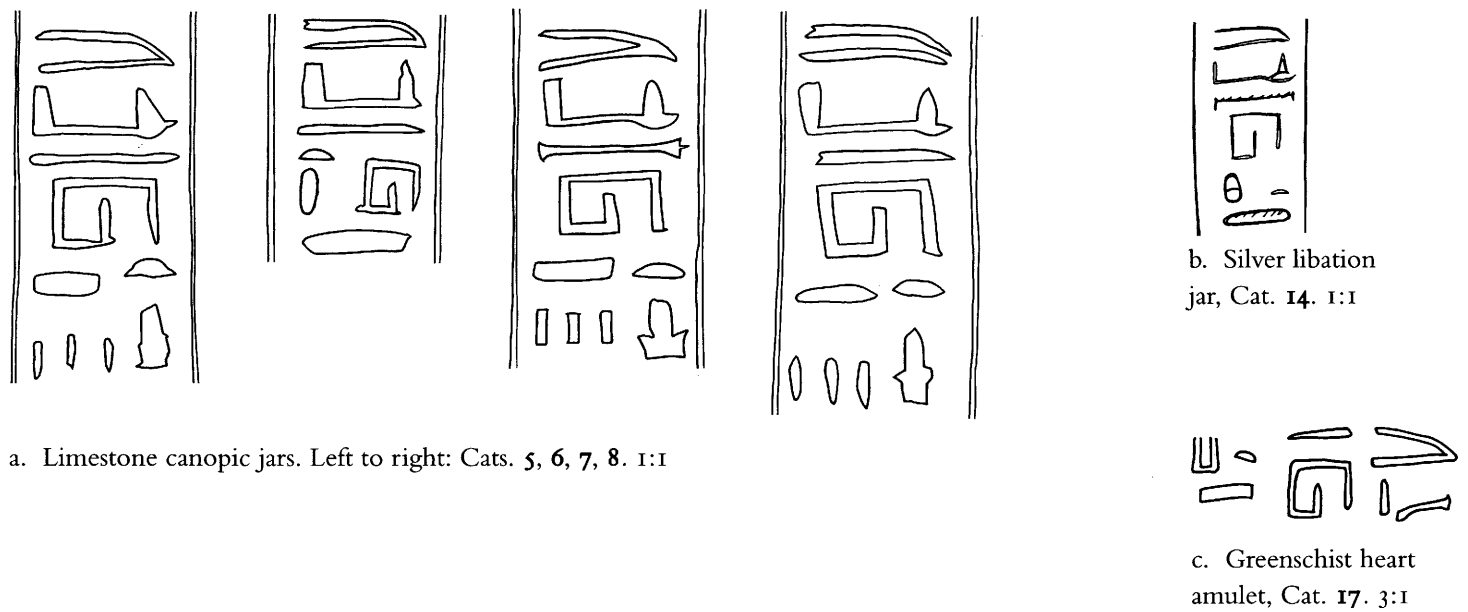
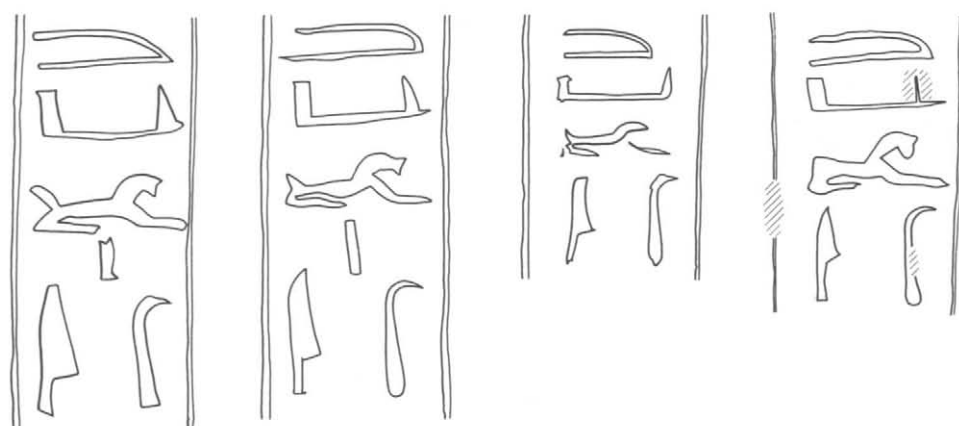
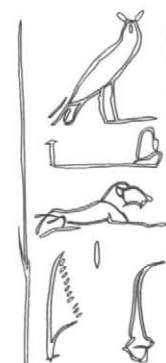


Fig. 264a–c. Manhata's name on various art market objects

## Specific Discussions and Overview



a. Limestone canopic jars. Left to right: Cats. **9**, **10**, **11**, **12**. 1:1



b. Silver libation jar,  
Cat. **15**. 1:1

Fig. 265a–c. Maruta's name on various art market objects



c. Greenschist scarab,  
Cat. **18**. 3:1



a. Label read Manhata, next to  
incised line: **p3**, WQP90a



b. Label read Maruta: **p1**, WQP89



c. Label read Maruta: **p2**, WQP2

Fig. 266a–c. Hieratic ink docket on pottery found at tomb, 1:1

“to be contentious; rebellious” (1971: 380). Not only is the name Marta attested, it derives from a root with an appropriate semantic field. Although the root *mr* has a different meaning in Hebrew, it is well attested in Old Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic, Old South Arabic, and other languages where the masculine form has the meaning “lord.” The feminine form *marta*, “lady,” is known from Talmudic Aramaic and it is also attested as a woman’s name. Thomas Schneider also compares the Old South Arabic *mr’t*, “lady” (1992: N 280). The root, which has its basic meaning “to be strong,” is also very likely to be present in the Dynasty 19 and 20 military title *\*maru’u*.

Schneider considered the writing with the recumbent lion problematic because of the *u*-vowel. However, it should be noted that there is great inconsistency in treating Semitic *r* in Egyptian transcriptions, one possibility being that it was heard as containing a vowel. A number of scholars, however, have informally suggested a derivation from the root *mrr*, which, besides the meaning “bitter” (as in Hebrew), has the meaning “to be strong.” This is a possibility that is certainly worthy of consideration; other suggested derivations have been less convincing.

### Hieratic writings

We move now to the ink hieratic signs on pottery sherds actually excavated at the tomb in 1988 (pp. 91, 93; Figs. 266a–c).

Hieratic writings were found on pot sherds WQP89, WQP2, WQP90a, WQP27b (**p1**, **p2**, **p3**, **p15**). None of them is clearly accompanied by a determinative, either because the fragments are broken or effaced, or perhaps because determinatives were never written. All four inscriptions appear to be in group writing, although in the case of **p15** (WQP27b), only one group remains. Although group writing is occasionally used for native Egyptian words, it is not usually done so consistently and at such an early date. Because of that, the writings are likely to be foreign words or names. As no commodities come to mind (cf. Hoch 1994), it seems justifiable to link the traces to the hieroglyphic names discussed above. For hieratic inscriptions on contemporary pottery at other sites, see pp. 65f.

#### *Mnht*/Manhata(?)

**p3** (WQP90a, Fig. 266a) The writing on **p3** would seem to begin with the *\*ma*-group (Gardiner 1982: G20), and not with the *mn*-group (loc. cit., Y5+N35). The latter group is well attested in group writing of this period, but several things suggest that the latter reading is inferior. First, the appearance of the sign is generally closer to writings of the *\*ma*-group (although some abbreviated writings of the *mn*-group are similar, if not identical). More importantly, the *mn*-group would not be followed by another *n* (over the *h*). Although there are redundancies encountered in written Egyptian, the needless duplication of alphabetic signs is not typically one of them. One expects either *mn-h-<ti>* or else *\*ma-n-h-<ti>*, but not *mn-n-h-ti*. There is possibly the preposition *n* “to” or “for” at the top of this inscription. Because of the rather unusual combination of consonants, the association with the name *mnht* is particularly attractive.

#### Maruta(?)

**p1** (WQP89, Fig. 266b) This is the most enigmatic of the hieratic inscriptions retrieved from the Wady Qurud. There appear to be two lines of writing, the upper line, however, being too faint and fragmentary to read. The second line is not without problems. The first group is surely *m+arm* (Gardiner G20). The second sign bears no resemblance to the “recumbent lion” group *\*ru* (Gardiner E23), in my opinion. In one of the photographs it seems to be the sign *r* (Gardiner D21), perhaps followed by a stroke, although somewhat cramped and encroaching on the following sign, the loaf-*t*. If this reading is correct, then one could reconstruct *m-r-t*. The traces following are impossible to reconstruct with certainty. One possibility is to take the two taller strokes as the combination *ti*, but they seem to be too close to each other. The final sign could be the seated female determinative, but with such an indistinctly written sign, one would generally rely on the context to identify it. Here, unfortunately, there is no context.

**p2** (WQP2, Fig. 266c) This sherd, although quite fragmentary, actually lends itself much more to an association with the name Maruta. The remains of the first two signs are very consistent with the groups *\*ma* (Gardiner G20) followed by *\*ru* (Gardiner E23). The trace of the tick on its left side enhances this reading and the flow of the strokes matches this combination very nicely. The use of the *ma*-group in place of the flat-*m* of the hieroglyphic would be typical for a hieratic writing. Of the third sign, not enough remains to suggest any particular sign, but it would not be inconsistent with a loaf-*t*.

#### Name?

**p15** (WQP27b) Little can be said about the writing on sherd WQP27b. It is certainly consistent with the writing of the *\*ma*-group, but so much is missing that it cannot really serve as evidence of anything.



## THE FOREIGN WIVES IN THEIR HISTORICAL PERIOD

Turning now to broader considerations, Winlock suggested that the Qurud women were daughters of Syrian leaders, and, because little or nothing was known of them outside of the tomb, chose the title “princess” to convey their ambiguous royal identities (1948: 3). Indeed, women with their title *hmt nswt* (royal wife) are more shadowy than great queens (*hmt nswt wrt*), but a greater sense of the Qurud women is possible today than a half-century ago.

First of all, all three names are West Semitic, none is Hurrian as Helck had suggested (Hoch, immediately above). The names fit well with Canaanite name formations, according to Hoch, and the area from Syria southward was important to the Egyptians both for security, products, and personnel. Where the women actually came from, and whether they were related, is not known; they were depicted with very different physical features (Fig. 267, p. 126), yet they were treated as a group in the designation of their tomb and in the character of many objects assigned to it.

Winlock believed that the burials were made during the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III (1948: 4f., 32). His reasons were that, although vessels 54 and 57 name Hatshepsut as royal wife, scarab 146 names her as king, a title she assumed in year 7 (she is *‘nh’ti*, “living,” and her nephew *dī ‘nh*, “given life”). Further, the Gardiner N35-sign in Tuthmosis III’s prenomen before year 7 does not appear on any inscribed item alleged to come from the tomb. Winlock further believed that the proscription of Tuthmosis III against his aunt happened immediately after her death, therefore that any object naming the queen would not have been deposited in a royal tomb after that point.

It is now agreed that the occurrence of the *n*-sign (N35) in the prenomen lacks chronological significance. Further, D. Laboury states that the Horus name on vessel 93 is used throughout the reign (1998: 60–2). The epithet *nfr hpr* (beautiful of form) in the king’s nomen, however—sometimes with the door bolt-O34—does seem to be a chronological indicator, as it has not been noted before year 7 and all stone vessels and jewelry in the Catalogue use this writing. Thus the inscribed objects not only demonstrate consistency but correlate with the evidence of scarab 146.

Evidence from the objects themselves is also instructive. The rings were clearly manufactured at the same time, and it can be imagined that the two gold, two lapis, and three steatite examples were assigned to three people simultaneously—as the canopic jars and libation vessels were. In fact, a number of objects assigned to the tomb are in multiples of two or three, implying gifts at one moment: heart scarabs 16–8, *seweret*-necklets 19–21, foil sheet amulets 24–9, sandals 32–4, stalls 35–7, broad collars 129–32, inlaid ornaments 141–3, and mirrors 106–7. The presence of glass inlay in some of these items provides evidence that other items with glass and similar history are likely to have been manufactured at the same time, namely earrings 109–10, headdresses 108 and 114, and rosettes 115–28. Further, the writing of the nomen on vessels and jewelry—as mentioned above—is consistent. In other words, specific objects assigned to the tomb indicate that they were gifts from the king to three women before Hatshepsut disappeared by year 22.

There is also evidence from the location of the tomb concerning its date of construction. The location and type is not inconsistent with a date of approximately 1450 BC, being near Hatshepsut’s tomb as royal wife and, most likely, Neferura’s. Its configuration is closest to that of Tuthmosis III’s KV 34, the funerary temple for which was already mentioned in Hatshepsut’s *Chapelle rouge* at Karnak (Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 80). It is even situated near a Qurn-like peak (copyright page and *endpiece*).

What can be suggested concerning the closing of the tomb? The date of Hatshepsut’s proscription is now put no earlier than year 42 of Tuthmosis III’s reign (Dorman 1988: 46–65; on the chronology of the king’s reign, see Laboury 1998: 17–58); thus, the deposition of vessels with Hatshepsut’s name in Wady D1 (54, 57) can easily have happened anytime before year 42 (Lilyquist 1995a: 3).

Yet it is remarkable that so many of the objects assigned to the tomb belong to the same manufacturing period (only the heart scarabs 16–8 were apparently stock items, as they use the masculine gender). How long one assumes their burial equipment and everyday jewelry would have been kept together is an unanswerable question. However, it may be noted that the evidence of pottery from the tomb favors an early date (pp. 65, 67f.).

Thus Winlock’s idea that all three burials had been made at the same time, not too long after Hatshepsut’s death, bears consideration. His reasons were that the tomb is relatively inaccessible, had not been robbed, and contained a number of objects that had been made in multiples of three (1948: 6, 40). The author believes that it would have been easy enough to deposit burials in the tomb over a period of time (p. 77 above), but the evidence of the objects cited here must be considered as well. Winlock proposed that the cause of deaths was an epidemic or harem conspiracy. If these women came to Egypt around year 20–22, it is unlikely that they would have been involved in a harem conspiracy, nor is it likely that they would have been buried with royal gifts were they in disgrace (13–5).

Taken altogether, the above evidence—the presence of Hatshepsut’s name parallel to Tuthmosis III’s on the finest lapis scarab, a number of gifts in three sets, and some manufacturing consistency among the object types—implies that none of these women are the single female mentioned in the king’s Annals inscribed in the “vestibule”



Fig. 267. The three foreign wives, left to right: Manhata, Manuwai, Maruta, Cats. 7, 4, II

Fig. 268 KV 34, tomb of Tuthmosis III. Top register: the king with his mother Isis. Bottom register: the king with wives Meryetra, Sitiah (deceased), Nebtu, and daughter Nefertary (deceased)



## Specific Discussions and Overview

of the sixth pylon at the Amun temple, Karnak, as suggested by A. Schulman (1979: 183). From a hand copy published by Sethe (1907: IV 668, 3–4 and 668, 17–669, 3) that text can be rendered:

[List of tribute (*inw*) brought to His Majesty's power by the chiefs] of Retenu in regnal year 40 . . .

Tribute of the chiefs of Retenu:

daughter of a chief and [her] equipment of gold and lapis lazuli of her land;

attendants, servants, and [male slaves and female slaves] belonging to her: 30

(See also Breasted 1906: 191, Priese 1984: 197f., and Redford 2003: 236f.)

Aside from the fact that only one individual is mentioned in the text, the date of the text would conflict with the evidence at Wady Qurud. Most scholars have taken the year 40 at face value (Sethe 1907: 672–5, Porter and Moss 1972: 97 and plan 12[1], A. Spalinger 1977: 51f., Redford 2003: 233–7), only Breasted and Schulman opting for year 24. By year 40, the king had many contacts in the Levant (Redford 1992: 156–62).

There are other texts, however, that could support a mid-reign arrival in Egypt for the Qurud women. Redford cites evidence that before Hatshepsut's latest attestation (year 22), and before the success at Megiddo (year 23), Tuthmosis III had already captured Gaza (Redford 1967: 60). Further, in a new publication (2003: 121, 125f.) Redford queries whether the Qurud women are not to be associated with an account of Tuthmosis III's first campaign on the reveals of the seventh Karnak pylon (personal communications, Spring 2003; cf. Sethe 1907: 185f. and Porter and Moss 1972: 170 [498c]). That text mentions the capture of wives of the king of Qadesh and of other Syrian leaders, with Redford observing that “on no other campaign is it recorded that so many high-ranking women were targeted for capture and deportation.”

Lines 6–11 of Sethe's transcription of that text (1907: 185) can be translated

My Majesty got the women of that fallen one [the leader of Megiddo], and (their) children,

and the women of the great ones that were [with him], and all (their) children.

Then My Majesty gave the women [and the children to the storehouse (*šn*<sup>c</sup>) of my father Amun  
as indentured servants (*mrt*)].

The text continues, citing revenues (*b3k[t]*) that various leaders of Retenu dedicated to the temple of Amun as yearly tax (*htr*), and then states that His Majesty plundered wives of the enemy of Qadesh (Sethe 1907: 186, 2–5; see also Sethe 1914: 87 and Breasted 1906: 236).

One might ask whether women taken from Syrian enemies—some of which women were then assigned to the temple of Amun as laborers—would have been taken into the royal harem and given fine gifts and an impressive tomb.

They would seem to be different from the daughter of a Great One listed on the sixth pylon, a woman who came as *inw* to the king. Bleiberg understands *inw* as “gift” (1996), and equates that particular woman with the sisters and daughters sent to the court of the Egyptian kings according to the Amarna letters (1996: 99f.). Tushratta sent many men and women with his daughter, along with various finished goods and commodities, for example (Moran 1992: 83f. notes 46–7). Redford, who characterizes *inw* from Retenu as “an expected benevolence,” has said that he does not equate the Karnak woman, or those interred in Wady Qurud, with women in the Amarna letters, where diplomatic alliances are described between states of some magnitude (communication, 21 Jan. 2002, cf. Redford 1992: 209–13; see Schulman 1979; Meier 2000; Pintore 1978: 13f.). D. Panagiotopoulos thinks likewise (communication, 23 Feb. 2002). The designation of the sixth pylon woman's father (*wr*) and the lack of reciprocal gifts point up the difference.

Yet, Robins has pointed out differences among foreign royal women even from the time of Amenhotep III (1993: 33f.), and, over time, foreign women could have become part of the Egyptian court by various means. Of foreign presence in the Egyptian court there is little concrete evidence. Jewelry in the late Middle Kingdom tomb of Khnemmet is of foreign style but the person with whom it was found has the title *s3t nswt* (daughter of the king). It has been proposed that Egyptian women married Hyksos rulers (Schulman 1979: 181f.), but there is no indication of the reverse. (It may be noted parenthetically that Schulman's suggestion that Tuthmosis III took the daughter of a chief of Irem [“Nubia”] into his harem [he suggests that a *s3 n irm*, “son of Irem” listed in the ninth campaign of Tuthmosis III's thirty-fourth year could be a *s3t*, “daughter”; see Schulman 1979: 183; Sethe 1907: 708 line 12] is probably not pertinent, as—according to Bleiberg's distinction between *inw* and *b3k.t*—this person would not have been comparable to the female from Retenu in the Karnak vestibule [1996: 95f.] )

## Chapter 8

The latter woman came with three categories of retainers (*šmsw*, *sdmw*-<sup>c</sup>*š*, and *hmw/hmw*)—all with the determinative of a bound captive—and the king received sixty-five additional male and female slaves at the same time. She also came with jewels, an interesting point in terms of the granulated beads of Near Eastern style thought to come from Wady Qurud (Cats. 154–61), as well as the sophisticated vitreous vessel of Near Eastern style and materials that is also thought to have been in the tomb (104). The mention of “lapis lazuli of her land” in the vestibule could, as Pintore has mentioned (1978: 146 note 18), refer to a man-made substance, that is, a vitreous material.

Archaeological sites that have revealed some wealth during the Tuthmoside period include some in modern Israel (Ajjul, Lachish, Gezer, Beth Shean, Megiddo, Tell abu Hawam, Hazor), Jordan (Amman, Pella), Lebanon (Tyre), and Syria (Ugarit, Alalakh; Al-Qitar, Mumbaqa). Of particular interest has been the modern excavations at Kamid el-Loz (Lilyquist 1994b, 1996a). There are also large unexcavated sites, as in the Yarmouk Valley of Syria (Moshe Kochavi communication, March 1990). For textual references to Canaanite society during this period, see Redford (1992: 193–9).

As for the life the Qurud women led in Egypt, Bryan states that important royal wives and daughters are depicted relatively frequently in the 18th dynasty, largely in religious contexts (1991: 93). An example would be the women in the burial chamber of Tuthmosis III (Fig. 268). In the top register, the deceased king sails in the Netherworld with his mother Isis, and in the bottom register he stands with his deceased wife Sitiah, deceased daughter Nefertary, and the living queens Meryetra and Nebtu. All parties face a small figure of the king suckling the breast of “his mother Isis” (in this case Isis as a tree goddess).

Gauthier (1912: 270–4), Troy (1986: 165), Schmitz (1976: 291f.), Roehrig (1990: 78–111, 342) and Robins (1999) list as many as twelve children of Tuthmosis III (see also El-Bialy 1999: 17 and Lilyquist 1995a: cat. y). The only named child of Tuthmosis III who is connected to a specific mother is his successor Amenhotep II, however, and in general, few bibliographic details are extant for women and children of royal Egyptian households (see Dijk 1997b on the uncertainties of establishing information about the Amarna-period queen Kiya). No other attestations of the Qurud women exist from the king’s long reign, for example. Yet the position of any foreign female as derived from their title is difficult to define (cf. Bryan 1991: 118f.). Amenhotep III’s Mitannian and Babylonian wives seem to have been ignored, and the Qurud women (who, it can be argued, were deceased when the king’s tomb was decorated) are not depicted there even though their title is equal to that of women depicted. On the other hand, the Qurud women were not without title, in fact they were *hmt nswt* rather than *hmt* or *špst* (noblewoman) as some foreign women (Robins prefers to give the title “queen” only to a *hmt nswt wrt*: 1986). Further, they received lavish gifts, and they were given a tomb equal in type to Tuthmosis II’s *hmt nswt wrt* Hatshepsut. A cultic role is not expected for them, yet such a role is signified by later women wearing a gazelle diadem; there may have been sistra in the tomb (see p. 112).

Haslauer has most recently described the evidence for the living conditions of royal women and children (2001a), and Arnold has written about palaces (2002). One might imagine that the Wady Qurud women—the earliest documented foreign women in a royal household, and from city states of Syria/Palestine rather than the large powers of Mitanni, Assyria, Babylonia, or Hatti—were treated differently than Egyptian women. In fact, a representation of royal apartments at Amarna shows foreign women in separate rooms (Manniche 1991: 85f.; see also Bryan 1991: 118, Robins 2001: 107). The main residence for the Qurud women must have been in the north, at Ghurab (Kemp 1978); the official and commercial activities at Memphis included a foreign community. Gaballa and Kitchen pointed out that it was the royal custom to visit Thebes for the annual celebration of the Opet festival from the time of Tuthmosis III onward, hence the pharaoh must have mainly lived elsewhere, and the only practical capital was Memphis (1969: 28; see also Martin 2000). This would fit well with descriptions of the youth of Tuthmosis III’s son Amenhotep II. The palace at Ghurab functioned throughout the New Kingdom, had foreign weavers, and is thought to have been the residence of Ramesses II’s Hittite queen Maahorneferura (Haslauer 2001a: 79; Politi 2001: 111; Kitchen 1982: 110; Janssen 1995: 384; Bryan 1991: 105f.). Robins believes some royal women were buried there (2001); Politi has now connected the burned groups at Ghurab with people of fair hair, and cited a Hittite document to support a Hittite presence at the site in Dynasty 19. D. Aston dates cemetery material into Dynasty 20 (1997a).

Nevertheless, an Egyptian king would travel for religious observances, jubilee celebrations, official duties, and sport (Kemp 1991: 218–23, 236), and it is assumed that wives, children, tutors, and others could have accompanied him. Contemporary installations are known at Ballas and Karnak/Luxor (Redford 1973: 87–90); later palaces were at Amarna, Malqata, and Medinet Habu (Helck 1958: 4–9; Lacovara 1997).

That the women were buried at Thebes in an area where Egyptian royal women were buried indicates their identification with the Egyptian court. That they were buried in Egyptian style was probably requisite and is certainly not atypical of other foreigners moving into Egypt at the time.

## OVERVIEW

The aim of this book has been to reconstruct the tomb of three foreign wives of Tuthmosis III and to extract knowledge from it: to lift it from fantasy and hearsay to useful information and justified appreciation. A variety of approaches were used to further this goal.

Beginning with a survey of what has been published of the Wady Qurud, the publication moved to the documentation of the robbery in 1916 and then to the results of the MMA archaeological project in 1988. In that excavation, detailed plans were made and small finds and pottery were recorded, including sherds with hieratic personal names. The excavation yielded a fuller picture of the tomb's contents at the same time that it uncovered a subsidiary pit with foundation deposit materials that provided new knowledge.

In the catalogue of objects purchased on the art market, those items that could be assigned to the tomb were separated from those that had a less sure link or were clearly not from it, thereby providing a more accurate assessment of the tomb. Clarity was also aided by removing reproductions from assemblages of elements and beads, creating arrangements based on excavated evidence, foregoing the idea of seeing all objects in sets of three, determining the purpose of a number of vessels as ointment storage rather than food or drink containers, and specifically identifying the materials from which the objects were made.

The definition of technologies was another major result of the project. Many observations were made about the practices of ancient goldsmiths; almost all ancient gold work proved to be Egyptian. The possible exceptions are the granulated gold beads (154–61) and the wig covering and rosettes (114–28), where Near Eastern technique and style are involved. The techniques in the gazelle diadem are puzzling; the iconography, however, is likely foreign. Observations were also made about modern workmanship; these discussions reached beyond the objects of the catalogue.

Another important contribution was the study of vitreous materials. The author inclines to put the production of the tomb objects not too long after Hatshepsut's death, and this seems justifiable even on the basis of comparative vitreous evidence (Lilyquist and Brill 1993). As the technology behind Egyptian glass objects is foreign, and as there were foreign workmen in Egypt during the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty—including craftsmen (Eyre 1987: 188–90, 192–5)—it is possible that, with the exception of the marbled goblet (104), which the author believes an import, the Wady Qurud glass beads and inlays were made either by Canaanites or by Egyptians having learned glass technology from them. Moorey has recently written of the mechanism of technology transfer from the eastern Mediterranean to Egypt (2001).

An early date for the presence of the three women in Egypt is also of interest historically, for all it implies; the reputation of Tuthmosis III as the greatest of Egyptian pharaohs (Lipińska 2001) is increased.

It is not known where the workshops were that produced the jewels and vessels in the tomb; Martin's survey of tomb-owner titles in Memphis and Thebes lists ten artisans at Memphis and six at Thebes (2000: tables 1, 3). Titles from other large monuments or from small objects were not part of his study, but the evidence from private tombs is nevertheless interesting.

The discussions at the beginning of this chapter on the personal names found on various items, and about the women themselves, give a more concrete sense of these foreign wives, whose tomb was so piteously robbed in the Wady Gabbanat el-Qurud.



# APPENDIX 1. GRAFFITI IN WADYS SIKKET TAQET ZAID AND GABBANAT EL-QURUD

LOCATION	CEDAE SECTION	GRAFFITO #	SUBJECT	BIBLIOGRAPHY
<b>Wady A</b>	216	1392 (Černý)	Butehamun	Černý 1956: 27, pl. 73
	216	3848 (CEDAE)	Butehamun	Shimy 1977: pl. 294 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 242
	217	1391 (Černý)	Dyn 20/21 inscription	Černý 1956: 27, pl. 71
	217	1393 (Černý)	Butehamun	Černý 1956: 27, pl. 74
	217	1394 (Černý)	Nainudjem	Černý 1956: 27, pl. 75
	217	1395 (Černý)	Dyn 20/21 inscription	Černý 1956: 27, pl. 72
	217	1396–1396a (Černý)	Butehamun	Černý 1956: 27, pls. 68, 77
	217	1397 (Černý)	Nainudjem	Černý 1956: 27, pl. 74
	217	1534 (Carter)	Amen(neb)nest- tawynakhte	GI Carter MSS I.D. 181 no. 6
	218A	1535a (Carter)	Ity	GI Carter MSS I.D. 181 no. 7
	218A	1535b (Carter)	Amenhotep (Dyn 20/21 inscription)	GI Carter MSS I.D. 181 no. 9
	218A	1535c (Carter)	petroglyph	GI Carter MSS I.D. 181 no. 7
	218B	1536a–b (Carter )	petroglyph	GI Carter MSS I.D. 181 no. 8
	231A	3950 (CEDAE)	Coptic inscription	Shimy 1977: pl. 306 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 249
	231B	3928 (CEDAE)	Dyn 20/21 inscription	Shimy 1977: pl. 302 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 248
	231B	3934 (CEDAE)	petroglyph	Shimy 1977: pl. 303
	231B	3940a–b (CEDAE)	petroglyph	Shimy 1977: pl. 303 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 248
	231B	3941a–b (CEDAE)	petroglyph	Shimy 1977: pl. 304 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 248
	231B	3942 (CEDAE)	royal butler	Shimy 1977: pl. 304 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 248
	231B	3943a–b (CEDAE)	petroglyph	Shimy 1977: pl. 304
<b>Wady B</b>	219A	3961 (CEDAE)	Coptic inscription	Shimy 1977: pl. 306 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 250
	219A	3962 (CEDAE)	Coptic inscription	Shimy 1977: pl. 306 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 251
	219A	3963 (CEDAE)	Coptic inscription	Shimy 1977: pl. 307 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 251
	219A	3964 (CEDAE)	Coptic inscription	Shimy 1977: pl. 307 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 251
	219A	3965 (CEDAE)	Coptic inscription	Shimy 1977: pl. 307 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 251
	219A	3966 (CEDAE)	Coptic inscription	Shimy 1977: pl. 307 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 251

*Continued on next page*



LOCATION	CEDAE SECTION	GRAFFITO #	SUBJECT	BIBLIOGRAPHY
Wady C	219B	3958a-b (CEDAE)	petroglyph	Shimy 1977: pl. 305
	219B	3959 (CEDAE)	petroglyph	Shimy 1977: pl. 306
	219B	3960 (CEDAE)	petroglyph	Shimy 1977: pl. 306
	219C	3938 (CEDAE)	pharaonic inscription	Shimy 1977: pl. 303 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 248
	220A	1300 (Černý)	Mehaftho	Černý 1956: 19, pl. 54
	220A	1301a (Černý)	Butehamun	Černý 1956: 19, pl. 55
	220A	1301b (Černý)	Butehamun	Černý 1956: 19, pl. 56
	220A	1302 (Černý)	pharaonic inscription	Černý 1956: 19, pl. 55
	220A	1303 (Černý)	Nainudjem	Černý 1956: 19, pl. 54
	220A	1306 (Černý)	Ankhefenamun	Černý 1956: 19, pl. 56
	220A	1307 (CEDAE)	Butehamun	Černý 1956: 19, pl. 58
	220A	1308 (Černý)	Butehamun	Černý 1956: 20, pl. 58
	220A	1309 (Černý)	Butehamun	Černý 1956: 20, pl. 56
	220A	1545 (Carter)	pharaonic inscription	GI Carter MSS I.D. 184 no. 12
	220A	1546 (Carter)	pharaonic inscription	GI Carter MSS I.D. 185 no. 14
	220A	3925a-c (CEDAE)	pharaonic inscription	Shimy 1977: pl. 302 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 247
	220A	3926 (CEDAE)/ 1304 (Černý)	Butehamun	Shimy 1977: pl. 301 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 247; Černý 1956: 19
	220A	3927 (CEDAE)	petroglyph	Shimy 1977: pl. 302 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 247
	220A	3929 (CEDAE)/ 1305 (Černý)	Djehutymose	Shimy 1977: pl. 302 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 248; Černý 1956: 19
	220A	3930 (CEDAE)	pharaonic inscription	Shimy 1977: pl. 303 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 248
	220A	3931 (CEDAE)	Butehamun	Shimy 1977: pl. 303; Sadek and Shimy 1983: 248
	220B	1344 (Černý)	pharaonic inscription	Černý 1956: 22, pl. 64
	220B	1345 (Černý)	pharaonic inscription	Černý 1956: 22, pl. 64
	220B	1346 (Černý)	pharaonic inscription	Černý 1956: 22, pl. 64
	220B	1347 (Černý)	pharaonic inscription	Černý 1956: 23, pl. 64
	220B	1544 (Carter)	Neferura	GI Carter MSS I.D. 183 no. 2
	220B	3932 (CEDAE)	petroglyph	Shimy 1977: pl. 303 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 248
	220B	3933 (CEDAE)	petroglyph	Shimy 1977: pl. 303 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 248
	220B	3935a-b (CEDAE)	petroglyph	Shimy 1977: pl. 303 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 248
	220B	3936a-b (CEDAE)	petroglyph	Shimy 1977: pl. 303 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 248
	220B	3937a (CEDAE)	petroglyph	Shimy 1977: pl. 303; Sadek and Shimy 1983: 248
	220B	3937b (CEDAE)	Coptic inscription	Shimy 1977: pl. 303 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 247

LOCATION	CEDAE SECTION	GRAFFITO #	SUBJECT	BIBLIOGRAPHY
	220C	1348 (Černý)	Nainudjem	Černý 1956: 23, pl. 64
<b>Wady D</b>	221A	1299 (Černý)	Herihor	Černý 1956: 19; GI Carter MSS I.D. 179 no. 5 (inscription faces right)
	221A	1539 (Carter)	Coptic inscription	GI Carter MSS I.D. 179 no. 4
	221A	3944 (CEDAE)	Coptic inscription	Shimy 1977: pl. 304 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 249
	221B	1540 (Carter)	pharaonic inscription	GI Carter MSS I.D. 177 no. 6, 179 no. 6
	221B	1541 (Carter)	petroglyph	GI Carter MSS I.D. 178 no. 7, 179 no. 7
	221B	1542 (Carter)	petroglyph	GI Carter MSS I.D. 178 no. 8, 179 no. 8
	221B	1542 (Carter)	pharaonic inscription	GI Carter MSS I.D. 178 no. 8, 179 no. 8
	221B	1543 (Carter)	pharaonic inscription	GI Carter MSS I.D. 178 no. 9, 179 no. 9
	221C	3952 (CEDAE)	petroglyph	Shimy 1977: pl. 305
	221C	3953 (CEDAE)	petroglyph	Shimy 1977: pl. 305
	221C	3954 (CEDAE)	Coptic inscription	Shimy 1977: pl. 305 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 250
	221C	3955 (CEDAE)	Dikhonsiry	Shimy 1977: pl. 305 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 250
	221C	3956 (CEDAE)	petroglyph	Shimy 1977: pl. 305 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 250
	221C	3957 (CEDAE)	petroglyph	Shimy 1977: pl. 305
	222A	1359a (Černý)	Ankhefenamun	Winlock 1948: pl. 40B+C; Černý 1956: 24
	222A	3899 (CEDAE)	Coptic inscription	Shimy 1977: pl. 299 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 246
	222A	3945 (CEDAE)/ 1359 (Černý)	Nebhepe	GI Carter MSS I.D. 177 no. 1; Winlock 1948: pl. 40a; Černý 1956: 24; Shimy 1977: pl. 304 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 249; Kitchen 1996: §383 no. 33
	222A	3946 (CEDAE)	pharaonic inscription	Shimy 1977: pl. 304 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 249
	222A	3947 (CEDAE)	pharaonic inscription	Shimy 1977: pl. 305 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 249
	222A	3948 (CEDAE)	Demotic inscription	Shimy 1977: pl. 305 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 249
	222A	3949 (CEDAE)	Demotic inscription	Shimy 1977: pl. 305 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 249
	222B	1538 (Carter)	pharaonic inscription	GI Carter MSS I.D. 177 no. 2; see Chapter 2, Document 4, Fig. 18 no. 8 here
	222B	no number	petroglyph	GI Carter MSS I.D. 177 no. 3; see Chapter 2, Document 4, Fig. 18 no. 9 here
	222B	3951 (CEDAE)/ 1358 (Černý)	Butehamun	Sadek and Shimy 1983: pl. 306 and Sadek and Shimy 1983: 250; Černý 1956: 24

## APPENDIX 2. ANALYSES OF CATALOGUED METAL OBJECTS

All but two elemental quantitative analyses below were performed on catalogued objects by Wypyski in 2000 on micro-samples of gold alloys and solders (the solders in *italics*). The results are given in weight percents. Other elements, such as zinc and cadmium, were also looked for but not detected. Energy dispersive X-ray spectrometry (EDS) with an Oxford Instruments INCA microanalysis system was used,

attached to a LEO Electron Microscopy model 1455VP scanning electron microscope (SEM).

Objects marked with \* had surface analyses performed in 1999 immediately after cleaning. EDS was used with a Kevex model Delta IV EDS attached to a modified Amry model 1100 (1600T) scanning electron microscope (SEM).

### OBJECTS BELIEVED ANCIENT

MMA OBJECT INFORMATION		Cu	Ag	Au	Cu	Ag	Au
<b>24</b> (26.8.101)	Best falcon collar	2.2	22.5	75.3			
<b>25</b> (26.8.104)	Best vulture breastplate	2.6	22.4	75.0			
<b>26</b> (26.8.107)	Best bandage amulet	2.6	23.4	74.0			
<b>27</b> (26.8.102)	Medium falcon collar	1.9	19.5	78.6			
<b>28</b> (26.8.105)	Medium vulture breastplate	1.8	19.8	78.4			
<b>29</b> (26.8.108)	Medium bandage amulet	1.4	21.0	77.6			
<b>108</b> (26.8.99)	Gazelle diadem						
	band (average of 3 spots)	3.3	36.2	60.4			
	<i>solder on vertical band, near leopard head</i>				9.8	31.9	58.2
	post	3.1	36.7	60.2			
	<i>solder near post</i>				8.7	34.4	56.8
	rosette	2.5	37.1	60.3			
	rosette bezel	3.1	36.2	60.6			
	<i>solder on band near bezel</i>				10.6	31.8	57.6
	gazelle 1 (thick horns, proper left)	2.7	37.6	59.9			
	gazelle 2 (thin horns, proper right)	2.9	37.0	60.1			
	gazelle 1 neck ring	3.6	38.8	57.5			
	<i>solder on gazelle 1 neck</i>				7.9	30.4	61.7
	gazelle 2 neck ring	3.7	38.4	57.8			
	<i>solder on gazelle 2 neck</i>				9.4	30.1	60.4
	small flat ring	2.9	36.9	58.1			
	<i>solder near flat ring</i>				9.0	35.1	56.0
	small rounded ring	3.2	36.8	59.9			
	<i>solder near rounded ring</i>				8.3	29.2	62.5
<b>110</b> (26.8.94b)	Earring						
	tube	4.7	26.3	69.0			
	disk attachment	4.4	26.3	69.3			
	coupon on back of disk	5.9	24.4	69.7			

MMA OBJECT INFORMATION		Cu	Ag	Au	Cu	Ag	Au
<b>133</b> (1988.17)	Drop-shaped element						
	lowermost band	1.8	28.8	69.4			
	<i>solder near lowermost band</i>				4.2	27.3	68.6
<b>138</b> (26.8.124d)	Segment of lion armlet						
	bottom of cat spacer	2.2	27.9	69.8			
	<i>solder on bottom of cat spacer</i>				5.6	28.9	65.4
	surface of spacer bead	1.3	18.6	80.1			
	<i>solder between spacer beads</i>				8.5	16.9	74.6
	<i>solder on spacer bead</i>				9.9	35.8	54.3
<b>141</b> (26.8.129)	Hinged bracelet						
	inner surface, near edge	2.8	21.8	75.4			
	<i>inner surface, solder near hinge</i>				9.3	22.6	68.0
	<i>exterior solder coupon by hinge</i>				6.9	23.0	70.1
<b>181</b> (26.8.72)	Bivalve shell and loop*	3.1	64.9	32.0			
<b>223</b> (26.8.81)	Uraeus pendant*	3.0	51.0	46.0			

## INDETERMINATE OBJECT

Analyses were performed by Wypyski in 2000 on micro-samples of gold alloy and solder from catalogued objects, as above (the solders in *italics*). The results are given in weight

percents. Other elements, such as zinc and cadmium, were also looked for but not detected.

MMA OBJECT INFORMATION		Cu	Ag	Au	Cu	Ag	Au
<b>216</b> (26.8.118g)	Loop-and-pin clasp						
	edge of wall	2.9	33.2	63.9			
	<i>solder between loop and wall</i>				9.1	31.3	59.6

## OBJECTS BELIEVED MODERN

All but twelve analyses below were executed by Wypyski in 2000 on micro-samples from catalogued objects of gold alloys and solders (the solders in *italics*), as explained in the tables above. The results are given in weight percents. Other elements, such as zinc and cadmium, were also looked for but not detected.

Analyses marked with \*\* were executed by Wypyski in 1999 on MMA micro-samples using quantitative energy dispersive X-ray spectrometry with a Kevex model Delta IV EDS attached to a modified Amry model 1100 (1600T) scanning electron microscope (SEM). The results were calculated against well-characterized standards.

MMA OBJECT INFORMATION		Cu	Ag	Au	Cu	Ag	Au
<b>230</b> (26.8.100)	Falcon collar	3.2	36.3	60.4			
<b>231</b> (26.8.103)	Vulture breastplate	3.1	35.9	61.0			
<b>232</b> (26.8.106)	Bandage amulet	3.5	34.2	62.3			

Continued on next page

MMA OBJECT INFORMATION	Cu	Ag	Au	Cu	Ag	Au
<b>235</b> (26.8.75) Star-shaped appliqué						
edge	3.8	7.2	89.0			
solder under granule				7.8	8.5	83.7
<b>236</b> (26.8.109) Hathor-cow plaque	9.7	30.1	60.2			
<b>238</b> (26.8.111) Hathor-cow plaque	9.5	30.4	60.1			
<b>244</b> (26.8.87) <i>Wd3t</i> -eye pendant						
suspension ring	1.3	14.8	83.9			
solder near suspension ring				12.5	14.5	73.0
<b>254</b> (26.8.50) Ring-based composite bowl						
underside of rim	2.6	7.0	90.3			
solder below rim				13.1	12.3	74.5
<b>261</b> (26.8.48) Beaker						
underside of rim	4.6	3.6	91.7			
solder below rim				26.7	11.7	61.6
<b>267</b> (26.8.54) Semi-restricted cup, underside of rim	6.1	4.1	89.8			
<b>289</b> (17.190.1970a) Shield-shaped elements						
silver element 1, back**	5.7	92.0	2.3			
silver element 2, back**	5.6	92.2	2.2			
silver element 1, suspension ring**	11.4	34.1	54.5			
silver element 2, suspension ring**	6.7	30.5	62.7			
<b>290</b> (P 35) Shield-shaped elements						
silver element 1, back**	1.4	98.5	nd			
silver element 2, back**	1.3	98.6	nd			
silver element 1, suspension ring**	9.5	26.4	64.0			
silver element 2, suspension ring**	11.8	24.1	64.1			
<b>291</b> (P 36) Shield-shaped elements						
silver element 1, back**	0.1	99.9	nd			
silver element 2, back**	0.2	99.8	nd			
silver element 1, suspension ring**	5.9	40.8	53.3			
silver element 2, suspension ring**	6.0	40.8	53.2			
<b>300</b> (26.8.204) Menat-shaped pendant						
edge of box	0.3	nd	99.6			
solder on round shape				3.6	0.5	96.0
<b>304</b> (26.8.64a) Fly amulet	4.8	22.5	72.6			
<b>307</b> (26.8.209-.210) Falcon amulet						
edge of amulet	6.2	37.0	56.8			
solder near suspension ring				14.8	27.1	58.1
<b>308</b> (26.8.65) Maat-plaque amulet						
edge of plaque	7.4	41.6	51.0			
solder near suspension tube				21.8	39.0	39.2

MMA OBJECT INFORMATION	Cu	Ag	Au	Cu	Ag	Au
<b>310</b> (26.8.134) Bracelet						
hinge	3.8	7.8	88.4			
<i>solder near hinge</i>				13.1	12.3	74.5
<b>313</b> (26.8.118c) Acacia-bead spacer						
edge of sectioned bead	1.8	17.7	80.5			
<i>solder between beads</i>				8.8	11.6	79.6
<b>315</b> (26.8.80) Gold and agate buckle						
wall of mat-shape	5.9	25.7	68.4			
<i>solder below ring</i>				18.4	26.1	55.4
<b>316</b> (26.8.64b) Faceted bead	5.4	12.3	82.3			
<b>318</b> (66.2.4) Filigreed bead						
interior	29.3	2.7	67.9			
surface	4.8	2.5	92.7			
<i>solder between halves</i>				2.1	9.4	88.4
Faceted bazaar bead (1970.169.98)						
surface; cadmium not detected	8.4	3.7	87.9			
<i>solder under ring; cadmium, 2.1</i>				7.8	3.8	86.2

## APPENDIX 3. ANALYSES OF VARIOUS GLASSES

Quantitative elemental analyses using scanning electron microscopy and energy dispersive X-ray spectrometry (SEM/EDS) analysis was undertaken by Wypyski in 2001 on MAA micro-samples. The samples, on the order of one half of a cubic millimeter, were removed with the aid of a diamond-edged scribe, embedded in epoxy, and ground with silicon carbide paper to expose the sample interiors. Cross-sections were then polished with cerium oxide and carbon-coated for conductivity. Oxford Instruments INCA

microanalysis system attached to a LEO Electron Microscopy model 1455VP SEM energy dispersive X-ray spectrometry was used. Weight percentages of the elements detected were calculated against well-characterized reference glasses; for details see Verità et al. 1994. The results below are tabulated to facilitate comparison with analyses in Lilyquist and Brill 1993: 36–9. On the development of the techniques used, see Verità et al. 1994. ND indicates not detected.

Oxide	Weight percentage	Dark blue inlay, element 1 (17.190.1970a)	Turquoise inlay, element 1	Turquoise inlay, element 2	Dark blue inlay, element 2 (p 35)	Turquoise inlay, element 1	Dark blue inlay, element 1 (p 36)	Turquoise inlay, element 1	Turquoise inlay, element 2	MMA 17.194.2466	MMA 18.2.12	Bazaar glass
	289	289	289	290	290	291	291	291	Islamic	Islamic	Modern	
SiO <sub>2</sub>	53.8	61.7	64.4	62.6	62.9	62.5	62.2	61.0	65.7	44.2	71.2	
Na <sub>2</sub> O	23.8	17.8	7.6	18.8	15.6	20.1	18.2	20.2	18.9	18.2	13.8	
CaO	8.8	8.9	7.5	7.4	9.4	7.7	6.2	5.7	1.4	1.3	8.0	
K <sub>2</sub> O	0.8	2.0	2.5	1.7	2.3	1.5	3.2	3.0	0.2	0.2	0.4	
MgO	3.8	3.9	nd	4.4	4.2	3.7	5.6	nd	0.2	0.4	2.5	
Al <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	4.0	0.5	4.1	2.3	0.7	1.8	1.2	4.0	0.6	0.5	0.8	
Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	1.1	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.3	
TiO <sub>2</sub>	0.2	nd	0.2	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	0.1	
Sb <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	1.2	1.7	nd	0.6	1.4	nd	1.2	0.5	nd	nd	nd	
MnO	0.4	nd	nd	0.2	nd	0.3	nd	nd	nd	nd	0.1	
CuO	0.1	1.4	1.4	nd	1.4	0.2	0.6	0.8	1.8	1.1	1.6	
CoO	0.2	nd	nd	0.2	nd	0.1	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	
SnO <sub>2</sub>	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	1.2	7.8	nd	
PbO	nd	nd	6.0	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	7.3	24.8	nd	
NiO	0.1	nd	nd	0.1	nd	0.1	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	
ZnO	0.2	nd	nd	0.2	nd	0.1	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	
SO <sub>3</sub>	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.2	
Cl	1.1	0.9	0.1	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.3	1.9	1.5	0.2	
P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>5</sub>	nd	0.2	nd	nd	nd	0.2	0.2	nd	nd	nd	nd	
As <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	nd	nd	0.5	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	0.2	nd	nds	
BaO	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	0.1	nd	nd	0.3	
F	nd	nd	5.8	nd	nd	nd	nd	4.0	nd	nd	nd	



## APPENDIX 4. DOCUMENTATION FOR THE INTERPRETATION OF THE GAZELLE DIADEM

DATE	IDENTITY	TITLE	CONTEXT	HEADDRESS		OTHER ATTRIBUTES	
Tuthmosis IV	king's daughter <sup>1</sup>	<i>s3t nswt</i>	Feast of Valley scene		plumes	modius with rosettes	sistra of Mut mentioned in scene
Tuthmosis IV – Amenhotep III	Nebamun's daughter <sup>2</sup>	<i>hkrt nswt</i>	receives offerings			modius with rosettes	holds lotus
"	"	<i>hkrt nswt</i>	follows women with menat and sistrum			"	holds menat and sistrum
Amenhotep III	king's daughter Sitamun <sup>3</sup>	<i>s3t nswt wrt</i>	receives gold of south	gazelle		modius with lotuses	holds menat and sistrum
"	king's daughters Sitamun and another <sup>4</sup>	<i>s3t nswt</i>	attends Tiye in skiff with cat under chair			modius with lotuses or papyri	
"	Nubian servants of Sitamun <sup>5</sup>		present gold of south			modiuses with lotuses, modiuses with rosettes	
"	Menna's daughter <sup>6</sup>	<i>hkrt nswt</i>	beloved of Hathor	gazelle	plumes	modius with rosettes	holds menat and sistrum
"	Menna's deceased daughter <sup>6</sup>			gazelle	plumes	modius	holds sistrum
"	Paury's daughter <sup>7</sup>		... Hathor	gazelle	plumes	modius without flowers	adjacent mother holds menat and sistrum
"	king's daughters <sup>8</sup>	<i>s3t nswt</i>	king's jubilee with Hathoric imagery			modius with rosettes–lotuses, rosettes–sedges	hold sistra; and menat? chantresses with gazelle wands near
Ramesses II	great royal wife and king's daughter Nebettawy <sup>9</sup>	<i>hmt nswt wrt</i>	with deities; females are Isis, Maat and possibly Selket			modius with rosettes plus vulture headdress with uraeus	
"	king's daughter Meryetamun <sup>10</sup>			gazelle		modius	holds gazelle wand

Continued on next page

DATE	IDENTITY	TITLE	CONTEXT	HEADDRESS		OTHER ATTRIBUTES
"	king's daughter, king's wife Bintanat <sup>10</sup>	<i>s3t nswt hmt nswt</i>		gazelle		modius holds gazelle wand
Ramesses III	women in king's apartments <sup>11</sup>		present flowers, fruit to king; play instruments; fan and caress king			modiuses with rosettes, rosettes-papyrus-sedges, and rosettes-papyrus
"	women in funerary contexts <sup>12</sup>		offer drink and flowers			modius with rosettes; rosettes-papyrus or lotus
Ramesses III–VI	great royal mother, lady of the two lands, Isis <sup>13</sup>	<i>mwt nswt wrt, nbt t3wy</i>				modius with rosettes, worn with vulture headdress
"	lady of the two lands Isis <sup>14, 15, 16</sup>	<i>nbt t3wy</i>				modius with rosettes, vulture headdress, uraeus
"	[great royal mother Isis] <sup>17</sup>					modius with rosettes, vulture headdress
ramesside	woman on vessel fragment from Ugarit <sup>18</sup>					modius with rosettes
Dynasty 20	great royal wife Tyti <sup>19</sup>		supplicates Thoth			modius with rosettes, worn with vulture headdress and uraeus

1 Brack and Brack 1980: 28 scene 4.3, pls. 36a and 37a.

2 TT 90: Porter and Moss 1960: 183; N. G. Davies 1923: 22–5, 28, pls. 21–2.

3 T. Davis 1907: 37–41; Quibell 1908: 53f., CG 51113, pls. 38 and 40; Müller and Thiem 1998: 16f., fig. 366.

4 T. Davis 1907: 42–44, pl. 36; Quibell 1908: 52f., CG 51112, pls. 35f.

5 Quibell 1908: pl. 43.

6 TT 69: Porter and Moss 1960: 135; N. Davis 1936(2): pl. 53.

7 TT 139: Porter and Moss 1960: 253 (1).

8 Epigraphic Survey 1980: 51f, pls. 44–5.

9 Prisse d'Avennes 1878: 66th plate; Porter and Moss 1964: 761 (9–13).

10 A. Wilkinson 1971: 117.

11 Epigraphic Survey 1970: pls. 630, 636, 639, 646, 649–54.

12 Loc. cit., pls. 655, 657.

13 Monnet 1965: 212f., pl. 25a; Van Siclen 1974: fig. 2.

14 Champollion 1835–45: pl. 229.2.

15 Rosellini 1832: pl. 19.19.

16 Leblanc 1989b: pl. 112.

17 Van Siclen 1974: fig. 1.

18 Noblecourt 1956: fig. 126.

19 Champollion 1844–89: 384.

# CONCORDANCES

## CONCORDANCE 1, PAST AND CURRENT LOCATIONS OF OBJECTS WITH CATALOGUE NUMBERS

American coll. – 59	18.8.9a, b – 1	26.8.12 – 75, 245
Baer, Herman – 164	18.8.10a, b – 2, see Kalmanoff	26.8.13 – 78, 248
Berlin 22452 – 118	18.8.11a, b – 3, see Kalmanoff	26.8.14a – 246
Bloch-Diener, Elsa and Pierre – 84	18.8.12a, b – 4	26.8.14a, b – 76
Blumka Gallery – 154	18.8.13a, b – 53	26.8.15a, b – 49
BM 66827 – 162	18.8.14a – 62	26.8.16a – 77, 247
Brummer, Ernst – 58, 63, 84, 96	18.8.14b – 170	26.8.16b – 171
Cairo, JdE 46435 – 155	18.8.15 – 54	26.8.17 – 82
Callender, A. R. – 59	18.8.16 – 66	26.8.18 – 83
Carnarvon, Earl of – 97, 103–4,	18.8.17a – 74	26.8.19a, b – 56
136 selective, 144–50, 223	18.8.17b – 172	26.8.20a – 64
Carter, Howard – 50–1, 135, 163	18.8.18 – 80	26.8.20b – 70
Coral Gables, Lowe 58.105.009 –	18.8.19 – 79	26.8.20c – 49
67	18.8.20a, b – 15	26.8.21a, b – 55
European coll. – 115–6	18.8.21a, b – 13	26.8.22a – 68
Gallatin, Albert – 63	18.8.22a, b – 14	26.8.23a – 250
Hassan, Jusef – 60, 164	18.8.23 – 105	26.8.23a, b – 69
Kalmanoff, Herbert – 2, 3, 6, 8	18.8.24 – 100	26.8.24 – 219
Lannan Foundation – 59	18.8.25a–e – 165	26.8.25 – 218
Ligabue, Giancarlo – 117	20.2.22 – 169	26.8.26 – 220
Minneapolis – 59, 154	20.2.28 – 168	26.8.27 – 221
Morgan, J. P. – 289	21.6.1 – 158–9	26.8.28 – 222
New York art market – 119	23.9 – 103	26.8.29a – 174
Philip, Hoffman – 58, 63, 84, 96,	26.7.759 – 148	26.8.29b – 98
164	26.7.760 – 149	26.8.30a, b – 96
Place, Lily – 154–6, 158–9	26.7.761 – 150	26.8.31a, b – 95
Richmond, Virginia 63–56–3 –	26.7.762 – 145	26.8.32a – 175
259	26.7.763 – 144	26.8.32b – 99
63–56–2 – 265	26.7.764 – 146	26.8.33a, b – 87
Sobhy, G. P. G. – 52	26.7.765 – 147	26.8.34a, b – 93
Spencer Churchill, Edward	26.7.1354 – 136	26.8.35a, b – 94
George – 162	26.7.1175 – 104	26.8.36a, b – 88
St. Louis 51.1959 – 258	26.7.1434 – 97	26.8.37a, b – 92
52.1959 – 264	26.8.1 a, b – 48	26.8.38a, b – 89
Stockholm 1957–2 – 58	26.8.2 – 81	26.8.39 – 91
	26.8.3 – 167	26.8.40a, b – 90
The following are MMA	26.8.4 – 166	26.8.41 – 173
accession numbers:	26.8.5a, b – 72	26.8.42 – 102
17.190.1970a – 289	26.8.6a, b – 61	26.8.43 – 101
18.8.1a, b – 5	26.8.7a, b – 65	26.8.44 – 269
18.8.2a, b – 6, see Kalmanoff	26.8.8a – 57	26.8.45 – 270
18.8.3a, b – 7	26.8.8b – 85	26.8.46 – 271
18.8.4a, b – 8, see Kalmanoff	26.8.9a – 73	26.8.47 – 260
18.8.5a, b – 9	26.8.9b – 86	26.8.48 – 261
18.8.6a, b – 10	26.8.10a – 249	26.8.49 – 262
18.8.7a, b – 11	26.8.10a, b – 71	26.8.50 – 254
18.8.8a, b – 12	26.8.11 – 67, see Coral Gables	26.8.51 – 255

## Concordances

26.8.52 – 256	26.8.93a, b – 109	26.8.118f, g – 215
26.8.53 – 266	26.8.94a, b – 110	26.8.119a, b – 216
26.8.54 – 267	26.8.95a, b – 111	26.8.120 – 314
26.8.55 – 268	26.8.96a, b – 112	26.8.121a – 137
26.8.56 – 251	26.8.97 – 106	28.8.121b–e – 139
26.8.57 – 252	26.8.98 – 107	28.8.121f–h – 191
26.8.58 – 253	26.8.99 – 108	26.8.122a–e – 137
26.8.59a – 129	26.8.100 – 230	26.8.123a–g – 138
26.8.59b–i – 298	26.8.101 – 24	26.8.124a–g – 138
26.8.59j–l – 299	26.8.102 – 27	26.8.125 – 142
26.8.60 – 135	26.8.103 – 231	26.8.126 – 143
26.8.61a – 136	26.8.104 – 25	26.8.127 – 142
26.8.61b – 204	26.8.105 – 28	26.8.128 – 143
26.8.61c – 229	26.8.106 – 232	26.8.129, .130 – 141
26.8.62a – 156	26.8.107 – 26	26.8.131, .132 – 309
26.8.62b – 158	26.8.108 – 29	26.8.133, .134 – 310
26.8.62c – 159	26.8.109 – 236	26.8.135a – 132
26.8.63a – 153	26.8.110 – 237	26.8.135b – 293
26.8.63b – 197	26.8.111 – 238	26.8.136 – 188
26.8.63c – 199	26.8.112 – 19	26.8.137 – 186
26.8.63 selective – 203	26.8.113 – 20	26.8.138 – 189
26.8.64a – 304	26.8.114 – 21	26.8.139 – 303
26.8.64b – 316	26.8.115 – 22	26.8.140 – 44
26.8.64c – 211	26.8.116 – 23	26.8.141 – 45
26.8.65 – 308	26.8.117a – 114	26.8.142 – 46
26.8.66 – 38	26.8.117b – 120	26.8.143 – 47
26.8.67 – 39	26.8.117c – 121	26.8.144 – 17
26.8.68a – 40	26.8.117d – 122	26.8.145 – 18
26.8.68b – 41	26.8.117e – 123	26.8.146a, b – 32
26.8.69a – 42	26.8.117f – 124	26.8.147a, b – 34
26.8.69b – 43	26.8.117g – 125	26.8.148a, b – 33
26.8.70a–1 – 130	26.8.117h – 126	26.8.149 – 35
26.8.70a–2 – 131	26.8.117i – 127	26.8.150–.153 – 36
26.8.70b–d – 205	26.8.117j – 128	26.8.154, .155 – 35
26.8.71 – 180	26.8.117k – 275	26.8.156 – 36
26.8.72 – 181	26.8.117l – 273	26.8.157–.161 – 35
26.8.73 – 301	26.8.117m – 272	26.8.162 – 36
26.8.74 – 302	26.8.117n – 276	26.8.163 – 35
26.8.75 – 235	26.8.117o – 277	26.8.164, .165 – 36
26.8.76a, b – 182	26.8.117p – 278	26.8.166 – 35
26.8.77a, b – 183	26.8.117q – 282	26.8.167, .168 – 36
26.8.78 – 184	26.8.117r – 274	26.8.169–.184 – 37
26.8.79 – 185	26.8.117s – 281	26.8.185–.189 – 36
26.8.80 – 315	26.8.117t – 279	26.8.190–.192 – 35
26.8.81 – 223	26.8.117u – 280	26.8.193, .194 – 36
26.8.82 – 239	26.8.117v – 283	26.8.195–.197 – 35
26.8.83 – 240	26.8.117w – 287	26.8.198, .199 – 36
26.8.84 – 241	26.8.117x – 285	26.8.200–.202 – 35
26.8.85 – 242	26.8.117y – 286	26.8.203 – 228
26.8.86 – 243	26.8.117z – 284	26.8.204 – 300
26.8.87 – 244	26.8.117aa – 201	26.8.205a – 196
26.8.88 – 233	26.8.118a – 311	26.8.205b – 195
26.8.89 – 234	26.8.118b – 312	26.8.206a–d – 134
26.8.90 – 214	26.8.118c – 313	26.8.207 – 198
26.8.91 – 16	26.8.118d – 151	26.8.208 – 306
26.8.92a, b – 113	26.8.118e – 152	26.8.209, .210 – 307

## Concordances

26.8.211 – 192	58.153.11 – 295	1982.137.2 – 130
26.8.212 – see p. 177 for 137–8	58.153.12 – 129 and/or 130, see p. 171	1982.137.3 – 132
26.8.212a – 140	58.153.13 – 319	1982.137.4 selective – 151, 152
26.8.212b – 317	58.153.14 – 321	1982.137.5 – 135
26.8.213a – 202	58.153.15 – 179	1982.137.6 – 153
26.8.213b – 200	58.153.16 – 217	1983.96.1–.13 – 114
26.8.213c – 203	58.153.17 – 224	1987.103 – 68
26.8.214 – 30	58.153.18 – 289	1987.399.1a – 201
26.8.215 – 213	58.153.19 – 153	1987.399.1c–1 – 136, 210
26.8.216 – 31	58.153.20 – 199	1987.399.1e – 207
26.8.217 – 324	58.153.21, .22 – 153	1987.399.1h – 193
26.8.218 – 323	58.153.23 – 190	1987.399.1k – 194
26.8.219 – 297	63.15.1a – 294	1987.399.2a selective (see p. 177) – 137–8, 140
26.8.220 – 296	63.15.2, .3 – 177	1987.399.2d – 160
26.8.221 – 225	66.2.1 selective – 114	1988.17 – 133
26.8.222 – 209	66.2.2 – 129 and/or 130, see p. 171	1988.17d – 212
26.8.223 – 206	66.2.3a – 187	1988.17e – 208
39.2.1 – 96	66.2.4 – 318	1988.17 selective – 132, 137–8, 153, 211–2
58.92.1 – 257	66.2.5 – 227	1988.25.1 selective – 132, 151, 160, 200, 207
58.92.2 – 263	66.2.6 – 226	1988.25.2 selective – 151, 160, 200, 207
58.153 unaccessioned – 152	66.2.7 – 114	1988.25.3a – 161
58.153.1 selective – 114	66.99.83 – 63	1988.25.3b – 157
58.153.2, .3 – 114	1970.169.1–.45 – 320	P 34 – 292
58.153.4 – 288	1970.169.46–.70 – 322	P 35 – 290P 36 – 291
58.153.5 – 178	1970.169.71–.79 – 305	
58.153.6 – 176	1970.169.80 – 114	
58.153.7 – 37	1982.137.1 – 114	
58.153.8 selective – 135, 187		
58.153.9, .10 – 132		

## CONCORDANCE 2, CATALOGUE OBJECTS WITH PAST AND CURRENT LOCATIONS

Earliest location is listed first; accession numbers are MMA unless stated otherwise.

### OBJECTS ASSIGNED TO TOMB 1

1, Manuwai canopic jar – 18.8.9a, b	9, Maruta canopic jar – 18.8.5a, b	19, seweret-necklet – 26.8.112
2, Manuwai canopic jar – 18.8.10a, b and Kalmanoff	10, Maruta canopic jar – 18.8.6a, b	20, seweret-necklet – 26.8.113
3, Manuwai canopic jar – 18.8.11a, b and Kalmanoff	11, Maruta canopic jar – 18.8.7a, b	21, seweret-necklet – 26.8.114
4, Manuwai canopic jar – 18.8.12a, b	12, Maruta canopic jar – 18.8.8a, b	22, bead necklet – 26.8.115
5, Manhata canopic jar – 18.8.1a, b	13, Manuwai libation flask – 18.8.21a, b	23, bead necklet – 26.8.116
6, Manhata canopic jar – 18.8.2a, b and Kalmanoff	14, Manhata libation flask – 18.8.22a, b	24, falcon collar – 26.8.101
7, Manhata canopic jar – 18.8.3a, b	15, Maruta libation flask – 18.8.20a, b	25, vulture breastplate – 26.8.104
8, Manhata canopic jar – 18.8.4a, b and Kalmanoff	16, Manuwai heart scarab – 26.8.91	26, bandage amulet – 26.8.107
	17, Manhata heart amulet – 26.8.144	27, falcon collar – 26.8.102
	18, Maruta heart scarab – 26.8.145	28, vulture breastplate – 26.8.105
		29, bandage amulet – 26.8.108
		30, wire fastener – 26.8.214
		31, wire fastener – 26.8.216
		32, sandals – 26.8.146a, b
		33, sandals – 26.8.148a, b

## Concordances

- 34, sandals – 26.8.147a, b  
 35, stalls –  
   26.8.149  
   26.8.154, .155  
   26.8.157–.161  
   26.8.163  
   26.8.166  
   26.8.190–.192  
   26.8.195–.197  
   26.8.200–.202  
 36, stalls –  
   26.8.150–.153  
   26.8.156  
   26.8.162  
   26.8.164, .165  
   26.8.167, .168  
   26.8.185–.189  
   26.8.193, .194  
   26.8.198, .199  
 37, stalls –  
   26.8.169–.184  
   58.153.7  
 38, lentoid beads – 26.8.66  
 39, lentoid beads – 26.8.67  
 40, lentoid beads – 26.8.68a  
 41, lentoid beads – 26.8.68b  
 42, lentoid beads – 26.8.69a  
 43, lentoid beads – 26.8.69b  
 44, bangle/ingot – 26.8.140  
 45, bangle/ingot – 26.8.141  
 46, bangle/ingot – 26.8.142  
 47, bangle/ingot – 26.8.143  
 48, storage jar – 26.8.1a, b  
 49, storage jar – 26.8.15a, b,  
   26.8.20c  
 50, storage jar – Carter  
 51, storage jar – Carter  
 52, storage jar – Sobhy  
 53, storage jar – 18.8.13a, b  
 54, storage jar – 18.8.15  
 55, storage jar – 26.8.21a, b  
 56, storage jar – 26.8.19a, b  
 57, storage jar – 26.8.8a  
 58, storage jar – Philip, Brummer,  
   Medelhauseumset 1957:2  
 59, storage jar – Callender,  
   Minneapolis, Lannan, American  
   coll.  
 60, storage jar – Jusef Hassan  
 61, storage jar – 26.8.6a, b  
 62, storage jar – 18.8.14a  
 63, storage jar – Philip, Brummer,  
   Gallatin, 66.99.83  
 64, storage jar – 26.8.20a  
 65, storage jar – 26.8.7a, b  
 66, storage jar – 18.8.16  
 67, storage jar – 26.8.11, Coral  
   Gables, Lowe 58.105.009  
 68, storage jar – 26.8.22, 1987.103  
 69, storage jar – 26.8.23a, b  
 70, storage jar rim – 26.8.20b  
 71, storage jar – 26.8.10a, b  
 72, storage jar – 26.8.5a, b  
 73, storage jar – 26.8.9a  
 74, storage jar – 18.8.17a  
 75, storage jar – 26.8.12  
 76, storage jar – 26.8.14a, b  
 77, storage jar – 26.8.16a  
 78, storage jar – 26.8.13  
 79, storage jar – 18.8.19  
 80, storage jar – 18.8.18  
 81, storage jar – 26.8.2  
 82, storage jar – 26.8.17  
 83, storage jar – 26.8.18  
 84, storage jar – Philip, Brummer,  
   Bloch-Diener  
 85, storage jar lid – 26.8.8b  
 86, storage jar lid – 26.8.9b  
 87, precious vessel – 26.8.33a, b  
 88, precious vessel – 26.8.36a, b  
 89, precious vessel – 26.8.38a, b  
 90, precious vessel fragment –  
   26.8.40a, b  
 91, precious vessel – 26.8.39  
 92, precious vessel – 26.8.37a, b  
 93, precious vessel – 26.8.34a, b  
 94, precious vessel – 26.8.35a, b  
 95, precious vessel – 26.8.31a, b  
 96, precious vessel – 26.8.30a, b;  
   Philip, Brummer, 39.2.1  
 97, precious vessel – Carnarvon,  
   26.7.1434  
 98, precious vessel lid – 26.8.29b  
 99, precious vessel lid – 26.8.32b  
 100, precious vessel – 18.8.24  
 101, precious vessel fragment –  
   26.8.43  
 102, precious vessel fragment –  
   26.8.42  
 103, precious vessel – Carnarvon,  
   23.9  
 104, precious vessel – Carnarvon,  
   26.7.1175  
 105, precious vessel – 18.8.23  
 106, mirror – 26.8.97  
 107, mirror – 26.8.98  
 108, diadem – 26.8.99  
 109, inlaid disk earrings –  
   26.8.93a, b  
 110, inlaid disk earrings –  
   26.8.94a, b  
 111, disk earrings – 26.8.95a, b  
 112, disk earrings – 26.8.96a, b  
 113, sedge earrings – 26.8.92a, b  
 114, wig covering –  
   26.8.117a  
   selective 58.153.1  
   58.153.2, .3  
   selective 66.2.1  
   66.2.7  
   1970.169.80  
   1982.137.1  
   1983.96.1–.13  
 115, rosettes – European coll.  
 116, rosettes – European coll.  
 117, rosettes – Ligabue  
 118, rosettes – Berlin 22452  
 119, rosettes – New York art  
   market  
 120, rosettes – 26.8.117b  
 121, rosettes – 26.8.117c  
 122, rosettes – 26.8.117d  
 123, rosettes – 26.8.117e  
 124, rosettes – 26.8.117f  
 125, rosettes – 26.8.117g  
 126, rosettes – 26.8.117h  
 127, rosettes – 26.8.117i  
 128, rosettes – 26.8.117j  
 129, falcon collar – 26.8.59a;  
   see p. 171 for others  
 130, lotus collar – 26.8.70a–1;  
   see p. 171 for others  
 131, counterpoise –  
   26.8.70a–2  
 132, *nefer*-collar –  
   26.8.135a  
   58.153.9, .10  
   1982.137.3  
   selective 1988.17  
   selective 1988.25.1  
 133, inlaid drop – 1988.17  
 134, Bes and Taweret elements –  
   26.8.206a–d  
 135, wallet-spacer girdle –  
   Carter  
   26.8.60  
   selective 58.153.8  
   1982.137.5  
 136, *Tilapia*-fish spacer girdle –  
   26.8.61a  
   Carnarvon, 26.7.1354  
   selective 1987.399.1c–1  
 137, cat armlets –  
   26.8.121a  
   26.8.122a–e;  
   see pp. 176f. for others  
 138, lion armlets –  
   26.8.123a–g

## Concordances

26.8.124a–g;  
 see pp. 176f. for others  
**139**, barrel spacers – 28.8.121b–e  
**140**, barrel spacers – 26.8.212a;  
 see pp. 176f. for others  
**141**, hinged inlaid ornaments –  
 26.8.129  
 26.8.130  
**142**, hinged inlaid ornaments –  
 26.8.125  
 26.8.127  
**143**, hinged inlaid ornaments –  
 26.8.126  
 26.8.128  
**144**, scarab ring – Carnarvon,  
 26.7.763  
**145**, scarab ring – Carnarvon,  
 26.7.762  
**146**, scarab ring – Carnarvon,  
 26.7.764  
**147**, scarab ring – Carnarvon,  
 26.7.765  
**148**, scarab ring – Carnarvon,  
 26.7.759  
**149**, scarab ring – Carnarvon,  
 26.7.760  
**150**, scarab ring – Carnarvon,  
 26.7.761  
**151**, acacia-seed beads –  
 26.8.118d  
 selective 1982.137.4  
 selective 1988.25.1, .2  
**152**, acacia-seed beads –  
 26.8.118e  
 58.153 unaccessioned  
 selective 1982.137.4  
**153**, three-strand assemblage –  
 26.8.63a  
 58.153.19  
 58.153.21, .22  
 1982.137.6  
 selective 1988.17  
**154**, granular beads – Place,  
 Minneapolis, Blumka  
**155**, granular beads – Place,  
 Cairo JdE 46435  
**156**, granular beads – Place,  
 26.8.62a  
**157**, granular beads – 1988.25.3b  
**158**, granular beads –  
 Place, 21.6.1, 26.8.62b  
**159**, granular beads –  
 Place, 21.6.1, 26.8.62c  
**160**, granular and multifoil beads –  
 1987.399.2d  
 selective 1988.25.1, .2

**161**, granular beads – 1988.25.3a  
**162**, inlaid elements and beads –  
 Spencer Churchill, BM 66827  
**163**, beads and (tubes) – Carter  
**164**, duck head – Philip, Baer  
**165**, silver fragments – 18.8.25a–e

### OBJECTS WITH LESS SURE LINK TO TOMB 1

**166**, storage jar – 26.8.4  
**167**, storage jar – 26.8.3  
**168**, storage jar – 20.2.28  
**169**, storage jar – 20.2.22  
**170**, lid – 18.8.14b  
**171**, lid – 26.8.16b  
**172**, lid – 18.8.17b  
**173**, lid – 26.8.41  
**174**, precious vessel – 26.8.29a  
**175**, precious vessel – 26.8.32a  
**176**, beaded earring – 58.153.6  
**177**, ridged earrings – 63.15.2, .3  
**178**, ridged earring – 58.153.5  
**179**, hair ring – 58.153.15  
**180**, bivalve pendant – 26.8.71  
**181**, bivalve pendant – 26.8.72  
**182**, tube pendant – 26.8.76a, b  
**183**, tube pendant – 26.8.77a, b  
**184**, tube pendant – 26.8.78  
**185**, tube pendant – 26.8.79  
**186**, spiral pendant – 26.8.137  
**187**, wallet-spacer girdle –  
 58.153.8  
 66.2.3a  
**188**, inlaid scarab – 26.8.136  
**189**, *wḏ3t*-eye bead – 26.8.138  
**190**, seal amulet – 58.153.23  
**191**, barrel spacers – 28.8.121f–h  
**192**, ring-bead spacers – 26.8.211  
**193**, ring-bead spacers –  
 1987.399.1h  
**194**, ring-bead spacers –  
 1987.399.1k  
**195**, silvered beads – 26.8.205b  
**196**, rounded beads – 26.8.205a  
**197**, *Conus*-shell beads – 26.8.63b  
**198**, three-strand assemblage –  
 26.8.207  
**199**, drum-shaped beads –  
 26.8.63c  
 58.153.20  
**200**, barrel beads – 26.8.213b  
 selective 1988.25.1, .2  
**201**, loop-and-ring beads –  
 26.8.117aa  
 1987.399.1a

**202**, stone beads – 26.8.213a  
**203**, miscellaneous beads –  
 selective 26.8.63  
 26.8.213c  
**204**, varied beads – 26.8.61b  
**205**, cylinder beads – 26.8.70b–d  
**206**, ring beads – 26.8.223  
**207**, ring beads –  
 1987.399.1e  
 selective 1988.25.1, .2  
**208**, ring beads – 1988.17e  
**209**, ring beads – 26.8.222  
**210**, ring beads – 1987.399.1c–1  
**211**, ring beads –  
 26.8.64c  
 selective 1988.17  
**212**, ring beads – 1988.17d  
**213**, wire fitting – 26.8.215

### OBJECTS OF VARIOUS DATES LINKED TO TOMB 1

**214**, scarab – 26.8.90  
**215**, loop-and-pin clasp –  
 26.8.118f, g  
**216**, loop-and-pin clasp –  
 26.8.119a, b  
**217**, box-shaped clasp – 58.153.16  
**218**, model(?) – 26.8.25  
**219**, model(?) – 26.8.24  
**220**, model(?) – 26.8.26  
**221**, model(?) – 26.8.27  
**222**, model(?) – 26.8.28  
**223**, uraeus pendant – Carnarvon,  
 26.8.81  
**224**, pendant with vultures –  
 58.153.17  
**225**, fish pendant – 26.8.221  
**226**, ear or hair ring – 66.2.6  
**227**, leaf-shaped elements – 66.2.5  
**228**, shrine-shaped pendant –  
 26.8.203  
**229**, barrel beads – 26.8.61c  
**230**, falcon collar – 26.8.100  
**231**, vulture breastplate – 26.8.103  
**232**, bandage amulet – 26.8.106  
**233**, scarab – 26.8.88  
**234**, scarab – 26.8.89  
**235**, star appliqué – 26.8.75  
**236**, Hathor-cow plaque –  
 26.8.109  
**237**, Hathor-cow plaque –  
 26.8.110  
**238**, Hathor-cow plaque –  
 26.8.111



## Concordances

- 239**, *wḏ3t*-pendant – 26.8.82  
**240**, *wḏ3t*-pendant – 26.8.83  
**241**, *wḏ3t*-pendant – 26.8.84  
**242**, *wḏ3t*-pendant – 26.8.85  
**243**, *wḏ3t*-pendant – 26.8.86  
**244**, *wḏ3t*-pendant – 26.8.87  
**245**, storage jar inscription – 26.8.12  
**246**, storage jar inscription – 26.8.14a  
**247**, storage jar inscription – 26.8.16a  
**248**, storage jar inscription – 26.8.13  
**249**, storage jar inscription – 26.8.10a  
**250**, storage jar inscription – 26.8.23a  
**251**, gold vessel – 26.8.56  
**252**, gold vessel – 26.8.57  
**253**, gold vessel – 26.8.58  
**254**, gold vessel – 26.8.50  
**255**, gold vessel – 26.8.51  
**256**, gold vessel – 26.8.52  
**257**, gold vessel – 58.92.1  
**258**, gold vessel – St. Louis 51.1959  
**259**, gold vessel – Richmond, Virginia 63-56-3  
**260**, gold vessel – 26.8.47  
**261**, gold vessel – 26.8.48  
**262**, gold vessel – 26.8.49  
**263**, gold vessel – 58.92.2  
**264**, gold vessel – St. Louis 52.1959  
**265**, gold vessel – Richmond, Virginia 63-56-2  
**266**, gold vessel – 26.8.53  
**267**, gold vessel – 26.8.54  
**268**, gold vessel – 26.8.55  
**269**, gold vessel – 26.8.44  
**270**, gold vessel – 26.8.45  
**271**, gold vessel – 26.8.46  
**272**, rosettes – 26.8.117m  
**273**, rosettes – 26.8.117l  
**274**, rosettes – 26.8.117r  
**275**, rosettes – 26.8.117k  
**276**, rosettes – 26.8.117n  
**277**, rosettes – 26.8.117o  
**278**, rosettes – 26.8.117p  
**279**, rosettes – 26.8.117t  
**280**, rosettes – 26.8.117u  
**281**, rosettes – 26.8.117s  
**282**, rosettes – 26.8.117q  
**283**, rosettes – 26.8.117v  
**284**, rosettes – 26.8.117z  
**285**, rosettes – 26.8.117x  
**286**, rosettes – 26.8.117y  
**287**, rosettes – 26.8.117w  
**288**, rosettes – 58.153.4  
**289**, shield-shaped elements – Morgan, 17.190.1970a 58.153.18  
**290**, shield-shaped elements – P 35  
**291**, shield-shaped elements – P 36  
**292**, vase-motif elements – P 34  
**293**, *nefer*-elements – 26.8.135b  
**294**, beetle elements – 63.15.1a  
**295**, beetle elements – 58.153.11  
**296**, drop elements – 26.8.220  
**297**, drop elements – 26.8.219  
**298**, drop elements – 26.8.59b-i  
**299**, drop elements – 26.8.59j-l  
**300**, *menat*-shaped pendant – 26.8.204  
**301**, Sekhmet-pendant – 26.8.73  
**302**, Maat-pendant – 26.8.74  
**303**, *shen*-amulet pendant – 26.8.139  
**304**, fly amulets – 26.8.64a  
**305**, fly or lotus amulets – 1970.169.71-.79  
**306**, Taweret amulets – 26.8.208  
**307**, falcon amulets – 26.8.209, .210  
**308**, Maat-shrine amulets – 26.8.65  
**309**, box-clasp bracelets – 26.8.131, .132  
**310**, hinged bracelets – 26.8.133, .134  
**311**, acacia-seed spacers – 26.8.118a  
**312**, acacia-seed spacers – 26.8.118b  
**313**, acacia-seed spacers – 26.8.118c  
**314**, sliding clasp – 26.8.120  
**315**, buckle clasp – 26.8.80  
**316**, faceted beads – 26.8.64b  
**317**, lap-joint beads – 26.8.212b  
**318**, filigreed beads – 66.2.4  
**319**, melon beads – 58.153.13  
**320**, melon beads – 1970.169.1-.45  
**321**, acacia-seed beads – 58.153.14  
**322**, acacia-seed beads – 1970.169.46-.70  
**323**, segmented inlay – 26.8.218  
**324**, crescent-shaped inlay – 26.8.217

## WORKS CITED

### Abbott, H.

- 1873 *Catalogue of the Museum and Gallery of Art of the New-York Historical Society: The Abbott Collection of Egyptian Antiquities*. New York: New-York Historical Society.

### Abou-Ghazi, Dia

- 1981 Ahmed Kamal, 1849–1923. *ASAE* 64: 1–5.

### Aldred, Cyril

- 1963 Valley Tomb no. 56 at Thebes. *JEA* 49: 176–8.  
1971 *Jewels of the Pharaohs: Egyptian Jewellery of the Dynastic Period*. London: Thames and Hudson.  
1979 *Tutankhamun: Craftsmanship in Gold in the Reign of the King*. New York: MMA.

### Allard Pierson Museum

- 1984 *Egypte, Eender en Anders*. Exh. cat., Allard Pierson Museum. Amsterdam.

### Amiran, Ruth

- 1969 *Ancient Pottery from the Holy Land: From its Beginning in the Neolithic Period to the End of the Iron Age*. Jerusalem: Masada Press.

### André-Leichnam, Béatrice

- 1986 Nos. 243, Sceau cylindre de Addumu; 244, Sceau cylindre de Annipi. Pp. 218f. in *Les Phéniciens et le monde méditerranéen*. Exh. cat., Générale de Banque. Brussels.

### Andrews, Carol

- 1981 *Jewellery I: From the Earliest Times to the Seventeenth Dynasty*. Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum, 6. London: BM Publications.  
1984 *Egyptian Mummies*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.  
1990 *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery*. London: BM Publications.  
1994 *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*. London: BM Press.  
1998 *Egyptian Mummies*. 2nd ed. London: BM Press.

### Andrews, Emma

- 1918 *A Journal on the Bedawin, 1889–1912: The Diary Kept on Board the Dahabiyeh of Theodore M. Davis during Seventeen Trips up the Nile*. 2 vols. Typescript made by Andrews in 1918; housed in MMA.

### Arnold, Dorothea

- 2002 The Royal Palace; Architecture, Decoration and Furnishings. Pp. 269–95 in Ziegler 2002.

### Askamit, Joanna

- 1997 Beispiele der Keramikgefäße aus der frühen 18. Dynastie (Nr. 82–88). Pp. 173–6 in *Geheimnisvolle Königin Hatschepsut: Ägyptische Kunst des 15. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Exh. cat., Nationalmuseum in Warschau. Warsaw.

### Aston, Barbara

- 1994 *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels: Materials and Forms*. SAGA, 5. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.

### Aston, David

- 1991 Pottery. Pp. 47–54 in Maarten Raven, *The Tomb of Iuruf: A Memphis Official of Ramesses II*. Excavation Memoirs, 57. London: EES.  
1996a *Egyptian Pottery of the Late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period (Twelfth–Seventh Centuries BC)*. SAGA, 13. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.  
1996b Tell Hebwa IV: Preliminary Report on the Pottery. *ÄuL* 6: 179–97.  
1997a Cemetery W at Gurob. Pp. 43–66 in Phillips 1997, vol. 1.  
1997b The Pottery. Pp. 83–102 in Martin 1997.  
1998 *Die Keramik des Grabungsplatzes Q I*, Pt. 1: *Corpus of Fabrics, Wares and Shapes*. Vol. 1 of *Die Grabungen des Pelizaeus-Museums Hildesheim in Qantir-Piramesse: Forschungen in der Ramses-Stadt*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.  
1999 *Pottery from the Late New Kingdom to the Early Ptolemaic Period*. Vol. 19 of *Elephantine*. AV, 95. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

### Aston, David, Barbara Aston, and E. C. Brock

- 1998 Pottery from the Valley of the Kings: Tombs of Merenptah, Ramesses III, Ramesses IV, Ramesses VI and Ramesses VII. *ÄuL* 8: 137–214.

### Aston, David, Barbara Aston, and Donald P. Ryan

- 2000 Pottery from Tombs in the Valley of the Kings: KV 21, 27, 28, 44, 45 and 60. *CCE* 6: 11–38.

## Works Cited

- Bailey, Donald M.**  
1988 *Roman Provincial Lamps*. Vol. 3 of *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum*. London: BM Publications.
- Baines, Robert**  
1998 Technical Antecedents of Early Hellenistic Disc and Pendant Ear Ornaments. Pp. 122–6 in *The Art of the Greek Goldsmith*, ed. Dyfri Williams. London: BM Press.
- Bakr, Mohammed I.**  
1977 Der Ohrschmuck in den antiken Kulturen des Niltals. Pp. 57–62 in *Ägypten und Kusch: Fritz Hintze zum 60. Geburtstag*, eds. Erika Endesfelder et al. Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients, 13. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Barag, Dan**  
1970 Mesopotamian Pre-Formed Glass Vessels (1500–500 BC). Pp. 131–99 in A. Leo Oppenheim et al., *Glass and Glassmaking in Ancient Mesopotamia*. Corning: The Corning Museum of Glass.
- Baraize, É.**  
1921a Rapport sur la découverte d'un tombeau de la XVIIIe dynastie à Sikket Taqet Zayed. *ASAE* 21: 183–7.  
1921b Rapport sur l'enlèvement et le transport du sarcophage de la reine Hatchopsitou. *ASAE* 21: 175–82.
- Barsanti, A.**  
1915 Rapport sur les fouilles exécutées dans la zone comprise entre Déirout, au nord, et Déir-el-Ganadlah, au sud. *ASAE* 15: 177–206.
- Bavay, Laurent, Sylvie Marchand, and Pierre Tallet**  
2000 Les jarres inscrites du Nouvel Empire provenant de Deir al-Médina. *CCE* 6: 77–89.
- Behlmer, Heike**  
1998 Visitors to Shenoute's Monastery. Pp. 341–71 in *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt*, ed. David Frankfurter. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 134. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Beinlich, Horst and Mohamed Saleh**  
1989 *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun*. Oxford: GI, Ashmolean Museum.
- Beinlich-Seeber, Christine, and Abdel Ghaffar Shedid**  
1987 *Das Grab des Userhat (TT 56)*. AV, 50. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Bell, Martha**  
1990 An Armchair Excavation of KV 55. *JARCE* 27: 97–137.
- Berman, Lawrence M., with Kenneth J. Boháč**  
1999 *The Cleveland Museum of Art: Catalogue of Egyptian Art*. Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art.
- Bienkowski, Piotr, and Angela M. J. Tooley**  
1995 *Gifts of the Nile: Ancient Egyptian Arts and Crafts in Liverpool*. London: HMSO.
- Bierbrier, M. L.**  
1975 *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1300–664 BC): A Genealogical and Chronological Investigation*. Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology and Oriental Studies. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.
- Bietak, Manfred**  
1981 *Avaris and Piramesse: Archaeological Exploration in the Eastern Nile Delta*. Proceedings of the British Academy London, 65. Oxford: Oxford University Press.  
1996 *Avaris, The Capital of the Hyskos: Recent Excavations at Tell el-Dab<sup>ca</sup>*. London: BM Press.
- Bissing, Wilhelm von**  
1900 *Ein thebanischer Grabfund aus dem Anfang des Neuen Reichs*. Berlin: Alexander Duncker.  
1904 *Steingefässe. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, nos. 18065–18793*. Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen.
- Bisson de la Roque, F.**  
1950 *Trésor de Tôd. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, nos. 70501–70754*. Cairo: IFAO.
- Bleiberg, Edward**  
1981 Commodity Exchange in the Annals of Thutmose III. *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 11: 107–10.  
1996 *The Official Gift in Ancient Egypt*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Boeser, P. A. A.**  
1910 *Grabgegenstände, Statuen, Gefässe und verschiedenartige kleinere Gegenstände*. Pt. 2 of *Die Denkmäler der Zeit zwischen dem Alten und Mittleren Reich und des Mittleren Reiches*. Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden, 3. Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Boessneck, Joachim**  
1988 *Die Tierwelt des Alten Ägypten: Untersucht anhand kulturgeschichtlicher und zoologischer Quellen*. Munich: C. H. Beck.

## Works Cited

- Bohač, Kenneth**  
1999 No. 265, Shawabty. Pp. 353f. in Berman 1999.
- Bonhams & Brooks, Ltd**  
2001 *Antiquities*. Sale cat., Nov. 8. London: Bonhams & Brooks Ltd.
- Bourriau, Janine**  
1981 *Umm el-Ga<sup>c</sup>ab: Pottery from the Nile Valley Before the Arab Conquest*. Exh. cat., Fitzwilliam Museum and Cambridge University. Cambridge.  
1982 Nos. 123, Vase; 267, Kohl Pot. Pp. 130, 220 in Museum of Fine Arts 1982.  
1987 Pottery Figure Vases of the New Kingdom. CCE 1: 81–96.  
1988 *Pharaohs and Mortals: Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom*. Exh. cat., Cambridge University Press and Fitzwilliam Museum. Cambridge.  
1990a Canaanite Jars from New Kingdom Deposits at Memphis, Kom Rabi<sup>c</sup>a. *Eretz-Israel* 21: 18–26.  
1990b The Pottery. Pp. 15–22 in Peter Lacovara, *Deir el-Ballas: Preliminary Report on the Deir el-Ballas Expedition, 1980–1986*. ARCE Reports, 12. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.  
1991 Relations Between Egypt and Kerma During the Middle and New Kingdoms. Pp. 129–44 in *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*, ed. W. V. Davies. London: BM Press.  
1996 Observations on the Pottery of Serabit el-Khadim. Pp. 19–32 in *Sociétés urbaines en Égypte et au Soudan: Papyrologie, archéologie*. Cahiers de l'Institut de papyrologie et d'égyptologie de Lille, 18. Lille: Université Charles de Gaulle–Lille III.  
1997 Beyond Avaris: The Second Intermediate Period in Egypt Outside the Eastern Delta. Pp. 159–82 in *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Eliezer D. Oren. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum.
- Bourriau, J. D., and Kathryn Eriksson**  
1998 A Late Minoan Sherd from an Early 18th Dynasty Context at Kom Rabi<sup>c</sup>a, Memphis. Pp. 95–120 in Phillips 1997, vol. 1.
- Bourriau, J. D., and P. T. Nicholson**  
1992 Marl Clay Pottery Fabrics of the New Kingdom from Memphis, Saqqara and Amarna. *JEA* 78: 29–91.
- Boutros, R., and Chr. Décobert**  
2000 Les installations chrétiennes entre Ballâs et Armant: Implantation et survivance. Pp. 77–108 in *Études Coptes VII; Neuvième journée d'Études, Montpellier 3-4 juin 1999*, ed. N. Bosson. Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Copte, 12. Leuven: Peeters.
- Boyce, Andrew**  
1995 Collar and Necklace Designs at Amarna: A Preliminary Study of Faience Pendants. Pp. 336–71 in *Amarna Reports VI*, ed. Barry J. Kemp. London: EES.
- Brack, Annelies, and Artur Brack**  
1977 *Das Grab des Tjanuni, Theben Nr. 74*. AV, 19. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.  
1980 *Das Grab des Haremheb, Theben Nr. 78*. AV, 35. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Breasted, James Henry**  
1906 *The Eighteenth Dynasty*. Vol. 2 of *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents*. Chicago: UCP.
- Brenson, Michael**  
1982 Met Museum Declares 17 Egyptian Items Fake. *New York Times*, June 15, sec. C: 9.
- Bresciani, Edda, S. Pernigotti, and M. P. Giangeri Silvis**  
1977 *La tomba di Ciennehebu, capo della flotta del Re*. Pisa, Università degli studi, Istituti per le scienze dell'antichità; Biblioteca degli studi classici e orientali, 7. Pisa: Giardini.
- Brier, Bob**  
1980 *Ancient Egyptian Magic*. New York: William Morrow.
- Brill, Robert H.**  
1999 *Chemical Analyses of Early Glasses*. Corning: The Corning Museum of Glass.
- Brovarski, Edward**  
1982 Faience Vessels. Pp. 140–51 in Museum of Fine Arts 1982.
- Brunner-Traut,**  
1977 Gazelle. Pp. 426f. in *LÄ*, 2. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Brunton, Guy**  
1920 *Lahun I: The Treasure*. BSAE and ERA, 20th Year, 1914. London: BSAE and ERA.  
1928 *Qau and Badari II*. BSAE and ERA, 29th year, 1923. London: BSAE.
- Brunton, Guy, and Reginald Engelbach**  
1927 *Gurob*. BSAE and ERA 24th year, 1918. London: BSAE.
- Bruyère, Bernard**  
1937 *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934–1935)*. FIFAO, 15. Cairo: IFAO.

## Works Cited

- Bryan, Betsy**  
 1991 *The Reign of Thutmose IV*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.  
 2001 Amenhotpe III. Pp. 72–4 in Redford 2001, vol. 1.
- Budge, E. A. Wallis**  
 1922 *A Guide to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Egyptian Rooms, and the Coptic Room*. London: BM.  
 1925 *The Mummy: A Handbook of Egyptian Funerary Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Burlington Fine Arts Club** (London)  
 1895 *The Art of Ancient Egypt*. London: Privately printed for the subscribers.  
 1922 *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Ancient Egyptian Art*. London.
- Capel, Anne K., and Glenn E. Markoe**, eds.  
 1996 *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt*. Exh. cat., Hudson Hills in association with Cincinnati Art Museum. New York.
- Carnarvon, Earl of**  
 [1919] Untitled handwritten manuscript on glass; housed in MMA.
- Carnarvon, Earl of, and Howard Carter**  
 1912 *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes: A Record of Work Done 1907–1911 by the Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Carter, Howard**  
 1907–22 Untitled handwritten catalogue of Egyptian antiquities in the Carnarvon Collection; housed in MMA.  
 1916 A Tomb Prepared for Queen Hatshepsut Discovered by the Earl of Carnarvon (October 1916). *ASAE* 16: 179–82.  
 1917 A Tomb Prepared for Queen Hatshepsut and Other Recent Discoveries at Thebes. *JEA* 4: 107–18.  
 1923 *The Tomb of Tut.ankh.Amen*. Vol. 1. London: Cassell.  
 1926 Inventory: Carnarvon Collection of Egyptian Antiquities. Typescript list of items prepared by a secretary as Howard Carter and Albert Lythgoe packed the collection for shipment to New York; housed in MMA.  
 1927 *The Tomb of Tut.ankh.Amen*. Vol. 2. London: Cassell.  
 1933 *The Tomb of Tut.ankh.Amen*. Vol. 3. London: Cassell.
- Carter, Howard, and Percy E. Newberry**  
 1904 *The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, nos. 46001–46529*. Westminster: Archibald Constable.
- Casson, Lionel**  
 1981 *The Pharaohs*. Treasures of the World. Chicago: Stonehenge.
- Černý, Jaroslav**  
 1956 *Graffiti hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques de la nécropole thébaine (nos. 1060 à 1405)*. DFIFAO, 9. Cairo: IFAO.  
 1973 *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*. BdE, 50. Cairo: IFAO.
- Černý, Jaroslav, R. Coque, F. Debono, Ch. Desroches Noblecourt, and M. Kurz**  
 1971 *Vallée de l'Ouest: Cartographie, topographie, géomorphologie et préhistoire*. Vol. 1 pt. 2 of *Graffiti de la Montagne thébaine*. Cairo: CEDAE.
- Chaban, Mohammed**  
 1917 Le puits du général Ankh-uah-ab-rê-si-nit à Saqqarah. *ASAE* 17: 177–82.
- Champollion, Jean-François**  
 1835–45 *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie: Planches*. Vol. 3. Paris: Didot frères.  
 1844–89 *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie: Notices descriptives . . .* Vol. 1. Paris: Didot frères.
- Christie, Manson & Woods**  
 1979 *A Private Collection of Egyptian Gold Jewellery*. Sale cat., June 1. London: Christie, Manson & Woods.  
 1985 *Fine Antiquities*. Sale cat., July 19. London: Christie, Manson & Woods.
- Christie's New York**  
 2001 *Antiquities*. Sale cat., Dec. 5–6. New York: Christie's.
- Clamer, Christa**  
 1980 A Gold Plaque from Tell Lachish. *Tel Aviv* 7: 3–4, 152–62.
- Clayton, Peter A.**  
 1972 Royal Bronze Shawabti Figures. *JEA* 58: 167–75.  
 1995 The Tomb of Sons of Ramesses II Discovered? *Minerva* 6 no. 4: 12–5.
- Collon, Dominique**  
 1986 The Green Jasper Cylinder Seal Workshop. Pp. 57–69 in *Insight Through Images: Studies in Honor of Edith Porada*, ed. Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati. Bibliotheca Mesopotamica, 21. Malibu, CA: Undena Publications.

## Works Cited

- Cooney, John D.**  
 1953 Egyptian Art in the Collection of Albert Gallatin. *JNES* 12: 1–19.  
 1981 Notes on Egyptian Glass. Pp. 31–3 in *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Sudan: Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham*, eds. W. K. Simpson and W. M. Davis.
- Cooney, Kathlyn M.**  
 2000 The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake: Ritual Function and the Role of the King. *JARCE* 37: 15–47.
- Coque, R., F. Debono, Ch. Desroches Noblecourt, M. Kurz, and R. Said**  
 1972 *Compléments aux secteurs A et C: Frange du Sahara thébain*. Vol. 1 pt. 3 of *Graffiti de la Montagne thébaine*. Cairo: CEDAE.
- Coque, R., F. Debono, Ch. Desroches Noblecourt, and M. Kurz**  
 n.d. Conclusions: Cartographie, géomorphologie et préhistoire. Vol. 1 pt. 5 of *Graffiti de la Montagne thébaine*. Cairo: CEDAE. Photocopy; not printed.
- Curto, S., E. Delorenzi, and D. Spagnotto**  
 1980 Scavi nel Museo di Torino, X: I risulti d'una rilevazione radiografica e grafica su mummie. *Oriens Antiquus* 19: 147–54.
- Curto, Silvio, and M. Mancini**  
 1968 News of Kha<sup>c</sup> and Meryt. *JEA* 54: 77–81.
- Daressy, Georges**  
 1902 *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois (1898–1899). Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, nos. 24001–24990*. Cairo: SAE.  
 I. Tombe de Maherpra (mars 1899), Pp. 1–61;  
 II. Tombe d'Aménophis II. (9 mars 1898), Pp. 63–279;  
 III. Tombe de Thotmès III, Pp. 281–98;  
 IV. Objets trouvés pendant les sondages, ou dans des tombes déjà ouvertes, Pp. 299–304.  
 1909 *Cercueils des Cachettes royales. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, nos. 61001–61044*. Cairo: IFAO for SAE.
- D'Auria, Sue**  
 1988 No. 175, Finger Caps. Pg. 223 in Sue D'Auria, Peter Lacovara, and Catharine H. Roehrig, *Mummies & Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt*. Exh. cat., MFA. Boston.
- Davies, Benedict G.**  
 1999 *Who's Who at Deir El-Medina: A Prosopographical Study of the Royal Workmen's Community*. Egyptologische Uitgaven, 13. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut vor het Nabije Oosten.
- Davies, Nina**  
 1963 *Scenes from Some Theban Tombs (Nos. 38, 66, 162, with Excerpts from 81)*. Oxford: GI.
- Davies, Nina, with Alan H. Gardiner**  
 1915 *The Tomb of Amenemhet (no. 82)*. Theban Tomb Series, 1. London: EEF.  
 1936 *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*. Vol. 2. Chicago: UCP.
- Davies, Norman de Garis**  
 1922–23 *The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes*. 2 vols. Publications of the MMA Egyptian Expedition, Robb de Peyster Tytus Memorial Series, 2–3. New York: MMA.  
 1923 *The Tomb of Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth (Nos. 75 and 90)*. Theban Tomb Series, 3. London: EEF.  
 1925 *The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes*. Publications of the MMA Egyptian Expedition, Robb de Peyster Tytus Memorial Series, 4. New York: MMA.  
 1930 *The Tomb of Ken-amûn at Thebes*. 2 vols. Publications of the MMA Egyptian Expedition, 5. New York: MMA.  
 1943 *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-rê<sup>c</sup> at Thebes*. Publications of the MMA Egyptian Expedition, 11. New York: MMA.
- Davis, Theodore M., et al.**  
 1906 *The Tomb of Hâtshopsûtu*. Vol. 2 of *Theodore M. Davis' Excavations: Bibân el Molûk*. London: Archibald Constable.  
 1907 *The Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou*. Vol. 3 of *Theodore M. Davis' Excavations: Bibân el Molûk*. London: Archibald Constable.  
 1908 *The Tomb of Siptah, The Monkey Tomb and The Gold Tomb*. Vol. 5 of *Theodore M. Davis' Excavations: Bibân el Molûk*. London: Archibald Constable.  
 1910 *The Tomb of Queen Tîyi*. Vol. 6 of *Theodore M. Davis' Excavations: Bibân el Molûk*. London: Archibald Constable.  
 1912 *The Tombs of Harmhabi and Toutânkhamanou*. Vol. 7 of *Theodore M. Davis' Excavations: Bibân el Molûk*. London: Archibald Constable.
- Davis, Whitney M.**  
 1979 Sources for the Study of Rock Art in the Nile Valley. *Göttinger Miszellen* 32: 59–74.
- Dawson, Warren R., Eric P. Uphill, and M. L. Bierbrier**  
 1995 *Who Was Who in Egyptology*. 3rd rev. ed. by M. L. Bierbrier. London: EES.

## Works Cited

- Derry, Douglas E.**  
1934 An X-Ray Examination of the Mummy of King Amenophis I. *ASAE* 34: 47f.
- van **Dijk, Jacobus**  
1997a Cat. 53. P. 72 in Martin 1997.  
1997b The Noble Lady of Mitanni and Other Royal Favourites of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Pp. 33–46 in *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, ed. J. van Dijk. Groningen: STYX.
- Dodson, Aidan**  
n.d. The Burial of Members of the Royal Family During the Eighteenth Dynasty. In *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000*, eds. Zahi Hawass and Lyla Pinch Brock. Cairo: American University in Cairo. Forthcoming.
- Dodson, Aidan, and Jac. J. Janssen**  
1989 A Theban Tomb and Its Tenants. *JEA* 75: 125–38.
- Dolzani, Claudia**  
1982 *Vasi canopi, N. 19001–19153*. Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino: Serie seconda, Collezioni, 4. Milan: Cisalpino–La Goliardica.
- Donadoni Roveri, Anna Maria**  
1988a ed. *Egyptian Civilization: Religious Beliefs*. Turin: Istituto Bancario San Paolo di Torino.  
1988b The Valley of the Queens. Pp. 146–61 in Donadoni Roveri 1988a.
- Donatelli, Laura**  
1988 Small Objects in Ancient Egyptian Funerary Equipment. Pp. 198–211 in Donadoni Roveri 1988a.
- Dorman, Peter**  
1984 Nos. 25–6. Pp. 26f. in *Egyptian Art. BMMA* n.s. 41 no. 3.  
1987 Egypt. Pp. 6–89 in *Metropolitan Museum of Art: Egypt and the Ancient Near East*. New York: MMA.  
1988 *The Monuments of Senenmut: Problems in Historical Methodology*. London: Kegan Paul International.
- Dorner, Josef, and David Aston**  
1997 Pottery from Hebua IV/South: Preliminary Report. *CCE* 5: 41–3.
- Downes, Dorothy [Slow]**  
1974 *The Excavations at Esna, 1905–1906*. London: Aris & Phillips.
- Doxie, Denise M.**  
1997 No. 61, Beads and Amulets. Pp. 202f. in *Searching for Ancient Egypt: Art, Architecture, and Artifacts from the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology*, ed. David P. Silverman. Exh. cat., Dallas Museum of Art, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Cornell University Press. Ithaca, NY.
- Dunand, Maurice**  
1950 *Fouilles de Byblos 1933–1938*. 2 vols.  
1954 République libanaise, Direction de l’instruction publique et des beaux-arts: Études et documents d’archéologie, 3. Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve.
- Dunham, Dows**  
1950 *El Kurru*. Vol. 1 of *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press for MFA.  
1955 *Nuri*. Vol. 2 of *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press for MFA.  
1957 *Royal Tombs of Meroë and Barkal*. Vol. 4 of *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press for MFA.  
1963 *The West and South Cemeteries of Meroë*. Vol. 5 of *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press for MFA.
- Dunham, Dows, and Jozef M. A. Janssen**  
1960 *Semna-Kumma*. Vol. 1 of *Second Cataract Forts*. Boston: MFA.
- Eaton-Krauss, Marianne**  
1982 Nos. 293, Pair of Penannular Ribbed Earrings; 320, Necklace with Leopard Spacer. Pp. 229, 240f. in *Museum of Fine Arts* 1982.  
1985 No. 156, Fragment of a Vessel. Pp. 393f. in *Smithsonian Institution* 1985.  
1999 The Fate of Sennefer and Senetnay. *JEA* 85: 113–29.
- Edwards, I. E. S.**  
1976a *Tutankhamun: His Tomb and Its Treasures*. New York: MMA.  
1976b *Tutankhamun’s Jewelry*. New York: MMA.  
1983 Sur la 5e avenue, L’Égypte. *Connaissance des arts* 377–8, July–August: 66–73.  
1985 Sebekemsaf’s Heart-Scarab. Pp. 240–5 in *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, ed. Paule Posener-Kriéger. BdE, 97(1). Cairo: IFAO.
- Egloff, Michel**  
1977 *Kellia, la poterie copte: Quatre siècles d’artisanat et d’échanges en Basse-Égypte*. Recherches suisses d’archéologie copte, 3. Geneva: Georg.



## Works Cited

### Egypt Exploration Society

- 1931 *Catalogue of the Egypt Exploration Society's Exhibition of the Results of Recent Excavations at Amarna and Armant, and a Loan Exhibition of Egyptian Jewellery*. Exh. cat., EES. London.

### Egyptian Gazette (Cairo)

- 1982 'Pharaonic Gold Vessels at NY Museum Mere Fakes'. *The Egyptian Gazette*, June 17.

### El-Bialy, Mohammed

- 1999 Récentes recherches effectuées dans la tombe no 42 de la Vallée des rois. *Memnonia* 10: 161–78.

### El-Khouli, Ali Abdel Rahman Hassanain, Rostislav

### Holthoer, Colin A. Hope, and Olaf E. Kaper

- 1993 *Stone Vessels, Pottery and Sealings from the Tomb of Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamun*. Oxford: GI.

### Engelbach, R.

- 1924 *A Supplement to the Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes (Nos. 253 to 334), With Some Notes on the Necropolis from 1913 to 1924*. Cairo: IFAO.

### Engelbach, R., and Battiscombe Gunn

- 1923 *Harageh*. BSAE and ERA, Twentieth Year, 1914. London: BSAE.

### Epigraphic Survey (University of Chicago Oriental Institute)

- 1970 *The Eastern High Gate*, preface by Charles F. Nims. Vol. 8 of *Medinet Habu*. Oriental Institute Publications, 94. Chicago: UCP.
- 1980 *The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 192*. Oriental Institute Publications, 102. Chicago: UCP.

### Eremin, Katherine, Elizabeth Goring, Bill Manley, and Caroline Cartwright

- 2000 A 17th Dynasty Egyptian Queen in Edinburgh? *KMT* 11 no. 3: 32–40.

### Eyre, Christopher J.

- 1987 Work and Organisation of Work in the New Kingdom. Pp. 167–221 in *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Marvin A. Powell. American Oriental Series, 68. New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society.

### Farag, Nagib, and Zaki Iskander

- 1971 *The Discovery of Nefertiti*. Cairo: Antiquities Department of Egypt.

### Feucht, Erika

- 1975 Schmuck. Pp. 384–91 in Claude Vandersleyen, *Das Alte Ägypten*. Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, 15. Berlin: Propyläen.

- 1977 Verleihung des Gold. Pp. 731–3 in *LÄ*, 2. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

- 1999 Jewelry. Pp. 385–7 in *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Kathryn Bard. London: Routledge.

### Firth, Cecil M., and Battiscombe Gunn

- 1926 *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*. SAE, Excavations at Saqqara. Cairo: IFAO.

### Fischer, Henry G.

- 1966 Egyptian Art. P. 76 in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Ninety-Sixth Annual Report of the Trustees for the Fiscal Year 1965–1966*. *BMMA* n.s. 25 no. 2.
- 1969 Egyptian Art. Pp. 69f. in *Ninety-Ninth Annual Report of the Trustees of The Metropolitan Museum of Art for the Fiscal Year 1968–1969*. *BMMA* n.s. 28 no. 2.
- 1970 Egyptian Art. Pp. 74f. in *One-Hundredth Annual Report of the Trustees of The Metropolitan Museum of Art for the Fiscal Year 1969–1970*. *BMMA* n.s. 29 no. 2.

### Franco, Isabelle

- 1988 Fragments de «Livres des morts» sur toile découverts dans la Vallée des Reines. *BIFAO* 88: 71–82.

### Frankfurter, David

- 1998 *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

### Frantz, J. H., and Deborah Schorsch

- 1990 Egyptian Red Gold. *Archeomaterials* 4: 133–52.

### Freed, Rita E.

- 1987 *Ramesses the Great: His Life and World*. Exh. cat., City of Memphis. Memphis, TN.

### Friedman, Florence, ed.

- 1998 No. 151, Shabti with Coffin Inscription for Amenmes. Pp. 240f. in *Gifts of the Nile: Ancient Egyptian Faience*, Florence Friedman, ed. Exh. cat., Thames and Hudson in association with the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design. London.

### Friedman, Renée

- 1999 Pots, Pebbles and Petroglyphs Part II: 1996 Excavations at Hierakonpolis Locality HK64. Pp. 101–8 in Leahy and Tait 1999.

### Fuscaldo, Perla

- 1998 A Preliminary Report on the Pottery from the Late Hyksos Period Settlement at 'Ezbet Helmi (Area H/III, Strata D/3 and D/2). *ÄuL* 7: 59–69.

### Gaballa, G. A., and K. A. Kitchen

- 1969 The Festival of Sokar. *Orientalia* 38: 1–76.

## Works Cited

**Gabolde**, Luc, Hassan Ibrahim **Amer**, Pascale **Ballet**, and Michel **Chauveau**

1994 Le «Tombeau Suspendu» de la «Vallée de l'Aigle». *BIFAO* 94: 173–235.

**Gaillard**, Claude Antoine

1934 Mémoire III, Contribution à l'étude de la faune préhistorique de l'Égypte. Pp. 1–119 in *Ville de Lyon, Archives du Museum d'histoire naturelle de Lyon*, 14.

**Gaillard**, Claude Antoine, and Georges **Daressy**

1905 *La faune momifiée de l'antique Égypte. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, nos. 29501–29733 et 29751–29843*. Cairo: IFAO.

**Gale**, N. H., and Z. A. **Stos-Gale**

1981 Ancient Egyptian Silver. *JEA* 67: 103–15.

**Galerie des Beaux-Arts** (Bordeaux)

1981 *Profil du Metropolitan Museum of Art de New York: De Ramsès à Picasso*. Exh. cat., Imprimerie Moderne du Lion. Paris.

**Galerie Koller**

1979 *The Ernest Brummer Collection, Ancient Art: II*. Sale cat., Oct. 16–9. Zurich: Galerie Koller.

**Gamer-Wallert**, Ingrid

1970 *Fische und Fischkulte im alten Ägypten*. ÄA, 21. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

**Gardiner**, Alan H.

1913 A Political Crime in Ancient Egypt. *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society* 1912–13 no. 2: 57–64.

1928 *Catalogue of the Egyptian Hieroglyphic Printing Type From Matrices Owned and Controlled by Dr. Alan H. Gardiner*. Oxford: University Press.

1982 Reprint. *Egyptian Grammar*. 3rd ed. Oxford: GL. Original 3rd ed. publication 1957.

**Gardiner**, Alan H., and Arthur E. P. **Weigall**

1913 *A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes*. London: Bernard Quaritch.

**Garstang**, John

1901 *El Arábah: A Cemetery of the Middle Kingdom. Survey of the Old Kingdom Temenos. Graffiti from the Temple of Sety*. London: ERA.

**Gauthier**, Henri

1912 *De la XIIIe à la fin de la XVIIIe dynastie*. Vol. 2 of *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte*. Cairo: IFAO.

**Gelb**, I. J.

1980 *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite*. Chicago: Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

**Gempeler**, Robert D.

1992 *Die Keramik römischer bis früh-arabischer Zeit*. Vol. 10 of *Elephantine*. AV, 43. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

**Geßler-Löhr**, Beatrix

1996 Zwei Uschebti-Figuren Ramses' II. Pp. 53–72 in *Wege öffnen: Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Manfred Görg. Ägypten und Altes Testament, 35. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

**Getty Conservation Institute** (Los Angeles)

1988 Nefertari Update: Jewelry Fragment Found During Conservation Campaign. *Getty Conservation Institute Newsletter* 3 no. 2 (spring): 6.

**Giddy**, Lisa

2001 Digging Diary. *Egyptian Archaeology* 19 (autumn): 28–32.

2002 Digging Diary 2001–2002. *Egyptian Archaeology* 21 (autumn): 27–32.

**Glubok**, Shirley

1962 *The Art of Ancient Egypt*. New York: Atheneum.

**Goedicke**, Hans

1996 The So-Called Ushebtis of King Merneptah. *Bulletin de la Société d'égyptologie, Genève* 20: 19–27.

**Goldstein**, Sidney Merrill

2001 No. 18, Jar with Seti I Inscription. Pp. 28, 192 in Miho Museum, *Ancient Glass*. Exh. cat., Miho Museum. Shigaraki.

**Graefe**, E.

1999 Über die Goldmenge im Alten Ägypten und die Beraubung der thebanischen Königsgräber. *ZÄS*: 126 no. 1: 19–40.

**Green**, L.

1996 The Royal Women of Amarna: Who Was Who. Pp. 7–15 in Dorothea Arnold, *The Royal Women of Amarna: Images of Beauty from Ancient Egypt*. New York: MMA.

**Greenstein**, Edward L.

1997 Kirta. Pp. 9–48 in *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry*, translated by Mark S. Smith et al., ed. S. B. Parker. Writings from the Ancient World: Society of Biblical Literature, 9. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.

**Grenier**, Jean-Claude

1983 La stèle funéraire du dernier taureau Bouchis (Cairo JE 31901 = Stèle *Bucheum* 20); Ermant–4 novembre 340. *BIFAO* 83: 197–208.

## Works Cited

- Guidotti, M. Cristina**  
 1985 La ceramica della tomb '79 a Gurna. *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 8: 25–61.
- Guksch, Heike**  
 1995 *Die Gräber des Nacht-Min und des Men-cheper-Raseneb*. AV, 34. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Hall, H. R.**  
 1913 *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Etc., in the British Museum*. London: BM.  
 1915 Letters to Sir William Gell from Henry Salt, [Sir] J. G. Wilkinson, and Baron von Bunsen. *JEA* 2: 133–67.
- Hamlyn, Michael**  
 1982 Museum Finds Egyptian Treasures are Fakes. *The Times* (London), June 16.
- Hansen, Donald P.**  
 1967 I, The Excavations at Tell el Rub'a. *JARCE* 6: 5–16.
- Haslauer, Elfriede**  
 2001a Harem. Pp. 76–80 in Redford 2001, vol. 2.  
 2001b Nos. 74, Diadem mit Gazellenköpfen; 75, Rosetten von Haarschmuck; 76, Armband; 77, Gürtel mit Fischen; 78, Spiegel; 89, Herzskara-bäus des Nefer-chaut mit Kette. Pp. 66, 73–7, 86, 89 in Seipel 2001.
- Hassan, Selim**  
 1936 *Excavations at Giza, 1930–1931*. Cairo: Egyptian University.
- Hayes, William C.**  
 1935 The Tomb of Nefer-Khewet and His Family. Pp. 17–36 in *The Egyptian Expedition 1934–1935*. *BMA* 30: sect. 2 (Nov.).  
 1953 *From the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom*. Pt. 1 of *The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York: Harper and Brothers in cooperation with the MMA.  
 1958 Egyptian Art. Pp. 45–7 in *Eighty-Eighth Annual Report of the Trustees for the Fiscal Year 1957–1958*. *BMA* n.s. 17 no. 2.  
 1959a Egyptian Art. Pg. 63 in *Eighty-Ninth Annual Report of the Trustees for the Fiscal Year 1958–1959*. *BMA* n.s. 18 no. 2.  
 1959b *The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom (1675–1080 BC)*. Pt. 2 of *The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University for the MMA.  
 1963 Egyptian Art. Pp. 65f. in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Ninety-Third Annual Report of the Trustees for the Fiscal Year 1962–1963*. *BMA* n.s. 22 no. 2.
- Hein, Irmgard**  
 1994a Erste Beobachtungen zur Keramik aus 'Ezbet Helmi. Pp. 39–43 in Manfred Bietak et al., *Neue Grabungsergebnisse aus Tell el-Dab'a und 'Ezbet Helmi im östlichen Nildelta (1989–1991)*. *ÄuL* 4: 9–79.  
 1994b Nos. 168, Halskollier mit Goldplättchen; 169, Halskette mit Goldanhänger; 170, Goldenes Stirnband. Pp. 172f. in *Historisches Museums der Stadt Wien, Pharaonen und Fremde: Dynastien im Dunkel*. Exh. cat., Museen der Stadt Wien. Vienna.
- Helck, Wolfgang**  
 1958 *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*. Probleme der Ägyptologie, 3. Leiden: E. J. Brill.  
 1963 *Eigentum und Besitz an verschiedenen Dingen des täglichen Lebens, Kapitel P-AH*. Pt. 4 sect. 3 of *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*. Wiesbaden: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse.  
 1971 *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* ÄA, 5. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Hibbard, Howard**  
 1986 *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York: Harrison House.
- Hoch, James**  
 1994 *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*. Princeton: Princeton University.
- Holladay, John S.**  
 1997 The Eastern Nile Delta During the Hyksos and Pre-Hyksos Periods: Towards a Systematic/Socio-Economic Understanding. Pp. 183–252 in *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Eliezer D. Oren. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- Holthoer, Rostislav**  
 1977 *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Pottery*. Vol. 5 pt. 1 of *Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia*. Lund: Scandinavian University Books.  
 1997 Vessels of K3fy from the "Tomb of the Princesses" now in the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin. Pp. 243–48 in Phillips 1997, vol 1.
- Hölzl, Regina**  
 2001 No. 59, Gürtel mit Kauri-Schnecken aus Elektrum. Pg. 64 in Seipel 2001.

## Works Cited

- Hope, Colin**  
 1989 Amphorae of the New Kingdom. Pp. 85–110 in *Pottery of the Egyptian New Kingdom: Three Studies*. Archaeology Research Unit Occasional Paper, 2. Burwood, Australia: Victoria College Press.
- Hornung, Erik, and Elisabeth Staehelin, eds.**  
 1976 *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen*. Ägyptische Denkmäler in der Schweiz, 1. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Houlihan, Patrick F.**  
 1987 Some Remarks on Deer (Cervidae) in Ancient Egypt. *JEA* 73: 238–43.  
 1996 *The Animal World of the Pharaohs*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Hughes, George R.**  
 1969 The Cosmetic Arts in Ancient Egypt. *Journal of the Society of Cosmetic Chemists* 10 no. 3 (May): 159–76.
- Hulin, L. Carless**  
 1984 Pottery Cult Vessels from the Workmen's Village. Pp. 165–77 in Barry J. Kemp, *Amarna Reports I*. EES Occasional Publications, 1. London: EES.
- Huyge, Dirk**  
 1998 Art on the Decline? Egyptian Rock Drawings from the Late and Graeco-Roman Periods. Pp. 1377–92 in *Egyptian Religion, The Last Thousand Years: Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, pt. 2, eds. W. Clarysse et al. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 84–5. Leuven: Peeters.
- IFAO and Musée du Louvre**  
 1981 *Un siècle de fouilles françaises en Égypte, 1880–1980*, Exh. cat., IFAO, Cairo and Musée du Louvre, Paris. Paris.
- Illustrated London News**  
 1945 “See, This is New? It Hath Been Already of Old Time”: The Domestic Life of the Ancient Egyptians. *Illustrated London News* 206 no. 5516 (Jan. 6): 23–5.
- Jaeger, Bertrand**  
 1982 *Essai de classification et datation des scarabées Menkhéperê*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis Series Archaeologica, 2. Fribourg: Éditions universitaires.
- James, T. G. H.**  
 1991 Howard Carter and The Cleveland Museum of Art. Pp. 66–77 in *Object Lessons: Cleveland Creates an Art Museum*, ed. E. H. Turner. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art.
- 1992 *Howard Carter: The Path to Tutankhamun*. London: Kegan Paul International.
- Jansen-Winkel, Karl**  
 1995 Die Plünderung der Königsgräber des Neuen Reiches. *ZÄS* 122: 62–78.
- Janssen, Rosalind M. H.**  
 1995 Costume in New Kingdom Egypt. Pp. 383–94 in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. Jack Sasson. Vol. 1. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Jaritz, Horst, and Mieczyslaw Rodziewicz**  
 1993 The Investigation of the Ancient Wall Extending from Aswan to Philae. *MDAIK* 49: 107–32.
- Jéquier, Gustav**  
 1933 *Deux pyramides du Moyen Empire*. SAE, Fouilles à Saqqarah. Cairo: IFAO.
- Johnson, George B.**  
 1999 Reconsideration of Kings' Valley Tomb 42. *KMT* 10 no. 3: 20–33, 84f.
- Johnson, W. Raymond**  
 1998 Monuments and Monumental Art under Amenhotep III: Evolution and Meaning. Pp. 63–94 in *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*, eds. David O'Connor and Eric H. Cline. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.
- Kaiser, Werner**  
 1967 *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*. Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.
- Kanawati, Naguib, A. El-Khouli, A. McFarlane, and N. K. Maksoud**  
 1984 *Excavations at Saqqara, North-West of Teti's Pyramid*. Sydney: Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University.
- Karlin, Carline**  
 1970 Le sanctuaire d'Hathor. Pp. 307–62 in Vercoutter 1970.
- Kasten, Ulla**  
 1985 No. 123, Cylinder Seal. Pg. 280 in Smithsonian Institution 1985.
- Kayser, Hans**  
 1969 *Ägyptisches Kunsthandwerk*. Bibliothek für Kunst- u. Antiquitätenfreunde, 26. Braunschweig: Klinkhardt und Biermann.

## Works Cited

- Keimer, Ludwig**  
 1931 Pendeloques en forme d'insectes faisant partie de colliers égyptiens. *ASAE* 31: 145–86.  
 1936 Pendeloques en forme d'insectes faisant partie de colliers égyptiens (*suite*). *ASAE* 36: 89–114.  
 1949 Review of Winlock 1948. *BiOr* 6 no. 5: 137–9.
- Kemp, Barry J.**  
 1977 A Building of Amenophis III at Kôm el-‘Abd. *JEA* 63: 71–82.  
 1978 The Harim-Palace at Medinet el-Ghurab. *ZÄS* 105: 122–33.  
 1991 *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*. London: Routledge.
- Kendall, Timothy**  
 1982 *Kush: Lost Kingdom of the Nile*. Exh. cat., Brockton Art Museum. Brockton, MA.
- Kessler, Dieter**  
 1989 *Die heiligen Tiere und der König, I: Beiträge zu Organisation, Kult und Theologie der spätzeitlichen Tierfriedhöfe*. Ägypten und Altes Testament, 16. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.  
 2001 Research on Sacred Animals and Animal Cemeteries, 1: The Reasons Behind the Egyptian Animal Burials. Archived at: <http://www.fak12.uni-muenchen.de/aegyp/tuna.html>, 24 January.
- de **Keyser, E.**  
 1949 Review of Winlock 1948. *CdE* 48: 258–60.
- Kingdon, Jonathan**  
 1977 *Carnivores*. Vol. 3 pt. a of *East African Mammals: An Atlas of Evolution in Africa*. London: Academic Press.
- Kitchen, K. A.**  
 1982 *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II, King of Egypt*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.  
 1983 *Ramesseid Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical, VI*. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell.  
 1996 *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 BC)*. 2nd rev. ed. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- Koenig, Yvan**  
 1979–80 *Catalogue des étiquettes de jarres hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh*. DFIFAO, 22. Cairo: IFAO.  
 1988 Nouveaux textes hiératiques de la Vallée des Reines [I]. *BIFAO* 88: 113–29.
- Kozloff, Arielle P., and Betsy M. Bryan**  
 1992 *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World*. Exh. cat., Cleveland Museum of Art. Bloomington, IN.
- Kurz, Marcel**  
 1977 *Plans de position (198–215)*. Vol. 2 pt. 6 of *Graffiti de la Montagne thébaine*. Cairo: CEDAE.
- Laboury, Dimitri**  
 1998 *Le statuaire de Thoutmosis III: Essai d'interprétation d'un portrait royal dans son contexte historique*. Aegyptiaca Leodiensia, 5. Liège: Université de Liège, Faculté de philosophie et lettres, Centre informatique de philosophie et lettres.
- Lacau, Pierre, and Henri Chevrier**  
 1977 *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*. Vol. 1. Cairo: IFAO.
- Lacovara, Peter**  
 1997 Gurob and the New Kingdom 'Harim' Palace. Pp. 297–306 in Phillips 1997, vol. 2.  
 2002 Afterwords on Hatshepsut's "Throne." *KMT* 13 no. 2: 6f.
- Langdon, N., and B. Langdon**  
 1940 *The Cat in Ancient Egypt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lange, Kurt, and Max Hirmer**  
 1968 *Egypt: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting in Three Thousand Years*. London: Phaidon.
- Lansing, Ambrose**  
 1917 Excavations in the Assasîf at Thebes. Pp. 7–26 in *The Egyptian Expedition, 1915–16*. *BMMA* 12: Supplement (May).  
 1934 The Burial of Hēpy. Pp. 27–41 in *The Egyptian Expedition 1933–1934, The Excavations at Lisht*. *BMMA* 29: Section 2 (Nov.).  
 1940 *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry*. New York: MMA.
- Lansing, Ambrose, and William Hayes**  
 1937 The Museum's Excavations at Thebes. Pp. 4–39 in *The Egyptian Expedition 1935–1936*. *BMMA* 32: sect. 2 (Jan.).
- Leahy, Anthony, and John Tait, eds.**  
 1999 *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith*. Occasional Papers, 13. London: EES.
- Leblanc, Christian**  
 1989a Architecture et évolution chronologique des tombes de la vallée des Reines. *BIFAO* 89: 227–37.  
 1989b *Ta Set Neferou: Un necropole de Thèbes-ouest et son histoire*. Vol. 1. Cairo: Dâr al-Khutub.  
 2001 Western Thebes and the Queens of the Two Lands in the New Kingdom. Pp. 272–303 in *Valley of the Kings*, ed. Kent R. Weeks. Vercelli Italy: Friedman/Fairfax.

## Works Cited

- Leblanc, Christian, and Abd el-Aziz Sadek**  
 1989 Gold During the Time of the Ramessides. *Aujourd'hui l'Égypte* [English ed.], winter: 42–9.
- Leclant, Jean**  
 1965 *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXVe dynastie dite égyptienne*. Vol. 1. Bd'É 36. Cairo: IFAO.  
 1990 Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1988–1989. *Orientalia* 59, no. 3: 335–439.  
 1991 Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1989–1990. *Orientalia* 60, no. 3: 159–273.
- Leclère, François**  
 1996 A Cemetery of Osirid Figurines at Karnak. *Egyptian Archaeology* 9: 9–12.
- Lecuyot, Guy**  
 1992 Les tombes VdR 9 à 13 de la Vallée des Reines. *Memnonia* 3: 89–129.  
 1996 La céramique de la vallée des reines, bilan préliminaire. *CCE* 4: 145–70.
- Legrain, Georges**  
 1903 Fragments de canopes. *ASAE* 4: 138–49.  
 1904 Seconde note sur des fragments de canopes. *ASAE* 5: 139–41.
- Leospo, Enrichetta**  
 1988 Gebelein and Asyut during the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom. Pp. 82–103 in Donadoni Roveri 1988a.
- Lesko, Leonard H.**  
 1977 *King Tut's Wine Cellar*. Berkeley: BC Scribe.
- Lilyquist, Christine**  
 1979 *Ancient Egyptian Mirrors: From the Earliest Times through the Middle Kingdom*. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, 27. Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag.  
 1981 Royal Bracelets, Pair of Armlets. Pp. 9f. in *Notable Acquisitions 1980–1981*. New York: MMA.  
 1982 Egyptian Art. Pp. 23f. in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art One Hundred Twelfth Annual Report of the Trustees for the Fiscal Year July 1, 1981 through June 30, 1982*. New York: MMA.  
 1983 Egyptian Art. Pp. 24f. in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art One Hundred Thirteenth Annual Report of the Trustees for the Fiscal Year July 1, 1982 through June 30, 1983*. New York: MMA.  
 1987 Nos. 316, Zwei Gruppen rosettenförmiger Schmuckglieder; 317, Totensandalen aus Gold. Pp. 366–9 in Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum 1987.  
 1988a Egyptian Art. Pp. 24f. in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art One Hundred Eighteenth Annual Report of the Trustees for the Fiscal Year July 1, 1987 through June 30, 1988*. New York: MMA.
- 1988b** The Gold Bowl Naming General Djehuty: A Study of Objects and Early Egyptology. *MMJ* 23: 5–68.
- 1991** The Tomb of Tuthmosis III's Three Foreign Wives, Wady Qirud, Egypt. Pp. 16–8 in *Report on Projects Funded by the Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund, In Memory of the de Groot and Hawley Families 1987–1989*. New York: MMA.
- 1993a** The Boston/Lafayette Jewel and Other Glass-Inlaid Ornaments. *Varia Aegyptiaca* 9: 1–2 (April/August): 33–44.
- 1993b** Granulation and Glass: Chronological and Stylistic Investigations at Selected Sites, ca. 2500–1400 BCE. *BASOR* 290–1: 29–94.
- 1993c** On [Late] Middle Kingdom Style, with Reference to Hard Stone Scarabs, Inlaid Jewels, and Beni Hasan. *DE* 27: 45–57.
- 1993d** Some Dynasty 18 Canopic Jars from Royal Burials in the Cairo Museum. *JARCE* 30: 111–6.
- 1994a** The Dilbat Hoard. *MMJ* 29: 5–36.
- 1994b** Objects Attributable to Kāmid el-Lōz and Comments on the Date of Objects in the 'Schatzhaus'. Pp. 207–20 in *Das 'Schatzhaus' im Palastbereich, Die Befunde des Königsgrabes*, ed. Wolfgang Adler. Vol. 11 of *Kāmid el-Lōz*. Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, 47. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt.
- 1995a** *Egyptian Stone Vessels: Khian through Tuthmosis IV*. New York: MMA.
- 1995b** The Tomb of Tuthmosis III's Foreign Wives: Architectural Type, Contents, and Foreign Connections. Pp. 109f. in *Abstracts of Papers: Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995*, ed. Christopher Eyre. Cambridge: International Association of Egyptologists.
- 1996a** Stone Vessels at Kāmid el-Lōz; Egyptian, Egyptianizing, or Non-Egyptian? A Question at Sites from the Sudan to Iraq to the Greek Mainland. Pp. 133–73 in 'Schatzhaus'-Studien, ed. Rolf Hachmann. Vol. 16 of *Kāmid el-Lōz*. Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, 59. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt.
- 1996b** Tomb of Three Foreign Wives of Tuthmosis III. In ANE-Digest [electronic bulletin board] May 28. Archived at <http://www-oi.uchicago.edu/OI/ANE/ANE-DIGEST/VO3/v03n.169>.
- 1997a** Descriptive Notes from the Valley. Pp. 201–6 in *Chief of Seers: Egyptian Studies in Memory of Cyril Aldred*, eds. Elizabeth Goring, Nicholas Reeves, John Ruffle. London: Kegan Paul.
- 1997b** Egyptian Stone Vases? Comments on Peter Warren's Paper. Pp. 225–7 in *TEXNH: Craftsmen, Craftswomen and Craftsmanship*

## Works Cited

- in the Aegean Bronze Age: Proceedings of the 6th International Aegean Conference, Philadelphia, Temple University, 18–21 April 1996*, eds. Robert Laffineur and Philip P. Betancourt. Aegaeum, 16. Liège: Université de Liège and University of Texas at Austin.
- 1997c A Foreign Vase Representation from a New Theban Tomb (The Chapel for MMA 5A P2). Pp. 307–43 in Phillips 1997, vol. 2.
- 1998a The Tomb of Tuthmosis III's Foreign Wives: A Survey of Its Architectural Type, Contents, and Foreign Connections. Pp. 677–81 in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995*, ed. C. J. Eyre. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 82. Leuven: Peeters.
- 1998b The Use of Ivories as Interpreters of Political History. *BASOR* 310: 25–33.
- 2002 Nos. 185, Girdle with Nile-Fish Spacers; 186, Gazelle Diadem; 187, Armlet with Cats Spacer; 188, Inlaid and Inscribed Ornament; 189, Mirror; 190, Libation Vessel of Menwi; 191, Cosmetic Jar; 191bis, Cosmetic Jar. Pp. 460–2 in Ziegler 2002.
- Lilyquist**, Christine, and Robert H. **Brill**, with M. T. Wypyski, and contributions by H. Shirahata, R. Koestler, and R. D. Vocke Jr.  
1993 *Studies in Early Egyptian Glass*. New York: MMA.
- Lipińska**, Jadwiga  
2001 Thutmose III. Pp. 401–3 in Redford 2001, vol. 3.
- Lortet**, Charles Louis  
1905 Momies de singes et nécropole du dieu Thot. *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, ser. 4, no. 6: 43–6.
- Lortet**, Charles Louis, and Claude Antoine **Gaillard**  
1905 *La faune momifiée de l'ancienne Égypte*. Vol. 1, 2nd ser. Extrait des Archives du Muséum d'histoire naturelle de Lyon, ed. Henri Georg. Lyon: A. Rey.  
1907 *La faune momifiée de l'ancienne Égypte et recherches anthropologiques*. Vol. 2, 3rd ser. Extrait des Archives du Muséum d'histoire naturelle de Lyon, ed. Henri Georg. Lyon: A. Rey.
- Loud**, Gordon  
1948 *Megiddo II: Seasons of 1935–39*. Oriental Institute Publications, 62. Chicago: UCP.
- Loyrette**, Anne-Marie  
1997 Les tombes de la Vallée des Trois Puits, à Thèbes-ouest. *Memnonia* 8: 177–95.
- Loyrette**, Anne-Marie, and Magdi **Fekri**  
1991 Un ensemble céramique du Nouvel Empire—vallée des Reines: Tombe 18. *CCE* 2: 11–6.
- Lucas**, A.  
1913 Hall-Marking of Gold and Silver with Special Reference to Egypt. *Cairo Scientific Journal* 7: 87–93.
- Lunsingh Scheurleer**, Robert A.  
1992 *Egypte: Geschenk van de Nijl*. Exh. cat., Concept + Design BV. Steenwijk.
- Lythgoe**, A. M.  
1923 Lord Carnarvon's Bequest to the Museum. *BMMA* 18 no. 12: 272f.  
1927 The Carnarvon Egyptian Collection. *BMMA* 22 no. 2: 31–40.
- Mace**, Arthur C., and Herbert E. **Winlock**  
1916 *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht*. Publications of the MMA Egyptian Expedition, 1. New York: MMA.
- Malek**, Jaromir  
1988 The Royal Butler Hori at Northern Saqqâra. *JEA* 74: 125–36.  
1993 *The Cat in Ancient Egypt*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Manniche**, Lise  
1991 *Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt*. London: BM Press.
- Mariette**, Auguste  
1871 *Album du Musée de Boulaq*. Cairo: Mourès.  
1880a *Abydos: Description des fouilles exécutées sur l'emplacement de cette ville*. Vol. 2. Paris: Imprimerie nationale.  
1880b *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale.
- Markowitz**, Yvonne J., Joyce L. **Haynes**, and Rita E. **Freed**  
2002 *Egypt in the Age of the Pyramids: Highlights from the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Expedition*. Exh. cat. Nagoya/Boston Museum of Fine Arts, MFA Publications. Boston.
- Martin**, Geoffrey Thorndike  
1985 Notes on a Canopic Jar from Kings' Valley Tomb 55. Pp. 111–24 in *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, ed. Paule Posener-Kriéger. BdE, 97(2). Cairo: IFAO.  
1997 *The Tomb of Tia and Tia: A Royal Monument of the Ramesside Period in the Memphite Necropolis*. Excavation Memoir, 58. London: EES.  
2000 Memphis: The Status of a Residence City in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Pp. 99–120 in Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000, eds. Miroslav Bárta and Jaromír Krejčí. Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Oriental Institute.



## Works Cited

**Maryon, Herbert**

- 1941 Archaeology and Metallurgy, I. Welding and Soldering. *MAN* 85 (Nov.–Dec.): 118–24.

**Maspero, Gaston**

- 1915 *Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire*. 4th ed. Cairo: IFAO.

**Matthiae, Paolo**

- 1979 Scavi a Tell Mardikh–Ebla, 1978: Rapporto sommario. Pp. 129–84 in *Studi Eblaiti*, 1. Rome: Università degli Studi di Roma, Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente.

**Meeks, Dimitri**

- 1980 *Année lexicographique*. Vol. 1. Paris.

**Meier, Samuel A.**

- 2000 Diplomacy and International Marriages. Pp. 165–285 in *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations*, eds. R. Westbrook et al. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

**Metropolitan Museum of Art**

- 1936 *A Special Exhibition of Glass from the Museum Collections*. New York: MMA.
- 1951 List of Gifts and Bequests of Mr. and Mrs. Harkness. *BMAA* n.s. 10 no. 2: 81–8.
- 1962 *Guide to the Collections: Egyptian Art*. New York: MMA.
- 1973 *Gold* [Egyptian entry by N. Scott]. *BMAA* n.s. 31 no. 2: 72–121.
- 1976 *Treasures of Tutankhamun*. Exh. cat., MMA. New York.
- 1983 *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Guide*, selected by Philippe de Montebello, written by the curatorial staff. New York: MMA.
- 1993 *Masterpieces of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York: MMA.

**Miller, Patrick D.**

- 1970 Animal Names as Designations in Ugaritic and Hebrew. *Ugarit-Forschungen* 2: 177–86.

**Minneapolis Institute of Arts**

- 1928 A Notable Gift of Egyptian Antiquities. *Bulletin of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts* 17 no. 5 (Feb. 4): 22–5.

**Ministère des affaires étrangères**

- 1987 *Tanis: L'or des pharaons*. Exh. cat., Association française d'action artistique. Paris.

**Mishara, J., and P. Meyers**

- 1974 Ancient Egyptian Silver: A Review. Pp. 29–45 in *Recent Advances in Science and Technology of Materials*, 3, ed. A. Bishay. New York: Plenum.

**Möller, Georg**

- 1910 Goldschmiedearbeiten in ägyptischem Stil. Pp. 11–80 in *Ägyptische Goldschmiedearbeiten*, ed. Heinrich Schäfer. Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Mitteilungen aus der ägyptischen Sammlung, 1. Berlin: Karl Curtius.
- 1924 *Die Metallkunst der alten Ägypter*. Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth.

**Mond, Robert and Oliver H. Myers**

- 1934 *The Bucheum*. Vol. 3. EES Memoir, 27. London: EES.

**Monnet, Janine**

- 1965 Remarques sur la famille et les successeurs de Ramsès III. *BIFAO* 63: 209–36.

**Montet, Pierre**

- 1928–29 *Byblos et l'Égypte: Quatre campagnes de fouilles à Gabal 1921–1922–1923–1924*. 2 vols. Haut-commissariat de la République française en Syrie et au Liban: Service des antiquités et des beaux-arts, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, 11. Paris: Paul Geuthner.
- 1947 *Les constructions et le tombeau d'Osorkon II à Tanis*. Vol. 1 of *La nécropole royale de Tanis*. Paris: Jourde et Allard.
- 1951 *Les constructions et le tombeau de Psousennès à Tanis*. Vol. 2 of *La nécropole royale de Tanis*. Paris: Jourde et Allard.

**Moorey, Roger**

- 2001 The Mobility of Artisans and Opportunities for Technology Transfer between Western Asia and Egypt in the Late Bronze Age. Pp. 1–14 in *The Social Context of Technological Change: Egypt and the Near East, 1650–1550 BC*, ed. Andrew J. Shortland. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

**Moran, William J.**

- 1992 *The Amarna Letters*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

de **Morgan, Jacques**

- 1895 *Fouilles à Dahchour, mars–juin 1894*. Vienna: Adolphe Holzhausen.
- 1903 *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894–1895*. Vienna: Adolphe Holzhausen.

**Müller, Hans Wolfgang**

- 1979 Goldschmuck und ein Fayencekelch aus dem Grabe des Herihor(?). *Pantheon* 37: 237–46.

**Müller, Hans, and Eberhard Thiem**

- 1998 *Die Schätze der Pharaonen*. Augsburg: Battenberg.

## Works Cited

- Murray, A. S., A. H. Smith, and H. B. Walters**  
1900 *Excavations in Cyprus (Bequest of Miss E. T. Turner to the British Museum)*. London: BM.
- Murray, Helen, and Mary Nuttall**  
1963 *A Handlist to Howard Carter's Catalogue of Objects in Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamun's Tomb*. Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamun's Tomb Series, 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Museum of Fine Arts**  
1982 *Egypt's Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom 1558–1085 BC*. Exh. cat., MFA. Boston.
- Myśliwiec, Karol**  
1987 *Keramik und Kleinfunde aus der Grabung im Tempel Sethos' I. in Gurna*. AV, 57. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Nagel, Charles**  
1960 Two Gold Egyptian Cups. *Bulletin, City Art Museum of St. Louis* 44: 3–4 and cover.
- Nagel, Georges**  
1938 *La céramique du Nouvel Empire à Deir el Médineh*. DFIFAO, 10. Cairo: IFAO.
- Nagy, István**  
1991 Un collier d'or composé de figurines de Thouéris. *Bulletin du Musée hongrois des beaux-arts* 75: 3–13.
- Naville, Eduard**  
1906 *The Upper Court and Sanctuary*. Pt. 5 of *The Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahri*. EES Memoir, 27. London: EES.
- Naville, Eduard, and H. R. Hall**  
1913 *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari: Part III*. EEF 32nd Memoir. London: EEF.
- Newberry, Percy E.**  
1906 *Egyptian Antiquities: Scarabs*. London: Archibald Constable.  
1907 *Scarab-Shaped Seals*. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, nos. 36001–37521. London: Archibald Constable.
- Nicholson, Paul T., and Pamela Rose**  
1985 Pottery Fabrics and Ware Groups at el-Amarna. Pp. 133–55 in Barry J. Kemp, *Amarna Reports II*. EES Occasional Publications, 2. London: EES.
- Nicholson, Paul T., and Ian Shaw, eds.**  
2000 *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Noblecourt, Christiane Desroches**  
1956 Interprétation et datation d'une scène gravée sur deux fragments de récipient en albâtre provenant des fouilles du Palais d'Ugarit. Pp. 179–220 in Vol. 3 of *Ugaritica*, ed. Claude F.-A. Schaeffer et al. Mission de Ras Shamra, 8. Paris: Paul Geuthner.
- Nolte, Birgit**  
1968 *Die Glasgefäße im alten Ägypten*. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, 14. Berlin: Bruno Hessling.
- Nordström, Hans-Åke, and Janine Bourriau**  
1993 Ceramic Technology, Clays and Fabrics. Pp. 143–90 in *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery*, eds. Dorothea Arnold and Janine Bourriau. DAIK Sonderschrift, 17. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- O'Connor, David**  
1980 Malqata. Pp. 1173–7 in *LÄ*, 3. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Oddy, Andrew**  
1996 Jewelry Under the Microscope: A Conservator's Guide to Cataloguing. Pp. 185–97 in *Ancient Jewelry and Archaeology*, ed. Adriana Calenescu. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Ogden, Jack**  
1973 Cylindrical Amulet Cases. *JEA* 59: 231–3.  
1982 *Jewellery of the Ancient World*. London: Trefoil Books.  
1992 *Interpreting the Past: Ancient Jewellery*. London: BM Press.  
2000 Metals. Pp. 148–76 in Nicholson and Shaw 2000.
- Oren, Eliezer D.**  
1973 *The Northern Cemetery of Beth Shan*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Osborn, Dale**  
1985 A Rebuttal of Criticisms of Identifications of Animals Portrayed in the Tomb of Tutankhamun. *American Journal of Archaeology* 89: 157–61.
- Osborn, Dale J., with Jana Osbornová**  
1998 *Mammals of Ancient Egypt*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.
- Page-Gasser, Madeleine**  
1997 No. 73c, Gruppe von Salb- und Ölgefäßen. Pp. 120f. in Madeleine Page-Gasser and André B. Wiese, *Ägypten, Augenblicke der Ewigkeit: Unbekannte Schätze aus schweizer Privatbesitz*. Exh. cat., Philipp von Zabern. Mainz.

## Works Cited

**Pamminger, Peter**

- [1990] *Ägyptische Kleinkunst aus der Sammlung Gustav Memminger Pamminger*. Leonberg: Pamminger and Partner.

**Parke-Bernet Galleries**

- 1949 *Part Two of the Notable Art Collection belonging to the Estate of the Late Joseph Brummer*. Sale cat., no. 1069 (May 11). New York: Parke-Bernet Galleries.
- 1958 *Egyptian and Classical Antiquities; Peruvian Pottery belonging to a Midwestern Museum*. Sale cat., May 15. New York: Parke-Bernet Galleries.

**Parker, Barbara**

- 1949 Cylinder Seals from Palestine. *Iraq* 11: 1–43.

**Passalacqua, Joseph**

- 1826 *Catalogue raisonné et historique des antiquités découvertes en Égypte*. Paris: Galerie d'antiquités égyptiennes.

**Patch, Diana Craig**

- 1990 *Reflections of Greatness: Ancient Egypt at the Carnegie Museum of Natural History*. Pittsburgh: Carnegie Museum of Natural History.

**Peden, Alexander J.**

- 2001 *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt: Scope and Roles of Informal Writings (c. 3100–332 BC)*. Probleme der Ägyptologie, 17. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

**Peet, T. Eric**

- 1914 *Cemeteries of Abydos, Part II: 1911–1912*. EEF Memoir, 34. London: EEF.

**Peterson, Bengt**

- 1978 Steingefässe aus dem Neuen Reich. Medelhavsmuseet *Bulletin* 13: 6–8.

**Petrie, W. M. Flinders**

- 1890 *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*. London: Kegan Paul.
- 1891 *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob: 1889–90*. London: David Nutt.
- 1909 *Qurneh*. BSAE, 15th year. London: School of Archaeology in Egypt and Bernard Quaritch.
- 1914 *Amulets*. London: Constable.
- 1927 *Objects of Daily Use*. London: BSAE.
- 1930 *Antaeopolis: the Tombs of Qau*. London: BSAE.
- 1934 *Ancient Gaza IV: Tell el Ajūl*. London: BSAE.
- 1937 *Stone and Metal Vases*. London: British School of Egyptian Archaeology.

**Petrie, Flinders, and Guy Brunton**

- 1924 *Sedment II*. BSAE and ERA 27th year, 1921. London: BSAE.

**Petrie, W. M. Flinders, and C. T. Currelly**

- 1906 *Researches in Sinai*. London: John Murray.

**Petrie, W.M. Flinders, and A. C. Mace**

- 1901 *Diospolis Parva: The Cemeteries of Abadiyeh and Hu. 1898–9*. EEF Memoir, 20. London: EEF.

**Pettigrew, Thomas Joseph**

- 1834 *A History of Egyptian Mummies*. London: Longman, Rees et al.

**Phillips, Jacke, ed.**

- 1997 *Ancient Egypt, The Aegean and The Near East: Studies in Honour of Martha Rhoades Bell*. 2 vols. San Antonio: Van Siclen Books.

**Pinch, Geraldine**

- 1993 *Votive Offerings to Hathor*. Oxford: GI.

**Pintore, Franco**

- 1978 *Il matrimonio interdinastico nel Vicino Oriente durante i secoli XV–XIII*. *Orientis Antiqui Collectio*, 14. Rome: Istituto per l'oriente, Centro per le antichità e la storia dell'arte del Vicino Oriente.

**Pittman, Holly**

- 1998 Jewelry. Pp. 87–122 in *Treasures from the Royal Tombs of Ur*, eds. Richard L. Zettler and Lee Horne. Exh. cat., University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Philadelphia.

**Politi, Janet**

- 2001 Gurob – The Papyri and the “Burnt Group.” *Göttinger Miszellen* no. 182: 107–11.

**Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind Moss**

- 1960 *The Theban Necropolis*, Pt. 1, *Private Tombs*. 2nd ed. Vol. 1 of *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- 1964 *The Theban Necropolis*, Pt. 2, *Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries*. 2nd ed. Vol. 1 of *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- 1972 *Theban Temples*. 2nd ed. Vol. 2 of *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Oxford: Clarendon.

**Priese, Karl-Heinz**

- 1984 §203. Die Annaleninschriften Thutmosis' III. Stück I, Jahr 22–24 und Jahr 40 seiner Regierung umfassend; 3. Jahr 40. Pp. 197f. in *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie: Übersetzung zu den Heften 5–16*, eds. Elke Blumenthal, Ingeborg Müller, and Walter F. Reineke. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

## Works Cited

- Prisse d'Avennes**, Achilles Constant Théodore Émile  
1878 *Histoire de l'art égyptien d'après les monuments, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à la domination romaine. Atlas. Vol. 2.* Paris: Arthus Bertrand for the Ministère de l'instruction publique et des beaux-arts.
- Pumpenmeier**, Frauke  
1998 *Eine Gunstgabe von seiten des Königs: Ein extra-sepulakrales Schabtidapot Qen-Amuns in Abydos.* SAGA, 19. Heidelberg: Orientverlag.
- Quaegebeur**, Jan  
1999 *La naine et le bouquetin, ou l'énigme de la barque en albâtre de Toutankhamon.* Leuven: Peeters.
- Quibell**, J. E.  
1907 *Excavations at Saqqara: (1905–1906).* Excavations at Saqqara, 1. Cairo: IFAO.  
1908 *Tomb of Yuua and Thuiu. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, nos. 51001–51191.* Cairo: IFAO for SAE.
- Radwan**, Ali  
1983 *Die Kupfer- und Bronzegefäße Ägyptens (von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Spätzeit).* Vol. 2 pt. 2 of *Prähistorische Bronzefunde.* Munich: C. H. Beck.
- Randall-Maciver**, D., and A. C. Mace  
1902 *El Amrah and Abydos 1899–1901.* EEF, 23rd Memoir. London: EEF.
- Randall-Maciver**, D., and C. Leonard Woolley  
1911 *Buhen.* Eckley B. Coxe Junior Expedition to Nubia, 7–8. Philadelphia: University Museum.
- Raven**, Maarten  
1978–79 Papyrus-Sheaths and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris Statues. *OMRO* 59–60: 251–96.  
1982 Corn-Mummies. *OMRO* 63: 7–35.  
1988 The Antef Diadem Reconsidered. *OMRO* 68: 77–90.  
1997 Four Corn-Mummies in the Archaeological Museum at Cracow. *Materiały Archeologiczne* 30: 5–12.
- Ray**, John D.  
1978 The World of North Saqqâra. *World Archaeology* 10 no. 2: 149–57.
- Redford**, Donald B.  
1967 *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: Seven Studies.* Near and Middle East Studies. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.  
1973 Studies on Akhenaten at Thebes. I: A Report on the Work of the Akhenaten Temple Project of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania. *JARCE* 10: 77–94.
- 1986 Thutmosis III. Pp. 540–8 in *LÄ*, 6. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.  
1992 *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.  
2001 ed. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt.* 3 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press.  
2003 *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III.* Leiden: Brill.
- Redmond**, Roland L., and James J. Rorimer  
1959 Review of the Year 1958–1959. Pp. 31–49 in *Eighty-Ninth Annual Report of the Trustees for the Fiscal Year 1958–1959.* *BMAA* n.s. 18 no. 2.
- Reeves**, C. Nicholas  
1990 *Valley of the Kings: The Decline of a Royal Necropolis.* London: Kegan Paul International.  
2000 *Ancient Egypt, The Great Discoveries: A Year-by-Year Chronicle.* London: Thames & Hudson.  
n.d. On Some Queens' Tombs of the 18th Dynasty. In proceedings of the British Museum colloquium *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present, and Future*, eds. John H. Taylor and Nigel Strudwick. London: BM. Forthcoming.
- Reeves**, Nicholas, and John H. Taylor  
1992 *Howard Carter before Tutankhamun.* Exh. cat., BM Press. London.
- Reisner**, George A.  
1908 *Excavations at Naga ed-Dêr, Part I.* University of California Publications, Egyptian Archaeology, 2. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.  
1910 *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia: Report for 1907–1908.* Plates for Vol. 1. Cairo: Ministry of Finance, Egypt, Survey Department.  
1923 *Excavations at Kerma: Parts IV–V.* Harvard African Studies, 6. Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum of Harvard University.
- Riefstahl**, Elizabeth  
1944 *Patterned Textiles.* Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum and the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences.
- Rigault**, Patricia  
1999 164, Necklace. Pg. 424 in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, ed. John P. O'Neill. NY: MMA.
- Robins**, Gay  
1986 The Role of the Royal Family in the 18th Dynasty up to the End of the Reign of Amen-hotpe III: 1. Queens. *Wepwawet* 2: 10–4.  
1993 *Women in Ancient Egypt.* London: BM Press.  
1999 An Unusual Statue of a Royal Mother-in-Law and Grandmother. Pp. 55–9 in Leahy and Tait 1999.  
2001 Queens. Pp. 105–9 in Redford 2001, vol. 3.

## Works Cited

- Roehrig**, Catharine H.  
1990 *The Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse* (mn<sup>c</sup>t nswt), *Royal Tutor* (mn<sup>c</sup> nswt), and *Foster Brother/Sister of the Lord of the Two Lands* (sn/snt mn<sup>c</sup> n nb t3wy). Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, Department of Near Eastern Studies. Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms.
- Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum** (Hildesheim)  
1987 *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht*. Exh. cat., Philipp von Zabern. Mainz.
- Romano**, James  
1980 The Origin of the Bes-Image. *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 2: 39–56.  
1989 *The Bes-Image in Pharaonic Egypt*. Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Department of Fine Arts. Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms.
- Romer**, John  
1975 The Tomb of Tuthmosis III. *MDAIK* 31: 315–51.  
1976 Royal Tombs of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty. *MDAIK* 32: 191–206.  
1981 *Valley of the Kings: Exploring the Tombs of the Pharaohs*. New York: Henry Holt.  
1984 *Ancient Lives: Daily Life in Egypt of the Pharaohs*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston.
- Römisch-Germanisches Museum Köln**  
1986 *Sen-nefer: Die Grabkammer des Bürgermeisters von Theben*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Rose**, Pamela  
1996 The Pottery. Pp. 166–81 in Nigel Strudwick, *The Tombs of Amenhotep, Khnummose and Amenmose at Thebes: Nos. 294, 253, and 254*. Oxford: GI.  
2001 Pottery from the Tomb of Senneferi (TT 99). *Egyptian Archaeology* 19 (autumn): 17f.
- Rosellini**, Ippolito  
1832 *Monumenti storici*. Vol. 1 of *I monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubia*. Pisa: Niccolo Capurro.
- Rudolph**, Wolf  
1996 Toward a Historiography of Jewelry Research. Pp. 17–25 in *Ancient Jewelry and Archaeology*, ed. Adriana Calinescu. Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Ruffle**, John  
1983 The Egyptian Collection. *Arts of Asia* 13 no. 6 (Nov.–Dec.): 70–5.
- Sadek**, S.-A., and M. Shimy  
1983 *Transcriptions et indices*. Vol. 4 pt. 6 of *Graffiti de la Montagne thébaine*. Cairo: CEDAE.
- Saleh**, Mohamed, and Hourig Sourouzian  
1987 *The Egyptian Museum Cairo*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern for the Organization of Egyptian Antiquities Cairo.
- Sallam**, Hala  
1998 Ahmed Pasha Kamal (1849–1923): A Family of Egyptologists. Pp. 1015–9 in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995*, ed. C. J. Eyre. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 82. Leuven: Peeters.
- Säve-Söderbergh**, Torgny  
1957 *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*. Oxford: GI.
- Säve-Söderberg**, Torgny, and Lana Troy  
1991 *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*. Vol. 5 pt. 2 of *Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia Publications*. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell Tryckeri for Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia.
- Schaeffer-Forrer**, Claude F.-A.  
1983 *Corpus des cylindres-sceaux de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et d'Enkomi-Alasia*. Vol. 1. Éditions recherche sur les civilisations, synthèse no. 13. Paris: Éditions recherche sur les civilisations.
- Scharff**, Alexander  
1930 Altes und Neues von den Goldschmiedearbeiten der ägyptischen Abteilung. *Berliner Museen* 51: 114–21.
- Schiaparelli**, E.  
1923 *Esplorazione della "Valle delle regine" nella necropoli di Tebe*. Vol. 1 of *Relazione sui lavori della Missione Archeologica Italiana in Egitto (anni 1903–1920)*. Turin: R. Museo di Antichità.  
1927 *La tomba intatta dell'architetto Cha nella necropoli di Tebe*. Vol. 2 of *Relazione sui lavori della Missione Archeologica Italiana in Egitto (anni 1903–1920)*. Turin: R. Museo di Antichità.
- Schlögl**, Hermann  
1978 No. 140, Petit vase à kohl. Pg. 42 in *Le don du Nil: Art égyptien dans les collections suisses*. Exh. cat., Société de Banque Suisse. Basel.
- Schmitz**, Bettina  
1976 *Untersuchungen zum Titel S3-NJŠWT, „Königssohn“*. Habelts Dissertationsdrücke, Reihe Ägyptologie, 2. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt.

## Works Cited

### Schneider, Hans

- 1977 *Shabtis: An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with a Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*. 3 vols. Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.
- 1981 ed. *National Museum of Antiquities*. Dutch Museums, 6. Haarlem: Joh. Enschedé en Zonen Grafische Inrichting B.V.
- 1987 *Art from Ancient Egypt, Chosen from the Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden, The Netherlands*. Exh. cat., Tokyo Shimbun. Tokyo.
- 1995 *Egyptisch kunsth Handwerk*. Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw.
- 1997 Nos. 77, Statuette of a Girl with the Throne Name of Pharaoh Thutmosis III; 153b, Bracelet. Pg. 60f., 100f. in National Museum of Antiquities, *Life and Death Under the Pharaohs*. Exh. cat., Western Australian Museum. Perth.

### Schneider, Thomas

- 1992 *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, 114. Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag.

### Schorsch, Deborah

- 1995 The Gold and Silver Necklaces of Wah: A Technical Study of an Unusual Metallurgical Joining Method. Pp. 127–35 in *Conservation in Ancient Egyptian Collections: Papers given at the conference organized by the United Kingdom Institute for Conservation, Archaeology Section, and International Academic Projects, held at London, 20–21 July 1995*, eds. Carol E. Brown, Fiona Macalister, and Margot M. Wright. London: Archetype.
- 1998 Silver-and-Gold Moche Artifacts from Loma Negra, Peru. *MMJ* 23: 109–36.

### Schulman, Alan

- 1979 Diplomatic Marriage in the Egyptian New Kingdom. *JNES* 38: 177–93.

### Scott, Gerry

- 1992 *Temple, Tomb and Dwelling: Egyptian Antiquities from the Harer Family Trust Collection*. Exh. cat., California State University. San Bernardino.

### Scott, Nora E.

- 1944 *The Home Life of the Ancient Egyptians*. New York: MMA.
- 1964 Egyptian Jewelry. *BMMA* n.s. 22: 223–34.
- 1973 *The Daily Life of the Ancient Egyptians*. *BMMA* n.s. 31 no. 3: 122–72.

### Seiler, Anne

- 1992 Das keramische Inventar der Westkammer des Grabkomplexes K91.4. Pp. 125–9 in Daniel Polz, Bericht über die erste Grabungskampagne

- in der Nekropole von Draʿ Abu el-Naga/Theben-West. *MDAIK* 48: 109–30.
- 1995a Archäologisch fassbare Kultpraktiken in Grabkontexten der frühen 18. Dynastie in Draʿ Abu el-Naga/Theben. Pp. 185–203 in Jan Assmann et al., *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung, Internationales Symposium Heidelberg 9.–13.6.1993*. SAGA, 12. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.
- 1995b Die Keramik aus K93.11. Pp. 218–23 in Daniel Polz et al., Bericht über die 4. und 5. Grabungskampagne in der Nekropole von Draʿ Abu el-Naga/Theben-West. *MDAIK* 51: 207–25.
- 1997 Hebua I: Second Intermediate Period and Early New Kingdom Pottery. *CCE* 5: 23–30.
- 1999 Zur Formentwicklung der Keramik der 2. Zwischenzeit und der frühen 18. Dynastie. Pp. 204–24 in W. Kaiser et al., Stadt und Temple von Elephantine, 25./ 26./ 27. Grabungsbericht. *MDAIK* 55: 63–236.

### Seipel, Wilfried, ed.

- 2001 *Gold der Pharaonen*. Exh. cat., Skira and Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien. Milan and Vienna.

### Serpico, Margaret

- 1999 New Kingdom Canaanite Amphorae Fragments from Buhen. Pp. 267–72 in *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith*, eds. Anthony Leahy and John Tait. Occasional Papers, 13. London: EES.
- 2000 Resins, Amber and Bitumen. Pp. 430–74 in Nicholson and Shaw 2000.

### Serpico, Margaret, and Raymond White

- 2000 Oil, Fat and Wax. Pp. 390–429 in Nicholson and Shaw 2000.

### Sethe, Kurt

- 1907 *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie, Historisch-biographische Urkunden*. Vol. 3 part 9/10 of *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- 1914 *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie I. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- 1934 *Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern und einiger damit verbundener Bräuche*. Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse Berlin, 13. Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften.

### Shedrinsky, Alexander M., Richard E. Stone, and Norbert S. Baer

- 1991 Pyrolysis Gas Chromatographic Studies on Egyptian Archaeological Specimens: Organic Patinas on the “Three Princesses” Gold Vessels. *Journal of Analytical and Applied Pyrolysis* 20: 229–38.

## Works Cited

- Shimy, M.**, with the collaboration of P. du Bourguet  
1977 *Fac-similés CCXCIII à CCCVIII*. Vol. 3 pt. 7 of *Graffiti de la Montagne thébaine*. Cairo: CEDAE.
- Slater, Ray**  
1982 No. 89, Collier de perles d'or en forme de signes «nefer». Pg. 143 in *Naissance de l'écriture, cunéiformes et hiéroglyphes*. Exh. cat., Ministère de la culture. Paris.
- Smith, G. Elliot**  
1912 *The Royal Mummies*. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, nos. 61051–61100. Cairo: IFAO for SAE.
- Smith, Stuart Tyson**  
1992 Intact Tombs of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasties from Thebes and the New Kingdom Burial System. *MDAIK* 48: 193–231.  
1995 *Askut in Nubia: The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in Nubia, 2000–1000 BC*. London: Kegan Paul.
- Smithsonian Institution**  
1985 *Ebla to Damascus: Art and Archaeology of Ancient Syria*, ed. Harvey Weiss. Exh. cat., Smithsonian Institution. Washington, D.C.
- Sobhy, G. P. G.**  
1924 An Eighteenth Dynasty Measure of Capacity. *JEA* 10: 283f., pl. 22.
- Sotheby & Co.**  
1964 *Catalogue of The Ernest Brummer Collection of Egyptian and Near Eastern Antiquities and Works of Art*. Sale cat., Nov. 16–7. London: Sotheby.
- Sotheby Parke-Bernet Galleries**  
1979 *Sale 4253: Important Greek, Roman, Etruscan, Egyptian and Western Asiatic Antiquities*. Sale cat., May 19. New York: Sotheby Parke-Bernet.
- Sotheby's**  
1998 *Antiquities and Islamic Art, Sale 7243*. Sale cat., Dec. 17. New York: Sotheby's.
- Sotheby's New York**  
2000 *Antiquities and Islamic Works of Art*. Sale cat., June 14. New York: Sotheby's.
- Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge**  
1912 *Catalogue of the Important Collection of Egyptian Antiquities Formed by the Late H. Martyn Kennard, Esq. of Lowndes Square*. Sale cat., July 16–9. London: Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge.  
1922 *Catalogue of the MacGregor Collection of Egyptian Antiquities*. Sale cat., June 26–30, July 3–5. London: Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge.
- Sourouzian, Hourig**  
1989 *Les monuments du roi Merenptah*. DAIK Sonderschrift, 22. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Spalinger, Anthony**  
1977 A Critical Analysis of the “Annals” of Thutmose III (*Stücke V–VI*). *JARCE* 14: 41–54.
- Spalinger, Gretchen**  
1982 Nos. 153, Footed Dish; 378, Scaraboid in the Form of a Cat. Pp. 149f., 275 in *Museum of Fine Arts*: 1982.
- Spieser, Cathie**  
1997 L'eau et la régénération des morts d'après les représentations des tombes thébaines du Nouvel Empire. *CdE* 72: 211–28.
- Starr, Richard**  
1939 *Nuzi: Report on the Excavations at Yorgan Tapa . . . 1927–1931*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University.
- Stead, Miriam**  
1986 *Egyptian Life*. London: BM Publications.
- Stein, Diana L.**  
1989 Art and Architecture. Pp. 80–90 in Gernot Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.
- Stone, Richard**  
Amphora. In proceedings of the MMA colloquium *Nomads of the Asian Steppes*, 12–3 Oct. 2001, in conjunction with the exhibition *The Golden Deer of Eurasia: Scythian and Sarmation Treasures from the Russian Steppes*. MMA: New York. Forthcoming.
- Störk, Lothar**  
1977 Gepard. Pp. 530f. in *LÄ*, 2. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Strudwick, Nigel**  
2001 *The Legacy of Lord Carnarvon: Miniatures from Ancient Egypt and the Valley of the Kings*. Exh. cat., University of Wyoming Art Museum. Laramie, WY.
- Strudwick, Nigel, and Helen Strudwick**  
1999 *Thebes in Egypt: A Guide to the Tombs and Temples of Ancient Luxor*. London: BM Press.
- Szafránski, Z. E.**  
1992 Pottery from the Time of Construction of the Hatshepsut Temple. *DE* 22: 53–9.
- Tait, Hugh, ed.**  
1976 *Jewellery Through 7000 Years*. London: BM Publications.



## Works Cited

- 1986 *Seven Thousand Years of Jewellery*. London: BM Publications.
- Taylor, John**  
 1992 Aspects of the History of the Valley of the Kings in the Third Intermediate Period. Pp. 186–206 in *After Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamūn: Research and Excavation in the Royal Necropolis at Thebes*, ed. C. N. Reeves. London: Kegan Paul International.  
 1996 *Unwrapping a Mummy: The Life, Death and Embalming of Horemkenesi*. Austin: University of Texas.  
 2001 *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*. Chicago: UCP.
- Thomas, Elizabeth**  
 1966 *The Royal Necropolis of Thebes*. Princeton: Elizabeth Thomas.  
 1980 The Tomb of Queen Ahmose(?) Merytamen: Theban Tomb 358. *Serapis* 6: 171–81.
- Tomber, Roberta**  
 1992 Early Roman Pottery from Mons Claudianus. *CCE* 3: 137–42.
- Tooley, A. M. J.**  
 1996 Osiris Bricks. *JEA* 82: 167–79.
- Troy, Lana**  
 1986 *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History*. Borreås, 14. Uppsala.
- Valbelle, D.**  
 1985 «Les Ouvriers de la tombe»: *Deir el-Médineh à l'époque ramesside*. BdE, 96. Cairo: IFAO.
- Vandier d'Abbadie, J.**  
 1972 *Catalogue des objets de toilette égyptiens*. Paris: Éditions des Musées nationaux.
- Van Siclen III, Charles Cornell**  
 1974 A Ramesside Ostrakon of Queen Isis. *JNES* 33: 150–3.
- Vercoutter, Jean**  
 1970 *Mirgissa*. Vol. 1. Paris: Direction général des Relations culturelles scientifiques et techniques.  
 1975 *Les Nécropoles. Première partie: Description des tombes*. Vol. 2 of *Mirgissa*. Paris: Direction général des Relations culturelles scientifiques et techniques.  
 1976 *Les Nécropoles. Deuxième partie: Études anthropologiques, études archéologiques*. Vol. 3 of *Mirgissa*. Paris: Direction général des Relations culturelles scientifiques et techniques.
- Verità, M., R. Basso, M. T. Wypyski, and R. J. Koestler**  
 1994 X-Ray Microanalysis of Ancient Glassy Materials: A Comparative Study of Wavelength Dispersive and Energy Dispersive Techniques. *Archaeometry* 36 no. 2: 241–51.
- Vernier, Émile**  
 1907 *La bijouterie et la joaillerie égyptiennes*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 2. Cairo: IFAO.  
 1907–09 *Bijoux et orfèvreries. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, nos. 52001–52639. Cairo: SAE.  
 1925 *Bijoux et orfèvreries. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, nos. 52640–53171. Cairo: SAE.  
 1927 *Bijoux et orfèvreries. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, nos. 53172–53855. Cairo: SAE.
- Vilímková, Milada**  
 1969 *Egyptian Jewellery*. London: Paul Hamlyn.
- Virginia Museum of Fine Arts**  
 1973 *Ancient Art in the Virginia Museum*. Richmond: Museum of Fine Arts.
- Wadsten, T.**  
 1978 Characterization of the Solid Residue in an Ancient Egyptian Alabaster Jar. *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 13: 14–8.  
 1981 Thermal Analysis Techniques as Identification Tools in Ancient Egyptology Research. Pp. 608–11 in *Proceedings of the Second European Symposium on Thermal Analysis, University of Aberdeen, 1–4 September 1981*, organized by the Thermal Methods Group of the Analytical Division of The Chemical Society, ed. David Dollimore. London: Heyden.
- Wakeling, T. G.**  
 1912 *Forged Egyptian Antiquities*. London: A. & C. Black.
- Walker, Susan, and Morris Bierbrier**  
 1997 *Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt*. London: BM Press.
- Wallach, Amei**  
 1982 Egyptian Fakes at Met. *Long Island Newsday*, June 17.
- Wallert, Ingrid**  
 1967 *Der verzierte Löffel: Seine Formgeschichte und Verwendung im alten Ägypten*. ÄA, 16. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Warmenbol, Eugène, and Florence Doyen**  
 1991 Le chat et la maîtresse: Les visages multiples d'Hathor. Pp. 55–67 in *Les divins chats d'Égypte*,

## Works Cited

- eds. L. Delvaux and E. Warmenbol. Leuven: Peeters.
- Ward**, William A., and William G. **Dever**  
 1994 *Scarab Typology and Archaeological Context: An Essay on Middle Bronze Age Chronology*. Vol. 3 of *Studies on Scarab Seals*. San Antonio: Van Siclen.
- Weeks**, Kent  
 1983 The Berkeley Map of the Theban Necropolis: Report of the Fifth Season, 1982. *Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt* 121: 41–59.
- Weinstein**, James  
 1989 III, The Gold Scarab of Nefertiti from Ulu Burun: Its Implications for Egyptian History and Egyptian-Aegean Relations. Pp. 17–29 in George Bass et al., *The Bronze Age Shipwreck from Ulu Burun: 1986 Campaign*. *American Journal of Archaeology* 93: 1–29.
- Wente**, Edward F.  
 1967 *Late Ramesside Letters*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, 33. Chicago: UCP.  
 1969 Hathor at the Jubilee. Pp. 83–91 in *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, 35. Chicago: UCP.  
 1980 Translations of the Texts. Pp. 30–77 in *Epigraphic Survey* 1980.
- Wente**, Edward F., and James E. **Harris**  
 1980 *An X-Ray Atlas of the Royal Mummies*. Chicago: UCP.
- Wilfong**, T. G.  
 1989 Western Thebes in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries: A Bibliographic Survey of Jême and Its Surroundings. *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 26 nos. 1–2, 89–145.
- Wilkinson**, Alix  
 1971 *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery*. London: Methuen.
- Wilkinson**, Charles K., and Marsha Hill  
 1987 *Egyptian Wall Paintings: The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Collection of Facsimiles*. New York: MMA.
- Wilkinson**, J. Gardner  
 1830 *Topographical Survey of Thebes, Tâpé, Thaba, or Diospolis Magna*. London: James Neale.  
 1835 *Topography of Thebes, and General View of Egypt*. London: John Murray.
- Williams**, Bruce B.  
 1992 *New Kingdom Remains from Cemeteries R, V, S and W at Qustul and Cemetery K at Adindan*. Pt. 6 of Excavations between Abu Simbel and the Sudan Frontier. University of Chicago Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition, 6. Chicago: Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.
- Williams**, Caroline Ransom  
 1918 The Egyptian Collection in the Museum of Art at Cleveland, Ohio. *JEA* 5: 166–78.  
 1924 *Gold and Silver Jewelry and Related Objects Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities, Nos. 1–160*. New York: New-York Historical Society.
- Winlock**, H. E.  
 1922 Excavations at Thebes. Pp. 19–48 in *The Egyptian Expedition 1921–1922*. *BMMA* 17: Section 2 (Dec.).  
 1924 The Tombs of the Kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes. *JEA* 10: 217–77.  
 1926 The Museum's Excavations at Thebes. Pp. 5–32 in *The Egyptian Expedition 1924–1925*. *BMMA* 21: pt. 2 (Mar.).  
 1932 *The Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn at Thebes*. Publications of the MMA Egyptian Expedition, 6. New York: MMA.  
 1933 Three Egyptian Gold Circlets. *BMMA* 28 no. 9: 156–60.  
 1934 *The Treasure of El Lāhūn*. New York: MMA.  
 1935 *The Private Life of the Ancient Egyptians*. New York: MMA.  
 1937 An Egyptian Headdress. *BMMA* 32 no. 7: 173–5.  
 1939 New Galleries of Egyptian Art. *BMMA* 34: 118–22.  
 1941 *Materials Used at the Embalming of King Tut-Ankh-Amun*. Papers of the MMA, 10. New York, MMA.  
 1948 *The Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses*. Publications of the MMA Department of Egyptian Art, 10. New York: MMA.
- Winlock**, H. E., and W. E. **Crum**  
 1926 *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*. Pt. 1. Publications of the MMA Egyptian Expedition, 3. New York: MMA.
- Wiseman**, James  
 1984 Scholarship and Provenience in the Study of Artifacts. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 11: 1, 67–77.
- Wolf**, Walther  
 1957 *Die Kunst Ägyptens: Gestalt und Geschichte*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Wreszinski**, Walther  
 1935 *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte*. Vol. 2 pt. 1. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

## Works Cited

### **ZÄS**

- 1875 *Liste der hieroglyphischen Typen aus der Schriftgiesserei der Herrn F. Theinhardt in Berlin*. Beilage of 24 pp. in ZÄS 13, with an introduction by R. Lepsius; see p. 144 there.

### **Ziffer, I.**

- 1990 *At that Time the Canaanites were in the Land: Daily Life in Canaan in the Middle Bronze Age 2, 2000–1550 BCE*. Exh. cat., Eretz Israel Museum. Tel Aviv.

### **Ziegler, Christiane, ed.**

- 2002 *The Pharaohs*. Exh. cat., Bompiani Arte. Milan.

### **Zivie, Alain**

- 1990 *Découverte à Saqqarah, le vizir oublié*. Paris: Seuil.  
1993 Aper-El, Taouret et Houy: La fouille et l'enquête continuent. *Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie* no. 126 (Mar.): 5–16.

## ILLUSTRATION CREDITS

**Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin**

Fig. 160c center

**American private collection**

Fig. 128c left

**Antikenmuseum, Basel**

Fig. 135f center

**Aston, David**

Figs. 72a, 75c

**Author**

Frontispiece, Figs. 1, 4, 9c, 10–1, 16a–c, 17a–b, 17f, 17l, 28, 33, 46, 51–5, 58h, 64g, 64j, 65f, 70a, 70c, 75e, 79b–d, 79f, 81a, 81f, 82a, 82e–g, 83c, 83d right, 83f–h, 84a–e, 85a–d, 90c right, 187, 267

**Baraize 1921b**

Fig. 6b

**Barrette, William**

Figs. 81e, 82b, 83b, 86–8, 89b–e, 92a, 92d, 96b right, 98b, 122 right, 123 left, 126, 128a left, 130c, 132–3, 135g, 136b, 137e, 138 lower right, 141, 142c, 145–6, 152–4, 160a left, 160c left, 165 above, 171 left, 173, 174 center, 175 center, 194–5, 200, 201 below, 205 left, 206, 209 left, 210 left, 213 right, 214c, 216 upper left, 219, 221–2, 226a, 227, 230–1, 234a left, 234c left, 234d left, 235a, 235c above, 236a, 236c left and right, 238b–c, 240e, 252a–c, 253b, 257 right, 258, 260c

**British Museum, London**

Figs. 7a, 7c–e, 166

**The Brooklyn Museum of Art, Brooklyn**

Fig. 7b

**Burton, Harry**

Figs. 25–6, 93a–b, 268

**Carter, Howard**

Figs. 18–23

**Cleveland, Carlie, and Elayne Grossbard**

Fig. 157

**Coscia, Joseph**

Fig. 92b–c

**Gardiner, Lynton**

Figs. 101, 113–6, 120, 148a left, 148d, 155 above, 158, 160a right, 160b left, 160c right, 161–3 above, 164, 167–8, 170, 171 right, 192, 203–4, 211–2, 214a right, 214b, 214f above, 217, 218 above left, 226b, 226d, 228–9, 232–3, 235b, 236b, 242–6, 247 below, 248–51, 254, 260a–b, 262

**Gardiner 1928**

Fig. 223 lower left

## Illustration Credits

**Groisy, Frédérique**

Fig. 50

**Hall 1915**

Fig. 223 right

**Heindl, Günther**

Figs. 6d, 29–32, 34–45, 47–9

**Kirby, Christopher**

Figs. 56–7, 58a–g, 59–63, 64a–f, 64h–i, 64k, 65a–e, 65g–h, 66–7, 68a–b, 68d–e, 69, 70b left, 70d left, 70e, 71a, 72b–c, 73b–c, 74, 75a, 75d, 76–7, 78b–c, 80, 81b–d, 81g, 82c–d, 83a–b

**Koestler, Robert**

Figs. 224–5

**Kurz 1977**

Figs. 5, 8, 9a–b, 12–5

**Ligabue collection**

Fig. 160b right

**Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm**

Fig. 128b

**Mikhailovich, Alexander**

Figs. 95, 96b left

**Minneapolis Institute of Arts**

Fig. 188

**MMA Department of Egyptian Art**

Fig. 220

**MMA Photograph Studio**

Figs. 100, 103–4, 108 below, 109 below, 110 left, 111 left, 112, 117 left, 118 left, 119 left, 121, 131a, 149–50, 155 below, 156, 159, 172, 176 center, 184, 202, 205 right, 207 right, 208 left, 213 left, 234b, 237, 238d, 252d, 256 left, 259 left

**New York art market**

Fig. 160d

**Rose, Pamela**

Figs. 68c, 68f, 73a, 75b, 78a, 78d, 79a, 79e

**Scalise, Thomas**

Drawings in Documents 3 and 19; Fig. 91f right

**Schenck, William**

Figs. 2–3 from CEDAE originals; 6c from Howard Carter original; 56–58g, 59–65e, 65g–75d, 76–79e, 80, 81b–d, 81g, 82c–d, 83a–b left, 83d left–e from originals by Christopher Kirby, Pamela Rose, David Aston, and the author; 91a–f left, 91g–n, 94, 97, 99, 102, 105–8 above, 109 above, 110 right, 111 right, 117 right, 118 right, 119 right, 122 left, 123 center and right, 125, 127, 128a center and right, 128c center and right, 129, 130a–b, 131b–k, 134, 135a–e, 136a, 136c, 137a–d, 138 left and top, 139, 140, 142a–b, 143–4, 147, 148a right, 148b–c, 151, 163 below, 165 below, 168 below, 174 left and right, 175 left and right, 176 left and right, 177–83, 186 above and below, 196–9, 201 above, 207 left, 208 right, 209 right, 210 right, 214f below, 234a right, 234c right, 234d right, 235c below, 236c center, 239, 240a–b, 240d, 241, 256 right, 257 left, 261a below, 263–5, 266

## Illustration Credits

**Schwarz, Bruce**

Figs. 169, 185–6, 189–91, 213 center, 214a left, 214d–e, 215, 216 below and upper right, 218 above right and below, 226c, 236d, 238a, 247 above, 253a, 255, 261b–c, 261d–e

**Sobhy 1924**

Fig. 124

**Sotheby & Co. 1964**

Fig. 193

**St. Louis Art Museum**

Fig. 240c below

**Stone, Richard**

Figs. 16d–f, 89a, 90a–c left

**Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond**

Fig. 240c above

**Winlock, Herbert**

Figs. 24, 27

**Winlock 1932**

Fig. 6a

**Winlock 1948**

Fig. 259 right

**Yee, Walter**

Fig. 98a

**ZÄS 1875**

Fig. 223 upper left

# INDEXES

Italic numbers refer to pages with illustrations. Boldface numbers refer to pottery numbers of Chapter 3 or Catalogue entries of Chapters 5–7. Categorization of Catalogue entries (e.g., “assigned to Tomb 1 [Wady D1],” “less surely linked to Tomb 1,” “of various dates”) is not indicated here. The most complete information on Catalogue objects is under main headings (e.g., “jars, ointment storage”); references under inscriptions and materials are abbreviated. Further citations of Catalogue numbers appear in the technical sections of Chapters 4 and 7 and concluding remarks of Chapter 8. In the main, only authorities from unpublished sources are indexed.

## INDEX 1, GENERAL

### A

*aaui*-rings, 138  
 Abbott Collection (Brooklyn Museum of Art), object in, 14  
 abbreviations and conventions, xiii–xv, 58, 68, 115  
 Abdel Maaboud, Sheikh, 61  
 Abdul-Rahman, Ahmed Abdullah Mohammed, 57  
 Abou-Ghazi, Dia, 29  
 Abydos, comparisons from, 77, 138, 159, 163, 248f., 267, 298f.  
 el-Achieri, Hassan, 2  
*Affenfriedhof*, 13  
 agate, inlay, in buckle, **315**  
 Ahhotep, 118  
 Ahhotep group, 118, 124, 129, 138, 163, 171, 175–7, 180, 299  
 Ahmose  
   king, ewer of, 123, 133  
   prince and princess, 118, 137  
 Ahmose Nefertary, 38, 118, 152, 160, 180, 248  
 Ahmose Tumerisy, 179  
 air holes. *See* metalworking  
 Ajjul, 252, 299  
 alabaster, Egyptian, 140  
   *See also* travertine  
 Aldred, Cyril, x, 112, 154, 164, 170  
 Ali, Hadji, 39f.  
 Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam, 165  
 Allen, James, 160  
 Amarna, 65, 159, 174, 291  
   harem at, 336  
 Amarna letters, 335  
 Amenemope, ewer of, 158  
 Amenhotep (child), bangles/ingots and lentoid beads of, 137f.  
 Amenhotep, seal amulet naming, 177

Amenhotep I, beads on mummy, 175  
 Amenhotep II, wearing *shebiu*, 137  
   comparisons from tomb (KV 35), 67, 118, 126, 128, 138, 146, 159, 166  
 Amenhotep III-era remains, 2, 5, 15  
   note 2, 160, 177, 185, 291  
 Amenirdas I, stela naming, 12, 15, 77  
 Amenmes, funerary figure of, 5f., 21  
 Amen(neb)nesttawynakhte, 8, 339  
 Amenpanufer, 9  
 American collection, ointment jar in, 142; **59**  
 amethyst, acacia-seed bead, 111  
 amethystine quartz, models(?), **218–22**  
 Amorite names, 329  
 amphorae, of Canaanite shape  
   marl pottery (MMA), 64, 73;  
   **p90–8**  
   travertine, 139f., 145, 212; **79**  
 amulets, series of  
   falcon, gold, 300f., 325, 344; **307**  
   fly, gold, 115, 299f., 324, 344;  
   **304–5**  
   lotus(?), inlaid gold, 299f., 324;  
   **305**  
   Maat-shrine, gold, 301f., 325, 344;  
   **308**  
   Taweret, gold, 115, 300f. (with illus.), 325; **306**  
   *See also* appliqués, bandage amulets, girdles, pendants, seal amulet, vulture breastplates, *wḏ3t*-eye  
 anchorites (Coptic), 12  
 André, Leon, restorer, 127, 151, 188  
 Andrews, Carol, 5f.  
 Andrews, Emma, 116, 300  
 anhydrite, jar, **94**  
 Ankhefenamun, 8f., 340f.

anklets. *See* ornaments for arms or ankles  
 annotated elements. *See* jewelry, manufacture of  
 Anthes, Rudolf, 168, 287  
 Aperel, 140, 159  
 appliqués  
   Hathor-cow plaques, gold and electrum, 115, 280f., 314, 344; **236–8**  
   scarabs, lapis, 264, 310; **214**  
   gold, 280, 314; **233–4**  
   star, gold, 280f., 314, 344; **235**  
 Arabic/Old South Arabic words and names, 329, 332  
 Aramaic words and names, 329, 332  
 Armant, Buchis cult at, 14  
 armlets, 235  
   cat: gold, carnelian, lapis, 125, 176–8; **137**  
   lion: gold and carnelian, 120, 176–8, 343; **138**  
   *See also* *aaui*; beads; *mesketu*; ornaments for arms or ankles; spacers  
 Arnold, Dorothea, 63, 67f.  
 Assasif, comparisons from. *See* Thebes  
 Aston, Barbara, 63, 65, 73  
 Aston, David, on pottery, 14, 63, 65, 67, 73  

### B

 baboons, burials of *Papio anubis* and *Papio hamadryas*, 2, 5, 12–4, 32  
 back plates. *See* jewelry, manufacture of  
 Badawi, Farida, 57  
 Baer, Herman, duck head belonging to, 187; **164**  
 Bailey, Donald, 14



## Indexes

Baines, Robert, on goldsmithing,  
253, 277–9, 287, 301, 303, 306;  
**108, 230–2, 235, 296, 309**

Baki, krater of, 66

*Balanites aegyptiaca* fruits, 12

bandage amulets, gold sheet, 130–2,  
199, 278f., 313, 342f.; **26, 29, 232**

bangles/ingots, 202  
Egyptian blue, 138; **44**  
faience, 138f.; **45–7**

Baraize, Émil, 3, 8, 20

base alloys. *See* metalworking

bazaar, modern objects from, 117,  
270, 277, 292, 345

beads  
acacia, excavated carnelian and  
glass, 29f., 45  
amethyst, felspar, resin, 111, 113,  
305  
carnelian and glass, 115, 125,  
183f., 240, 305; **151–2**  
gold, 111, 304–7 (with illus.),  
327; **321–2**

ball, excavated glass with metal  
tubes, 31, 45  
gold, lapis, glass, 48, 125, 184f.,  
240, 305; **153**  
gold, lapis, glass, jasper, 186f.,  
233; **162**  
green stone, 252f., 261; **196**  
silver sheet, 252, 261; **195**

barrel, excavated carnelian and  
glass, 30, 45  
carnelian, 176–8, 235; **140**  
carnelian and jasper, 186f., 233;  
**162**  
gold, carnelian, lapis, 252f., 261;  
**200**  
red faience, 269, 311; **229**  
*See also* **137–8**

biconical, carnelian, 186f., 233; **162**

bugle, excavated Egyptian blue,  
31, 45

*Conus*-shell, stone, 184, 252f., 261;  
**197**

cylinder, excavated carnelian and  
glass, 30f., 45  
carnelian and faience, 170 note  
3, 252f., 262; **205**

drum-shaped, gold, 252f., 261; **199**

faceted, gold, 304, 306f., 328, 345;  
**316**

filigreed, copper alloy, 304, 306f.,  
328, 345; **318**

inscribed, gold, 112

granular, excavated gold, 185  
gold, 43, 111, 185f., 241f.;  
**154–61**

lap-joint, gold, 304, 306f., 328;  
**317**

lentoid, excavated faience and  
Egyptian blue, 29f., 45, 47,  
74–6, 107  
Egyptian blue, 136f., 202; **38–9,**  
**42–3**  
faience, 136f., 202; **40–1**  
loop-and-ring, gold, 252f., 261;  
**201**

melon, excavated lapis, 47, 75, 110  
gold, 304–7, 328; **319–20**  
gold, lapis, glass, 184–7, 233,  
240, 305; **153, 162**

miscellaneous  
carnelian, 252f., 262; **202, 204**  
felspar, carnelian, steatite,  
faience, turquoise, glass,  
252f., 262; **203**

multifoil: gold, carnelian, jasper,  
lapis, turquoise, garnet, 185f.,  
242; **160**

ring, excavated gold and carnelian,  
30f., 45  
carnelian and lapis strung  
with gold spacers, 252f.,  
261; **198**  
gold, 186f., 233, 252, 254,  
262f.; **162, 206–12**

tube, excavated faience and  
Egyptian blue, 31, 45,  
74–6

beakers  
precious, gold, 272, 283f., 286,  
316f., 344; **260–2**  
silt-ware pottery (MMA), 71; **p67**

bedding material. *See* jewelry,  
manufacture of

beer jars, of silt-ware pottery (MMA),  
71; **p65–6**

Bell, Lanny, 57

Bell, Martha, 57, 268

Berkeley, Hearst Museum  
6–8787, 252  
6–22900, 306

Berkeley Theban Mapping Project,  
4, 58

Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, 175, 287  
1926/7, 163, 252  
22452, rosettes in the Catalogue,  
168; **118**

Bes, 169–71; **134**

Biban el-Qurud (Valley of the Apes,  
West Valley), 5

Bietak, Manfred, 183

binding wire. *See* metalworking

Bintanat, 160, 348

bitumen, excavated, 31, 44  
on Canopic jars, 126  
*See also* ointment, resin

Blanchard, Ralph, 38, 111

Blemmye tribes, 12

Bloch-Diener, Elsa and Pierre, jug  
belonging to, 145; **84**

blow pipe. *See* metalworking

Blumka Gallery, beads in, 186; **154**

Boki, 118, 129

bone, 31, 44, 74–6, 106, 115  
*See also* ivory

Bonhams & Brooks, 15 note 2

Book of the Dead, 129

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts  
13.3974, 137  
21.973, 267

bottles  
marl wheel-made pottery (MMA),  
72; **p82–4**  
precious, travertine with gold trim,  
146–8, 218; **95–6**  
silt wheel-made pottery (MMA),  
71f.; **p68–73**

Bourriau, Janine, 63, 65, 67f.

Boutros, Tewfik (Effendi), for the  
Egyptian Antiquities Service,  
27f., 34

bowls  
carinated  
precious, green marble, 149–51,  
219; **101–2**  
silt wares, wheel-made pottery  
(MMA), 69f.; **p33–8**

conical (beakers)  
silt wares, wheel-made pottery  
(MMA), 70; **p39–45**

footed  
precious, silver, 149–51, 220; **100**

ring-based composite  
precious, gold, 272f., 283–5,  
316f., 344; **254–6**

round-based  
marl wheel-made pottery  
(MMA), 72; **p78–81**  
precious, gold, 272, 283–5, 316;  
**251–3**  
silt ware wheel-made pottery  
(MMA), 69; **p27–31**

bracelets, inscribed  
hinged, gold, 302f., 326, 345; **310**  
with box clasp, gold, 302, 326; **309**  
*See also* ornaments for arms or  
ankles

Brill, Robert H., 150, 291

bronze, figure parts of, 6, 32  
arsenical, 113

Brooklyn Museum of Art, The  
37.1359a–c, 14, 20

Brummer, Ernst, objects belonging to  
bottle, 148; **96**  
jar, 142; **58**  
jar, 143; **63**  
jug, 145; **84**

Bruyère's East Cemetery, 118, 146

## Indexes

Bubastis, comparisons from, 158, 185  
 buckle, gold and agate, 303f., 326,  
     345; **315**  
 Budge, Wallis, 5  
 Buhen, comparisons from, 65, 177,  
     299, 301  
 Burton, Harry, 28, 32f.  
     numbering system of TAA  
         negatives, xv  
     report and recording of Wady D1,  
         33, 36, 58, 61  
 Butehamun, 7–11, 339–41  
 Byblos, 160  
     comparisons from, 131,  
         133, 146, 158, 177,  
         187, 269

## C

cadmium, 277  
 Cairo, Egyptian Museum, 111  
     CG (Catalogue général)  
         3934–3934bis, 128  
         16014, 77  
         18478–80, 118  
         18482, 118  
         18734, 139  
         24006a–d, 126  
         24007–8, 139  
         24010, 65  
         24013, 65  
         24037–46, 67  
         24062, 138  
         24071, 166  
         24124, 166  
         24144, 166  
         24274–81, 126  
         24580–94, 138  
         24882, 67  
         24930, 77  
         24956, 67  
         24962, 138  
         28501, 118  
         37157, 250  
         46206, 284  
         46437–50, 138  
         51014, 126  
         51018, 126  
         51164, 264  
         51165, 264  
         52051, 265  
         52068, 176  
         52071, 265  
         52074, 122, 138  
         52232, 181  
         52243, 250  
         52245, 181  
         52248–9, 250  
         52378–81, 163  
         52409–12, 163

52641, 155, 158  
 52642, 158  
 52644, 158  
 52677, 299  
 52685–6, 282  
 52692, 299  
 52701, 158  
 52702, 158  
 52733, 175  
 52746, 130  
 52748, 130  
 52758, 183  
 52865, 184  
 52922, 298  
 52957, 298  
 53187, 306  
 53189, 306  
 53193, 306  
 53262, 158  
 53263, 158  
 53742, 136  
 53760, 136  
 53790–3, 136  
 61001, 118  
 61003, 118  
 61006, 118  
 70723, 184  
 JdE (Journal d'entrée)  
     3375–82, 163  
     6471, 163  
     28612, 181  
     39041, 181  
     39644, 282  
     39875, 185  
     45666, 183  
     45676, 137  
     45693, 250  
     45783, objects from Chaban's  
         clearance, 29–31  
     45930, 4  
     46435, necklace donated by  
         Place, **155**; cf. 38  
     51273, 299  
     60655, 181  
     61792, 146  
     62190–1, 151  
     85842, 121, 123  
     85845, 252  
     86702, 250  
     86767, 135  
     86971, 185  
     87404, 183  
     88461, 181  
     88966–7, 135  
 SR (Special Register)  
     292, 121, 123  
     313, 122  
     2677, 282  
     4260, 4  
     6960. *See* JdE 46435

7727. *See* JdE 45783  
 8528–40, 252  
 10741, 77  
 Yardbook (Temporary numbers)  
     14/12/27/12, 118  
     20/12/21/24, 135  
     21/11/21/9, 306  
     22/11/21/6, 185  
     *See also* Tutankhamun  
 Callender, A. R., 111; **59**  
 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum  
     E. 6–7, 9–19.1901, 138  
     E. 27–28.1913, 306  
 canopic jars, limestone, 126f., 190–4,  
     329, 330f., 334; **1–12**  
 Carnarvon, Earl of,  
     association with Wady D1, x, 27,  
         31f., 35, 38, 41, 111, 146; **97**,  
         **103–4**, **136**, **144–50**, **223**  
     collecting, 5f., 13, 31f.  
     on forgeries, 41  
 Carnarvon–Carter excavations at  
     Thebes, 118, 122f., 159, 163,  
     172, 184, 247f., 252, 294, 298f.,  
     301, 306  
 carnelian  
     beads, excavated acacia, barrel,  
         cylinder, ring, 29f.  
     acacia, **151**  
     barrel, **140**, **162**, **200**; *see also*  
         **137–8**  
     biconical, **162**  
     *Conus*, **197**  
     cylinder, **205**; *see also* **130**  
     miscellaneous, 115; **202–4**  
     multifoil, **160**  
     ring, **162**, **198**  
     *seweret*, **19–21**  
 inlay, excavated various, 29f.  
     collars, composite, **129–30**  
     counterpoise, **131**  
     diadem, **108**  
     earrings, **110**  
     miscellaneous, 113, 115  
     ornaments for arms or ankles,  
         **141–3**  
     parts of collars, 30; **133**, **296**  
     pendant, **303**  
     rosettes, 29f.; **116–8**, **120**, **123–8**,  
         **278**, **281**  
     wig covering, **114**  
 Carter, Howard, 31  
     correspondence with Gardiner  
         and Carnarvon about tomb,  
         36, 38  
     excavation numbers for  
         Tutankhamun objects, xv  
     exploration of tomb Wady D1, x,  
         4, 27f., 31, 35–7, 46f., 59, 61,  
         136, 184f.

## Indexes

on forgeries, 38, 271  
 objects given to MMA, 136, 174, 185  
 recording of graffiti, 6, 32, 36–8, 339–41  
 role in retrieving information and art market objects from Wady DI, x, 3, 27, 31, 35, 38–42, 47–51, 111, 116f.; **44–7, 50–1, 53–4, 60–1, 66, 74, 79, 81, 84, 87, 97, 103–4, 112–5, 132, 144–50, 163–5**  
 survey of southwest wadys, 1–4, 6, 12f., 32, 36f.  
 cartouches, 33  
   *See* inscriptions, hieroglyphic;  
   Index part 2 for *m3<sup>c</sup>t-k3-r<sup>c</sup>*;  
   *mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*; *h3t-špswt*; *dhwti-ms nfr-hpr*  
 cat armlets, 176–8, 235; **137**  
 Catalogue of objects associated with Wady DI  
   comparative source material used, 117f.  
   criteria for judging origin, 116f.  
   history of study, 112–5  
   items not included, 111f., 114, 115  
   items not located, 111f.  
   objects assigned to the tomb, 126–55, 156, 157–88, 189–244; **1–165**  
   objects less surely linked to the tomb, 245–54, 256–63; **166–213**  
   objects of various dates, 264–71, 272f., 274, 275f., 277–96, 297, 298–304, 305, 306–28; **214–324**  
   organization and authorship, 115  
   technical features as indicators of provenance and date, 119–24, 271–8  
   vendors of objects, 111  
 CEDAE (Centre de Documentation et d'Etudes sur l'Histoire de l'Art et la Civilisation de l'Egypte Ancienne)  
   recording of graffiti, 1f., 6–11, 339–41  
 Černý, Jaroslav, and recording of graffiti, 2, 6f., 339–41  
 Chaban, Mohammed (Effendi), 27, 57, 116  
   objects found at Wady DI, 29–31, 76, 115, 117, 119, 122; entries in Egyptian Museum, 29–31, 44f., 120, 125  
   Catalogue objects paralleled with art market objects, 67, 116, 119, 127, 136, 139f.,

146, 154, 164, 166f., 169, 171, 174, 176, 178, 183f., 188, 251f.  
 chased line. *See* metalworking  
 cheetah, *Acinonyx jubatus*, 159  
 chert, 60, 62  
   paleolithic axe, 75  
 Chicago, Oriental Institute, 5  
 chisel cutting and tracing. *See* metalworking  
 Christie, Manson & Woods, 165, 171, 291  
 Christie's New York, 15 note 2  
 clasps  
   box, gold, 264f., 310; **217**  
   loop-and-pin, gold, 264f., 310, 343; **215–6. See also 137–8**  
   sliding, gold, 303f., 326; **314**  
   *See also* buckle  
 Cleveland, Carrie, examination by, 176, 278; **14, 17, 132, 143, 187, 289, 294**  
 Cleveland Museum of Art, 5, 13, 31  
 coffins, 33, 76  
 collars  
   gold sheet  
     falcon, 130–2, 199, 278f., 313, 342f.; **24, 27, 230**  
   inlaid composite, 169–73  
     falcon: gold, obsidian(?), carnelian, jasper, glass, 125, 172, 231; **129**  
     lotus: gold, carnelian, jasper, glass, 125, 172f., 230, 275; **130**  
     *nefer*: gold, glass, Egyptian blue, 125, 173, 231; **132**  
   parts of inlaid composite, excavated  
     drop element: carnelian and glass, 30, 45  
     beetle elements: gold, lapis, faience, glass, 294f., 321; **294–5**  
     Bes and Taweret elements(?), gold, 173f., 233, 301; **134**  
     counterpoise: gold, carnelian, glass, 125, 173; **131**  
     drop element: gold, carnelian, glass, 173, 343; **133**  
     drop elements, gold, 275, 295f., 297, 322f.; **298–9**  
     drop elements: gold, carnelian, felspar, glass, 113, 295, 322; **296**  
     drop elements: gold, jasper, glass, 186f., 233, 295, 323; **162, 297**  
     leaf-shaped elements: gold, marble, faience, 268, 311; **227**

*nefer*-elements, gold and Egyptian blue, 186f., 233; **162**  
*nefer*-elements: gold, glass, vitreous material, 293f., 321; **293**  
 shield-shaped elements: gold, silver, ivory or bone, glass, 291–3 (with illus.), 321, 344, 346; **289–91**  
 vase-motif elements: gold, jasper, glass, 293, 321; **292**  
   *See also* beads  
   *shebiu*, 136f.  
 Collon, Dominique, 269  
 conclusions from study, x, 337  
 “concubines,” and headdresses, 155  
 copper-alloy objects, from MMA  
   excavations, 62, 75, 108  
   filigreed beads, **318**  
   fly amulets, **304**  
   tube pendant, **182**  
 Coptic period remains in southwest wadys, 2, 4, 7f., 11f., 14f., 62, 73, 75, 77  
   *See also* anchorites; petroglyphs  
 Coque, R., 2  
 Coral Gables (FL), Lowe Art Museum, jar in, 111, 143; **67**  
 coregency of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, 182, 333; **146**  
 corn mummies and related objects, 12–5  
 cosmetic vessels. *See* bottles; bowls; cups; jars; lotiform  
 Coulon, Laurent, 14  
 coupons. *See* metalworking  
 cups, precious  
   pedestal-footed, gold, 272, 283–6, 316; **257–9**  
   semi-restricted, gold, 273, 283f., 286f., 316f., 344; **266–8**  
 Cyprus, comparisons from, 268, 291

## D

Dahshur, comparisons from, 117, 123f., 146, 159, 171, 180f., 183, 250, 298  
 Darnell, Deborah, 63  
 Davis, Theodore M., 6, 31, 116  
 Dedi, 299  
 deer, 160  
 Defernez, Catherine, 14  
 Deir el-Bahari, 11, 174, 280f.  
 Deir el-Ballas, 252, 336  
 Deir el-Medina, comparisons from, 66, 118, 147, 184  
   tomb workers of, 7–11  
   *See also* Bruyère

## Indexes

Deir el-Mohareb, 57  
 Demarée, Robert, 11  
 Demotic, 11, 341  
 Dendera, 183, 306  
 van Dijk, Jacobus, 66 with note 3  
 Dikhonsiry, 9, 341  
 Dilbat, 185  
 diorite(?), porphyritic  
     jars, precious, **89, 92**  
 diplomatic marriage, 335f.  
 Djehutymose, 8–10, 340  
 Djeme (Medinet Habu), 14  
 Dominicus, Brigitte, 78  
 Dorman, Peter, work on inscriptional  
     material, 126, 128f., 284, 329;  
     **17, 258–9, 264–5**  
 Dra Abu el-Naga, 14, 118, 150  
 duck head, silver, 48, 111, 187, 244;  
     **164**  
 Durham, Oriental Museum, 264

## E

earrings  
     gold, 162f., 224, 247f., 259, 267f.,  
         311; **111–3, 176–8, 226(?)**  
     gold and glass, 125, 162f., 224;  
         **109**  
     gold, glass, carnelian, 120, 162f.,  
         224, 342; **110**  
 East Mediterranean gold work, 122,  
     158, 160, 271, 277  
 Ebla, 184  
 EDS (Energy dispersive X-ray  
     spectrometry), 155, 278, 281,  
     342f., 346  
 Egyptian Antiquities Organization,  
     standards of, 57  
 Egyptian Antiquities Service, and  
     Wady Qurud, 27–31, 34–7,  
     41  
 Egyptian blue, excavated tube, bugle,  
     and lentoid beads, 29–31, 74f.  
     bangles/ingots, **44**  
     beads, lentoid, **38–9, 42–3**  
     inlay, **132, 186**. *See also* **111–2,**  
         **162, 286**  
 El-Ahiwa, 159, 306  
 electrum, composition of, 119  
     appliqué, **237(?)**  
     clasp, **215**  
     pendants, 115(?); **181, 185(?), 223,**  
         **224(?)**  
     scarab, **188(?)**  
 elements, inlaid. *See* collars, parts of  
 El-Ghirza, 306  
 El-Kab, 150, 160  
 embalming materials, and pottery, 66f.  
 engraving. *See* metalworking  
 en-Nawawy, Ibrahim, 29

Epiphanius monastery, 12  
 Esna, 181, 269  
 European collection, rosettes in, 168;  
     **115–6**

## F

Fahm, Tewfik of Qus, 270  
 faience, beads and ring fragment  
     excavated at the tomb, 30f.,  
     74f.  
     bangles/ingots, **45–7**  
     beads  
         cylinder, 170 note 3; **205**  
         lentoid, **40–1**  
         miscellaneous, **203, 205, 229**  
         on necklets, **22–3**  
     inlays, **227, 294–5**  
 Fakhry, Ahmed, on forgeries, 270  
 Fakhry, Ali, 270  
 falcons, bronze heads of, 6  
     *See also* amulets; collars  
 fasteners, gold wire, 132, 199; **30–1**  
 felines, on items of adornment, 159  
     with crossed paws, 177  
 felspar  
     beads  
         acacia-seed, 113  
         *Conus*-shell, **197**  
         drop, **197**  
         miscellaneous, **203**  
     inlay, **225, 296**  
 figures, funerary, 4–6, 15  
 filing. *See* metalworking  
 finger rings, 181–3, 238f.  
     with gold scarab, 181f.; **144–5**  
     with lapis scarab, 182; **146–7**  
     with steatite scarab, 182f.;  
         **148–50**  
     *See also* 250f., **188**  
 fitting, gold wire, 254f., 263; **213**  
 fluorine, 292  
 flux. *See* metalworking  
 food and drink  
     pottery forms for (MMA), 66  
 foreign wives  
     dating and origins, 333–6  
     names, 329–32  
     royal status, 336  
     *See also* Manhata; Manuwai;  
         Maruta  
 forgeries, 270–308; **230–323**  
     detection of, 116f., 270–8, 283f.,  
         287f.  
     consideration of. *See* Aldred;  
         Bezold; Carnarvon; Carter;  
         Fakhry; Hansen; Hermann;  
         Lansing; Newberry; Reeves;  
         Scharff; Scott; B. Williams;  
         C. Williams; Winlock

forgers, 270f., 284, 287f.  
 foundation deposits, 62 (with illus.),  
     77, 108, 337  
 fragments, silver, 188, 244; **165**  
 Frantz, J. H., technical expertise, 17,  
     **91, 258–9, 264–5**  
 frogs  
     as figurine, 38, 270, 271  
     frieze on bowl, 34  
 funerary items in Catalogue. *See*  
     appliqués; bandage amulets;  
     bangles/ingots; beads (lentoid);  
     Canopic jars; collars (gold sheet);  
     fasteners; heart scarabs and amu-  
     let; necklets; ritual vessels;  
     sandals (gold sheet); stalls;  
     vulture breastplates; *wḏ3t*-eye  
     pendants

## G

Gaballa (G. A.) and Kitchen  
     (Kenneth) discussion of  
         Rosetau, 14  
 Gabolde, Luc, 4  
 gabro, lids, **171–2**  
 Gaillard, Claude Antonie. *See* Lortet  
     and Gaillard  
 Galerie Koller, jug in, 145; **84**  
 Gallatin, Albert, jar of, 143; **63**  
 Garcia-Perea, Rosa, 177  
 Gardiner, Alan H., 31–4  
     association with Wady D1, x, 27f.  
     correspondence with Carter, 35–8  
     interest in graffiti, 36–8  
     notes on Wady Qurud finds, 35  
 Gardiner font, 274, 284  
 garnet  
     bead, **160**  
     ornament, **163**  
 Gaza, 335. *See also* Ajjul  
 gazelle diadem, 125, 154f., 156,  
     157–62, 225, 342; **108**  
     workmanship, 155–8  
 gazelle iconography, including  
     depictions in Kheruef tomb,  
     Osorkon II temple, faience  
     bowls, 159–61, 336, 347f.  
 Gernot, Wilhelm, 329  
 gesso. *See* jewelry, manufacture of  
 Ghalli, Zaki, of Luxor, 270  
 Ghurab, 187, 299, 336  
 girdles  
     *Tilapia*-fish, gold spacers, 174f.,  
         234; **136**  
     wallet, excavated lapis spacers,  
         29f., 45, 47  
     gold and lapis spacers, 174f.,  
         234; **135**  
     gold spacers, 250, 260; **187**

## Indexes

glass, excavated at Wady D1, 29–31, 44f., 74f., 107; role in determining provenance, 119, 124, 146  
 associated with Wady D1  
   cobalt-colored (blue)/crizzled, 108–10, 114–5, 118–9, 121, 129–33, 141, 143, 162  
   copper-colored (turquoise), 103, 108, 114–23, 126–31, 137, 141–3, 152, 162, 278, 281, 296  
   filing of inlays, 292  
   miscellaneous fragments, 113–5; 203  
   post-New Kingdom (including modern and indeterminate), 292, 346; 283–5, 287–97, 305, 323  
   technical description and analyses, 278, 291f., 346  
   types of beads and inlays, 125  
 glassy faience, jar, 104  
 gneiss, jar, 169  
 Görg, Manfred, 329  
 goethite, jar, 91  
 gold items excavated at Wady D1, 29–31, 44, 75f., 110, 185  
 gold objects, miscellaneous, associated with Wady D1, 111–5  
 gold objects in Catalogue associated with Wady D1. *See categories of* funerary items, jewelry, vessels  
 gold trim for precious vessels, excavated, 30, 44, 146  
 gold vessels, 283–7; 251–71  
   *See also* beakers; bowls; cups; jars  
 gold working. *See* metalworking  
 gorge tombs, 2, 7  
 Gotoh, Takeshi, 165  
 graffiti, primarily in Wady D, 7–12, 339–41  
   Coptic, 11–2  
   Demotic, 11  
   numbering and recording of, 6f.  
   pharaonic, 7–11  
   *See also* Carter; CEDAE; Černý; Gardiner; Kitchen; petroglyphs  
 granite  
   MMA excavated fragment, 75  
   Osiride head, 12, 15  
 graywacke, heart scarab, 16  
 Great Headdress, x, 164, 226, 289  
 Greek jeweler, 38, 270f.  
 greenschist, heart amulet and scarab, 17–8  
 Griffith Institute (GI), records concerning the southwest wadys and Wady D1, 1f., 3f., 6–8, 28f., 33–40, 339, 341

Groisy, Frédérique, 57  
 Grossbard, Elayne, examination by, 176, 278; 14, 17, 132, 143, 187, 289, 294  
 Guksch, Heike, 66  
 Gurna. *See* Qurna  
 gypsum, as wash for pottery (MMA), 64f.  
   *See also* alabaster, Egyptian

## H

Haarlem, Willem van, 165  
 Habachi, Labib, 270  
 Hadji Ali, 39  
 hair rings, gold, 247f., 259, 267f., 311; 179, 226(?)  
 Hammad, Mohammed, 33, 43, 61  
 hammer work. *See* metalworking  
 hand axe, prehistoric, 75  
 Hansen, Donald P., 117  
 hapax legomenon, 8, 329  
 Haraga, 183, 187, 249  
 hard solder. *See* metalworking  
 harem, 302, 335f.  
 Harkness, Edward S., 112  
 Harlow, George, 307  
 Hassan, Ali, 29, 57  
 Hassan, Jusef, objects from Wady Qurud, 5f., 13, 31, 47f., 51, 111, 127, 138, 142, 187, 252  
 Hassanein, Fathy, 57  
 Hathor, iconography, 160, 177  
   cow plaques, 115; 236–8  
 Hatnufer, 118, 129, 150f., 174f.  
 Hatshepsut, 161, 181, 333, 335  
   foundation deposit scarabs, 181  
   KV 20, 118, 140  
   name on objects associated with Wady D1, 139; 54, 57, 146, 309  
   Wady A tomb, 1–4, 7f., 16, 20, 37, 333  
   *See also* coregency; Karnak  
 Hatshepsut II. *See* Meryetra  
 headdresses, 33, 37f.  
   *See also* gazelle diadem; wig covering  
 heart scarabs and amulets, 128f., 196f., 329, 330f., 332  
   graywacke and gold, 16  
   greenschist and gold, 17–8  
 Hebrew words and names, 329, 332  
 Heidelberg collection, University of, 13  
 Hein, Irmgard, 63f., 67  
 Heindl, Günter, 57, 59  
 Hekareshu Hill (Abydos), 6  
 Hepy, 183, 252  
 Herakleopolis, 123

Herihor, 9f., 341  
 Hermann, Alfred, on forgeries, 270  
 hiebr, 126, 136  
 Hierakonpolis, 158  
 high priests of Amun at Karnak, 8, 10f.  
 hinged inlaid ornaments. *See* ornaments for arms or ankles  
 history of project, x, 112, 152f.  
 Hittites, 336  
 Hoch, James E., author, 65, 329–33  
 Horemheb  
   king, 15 note 2; and wife of, 181  
   official, tomb of, 161, 252  
 Horemqenese, 11  
 Hori  
   child of the tomb, 10  
   others, 10, 66  
 Hu, 267  
 Huehnergard, John, 329  
 Hurrian name, 329

## I

IGN (Institut Géographique National de Paris), 1f., 6  
 Iklib, Heshmet, 57  
 Imhotep, vizier, 118  
 ingots. *See* bangles/ingots  
 inlay, objects with, excavated  
   carnelian, 29f., 45  
   *See* 106–12, 114–33, 141–3, 162, 186, 188, 225, 227, 272–99, 303, 305, 315; jewelry, manufacture of  
 inlays(?), glass and nephrite(?), 307f., 328; 323–4  
 inscriptions, hieratic, on objects, 65f., 68f., 139, 332; 67, 73  
 inscriptions, hieroglyphic, on objects  
   funerary items  
   canopic jars, 1–12  
   heart scarabs and amulet, 16–8  
   ritual vessels, 13–5  
   jewelry  
   beads, 112  
   bracelets, 112; 309–10  
   collars, 129–30  
   finger rings, 144–50  
   ornaments for arms or ankles, 141–3  
   rosettes, 283–4, 288  
   shield-shaped elements, 289–91  
   vessels, ointment  
   globular jars, 53–6  
   piriform jars, 57–64, 69, 71, 75–8, 245–50  
   shoulder jars, 49, 51–2  
 vessels, precious  
   beakers, 260–2  
   bottles and lids, 95–6

## Indexes

bowls, **251–6**  
 cups, **257–9, 266–8**  
 jars, **263–5, 269–71**  
 kohl jar and lid, **89**  
 lids, **98–9**  
 lotiform vessels, **97, 103**  
 ointment jars and lids, **87–8**  
*See also* Index part 2  
 inspections in the southeast wadys, **8–11**  
 Intef, objects associated with, **118, 159, 250**  
 Iput, **294**  
 Irem, **335**  
 Isis (queens), **336, 348**  
 Ity, **8, 339**  
 Iunmutef, **160**  
 ivory, inlay, **289–90**  
*See also* bone

**J**  
 Jacquet, Helen, **61, 63, 67**  
 Jacquet, Jean, **57**  
 jar fragments, excavated stone, **31, 44, 74f., 106, 108**  
 jars, ointment storage, **139f., 245f.**  
   Canaanite shape, travertine, **111, 145, 212; 79**  
   globular, travertine, **111, 141f., 205f.; 53–6**  
   ointment shape  
     serpentine, **245, 256; 166**  
     travertine, **140f., 204, 245, 256; 48, 167**  
   piriform  
     serpentine, **111, 144f., 211, 282f., 315; 74–8**  
     travertine, **142–4, 207–11, 282f., 315; 57–73**  
   shoulder, travertine, **141, 204; 49–52**  
   squat, **245f., 256f.**  
     gneiss(?), **169**  
     travertine, **168**  
 jars, pottery (MMA)  
   silt wares, hand-turned, **68f.; p1–p15**  
   silt wares, wheel-made, **71; p57–p66**  
   wares from outside the Nile Valley, **73; p99–p102**  
 jars, precious, **146f., 247**  
   button base, glassy faience with gold trim, **149–51, 220; 104**  
   composite, gold, **272, 283f., 287, 316f.; 269–71**  
   kohl, **215**  
     diorite(?) with gold trim, **146f.; 89**

  goethite with gold trim, **148; 91**  
   green marble, **147; 90**  
   ointment shape, **147, 214**  
     serpentine with gold trim, **88**  
     travertine with gold trim, **87**  
   piriform, diorite(?) with gold trim, **148, 215; 92**  
   tall-necked, gold, **273, 275, 283f., 286, 316f.; 263–5**  
   wide-necked with pedestal foot  
     anhydrite with gold trim, **148, 217; 94**  
     silver, **149–51, 220; 105**  
     travertine, **247, 257; 174–5**  
     vitreous with gold trim, **148, 216; 93**  
 jasper, **36, 113, 124**  
   beads, **129 (collar), 160, 162**  
   inlays, **114, 116–7, 120, 123–4, 129, 162**  
 Jenkins-Madina, Marilyn, **306**  
 jewelry in Catalogue, **152–87, 247–54, 287–307**  
*See also* amulets; armlets; beads; bracelets; buckle; clasps; collars (composite); earrings; finger rings; gazelle diadem; girdles; hair rings; ornament; ornaments for arms or ankles; pendants; rosettes; spacers; wig covering  
 jewelry, manufacture of  
   back plates and annotation of elements, **123, 166f., 171, 277**  
   bedding material (gesso), **124, 165, 167, 171, 179**  
   inlay, **113, 124, 125, 277**  
   quality, variations in, **119, 158**  
   suspension, means of, **123, 277**  
*See also* metalworking  
 jewels found in Wady Di  
   Carter, **47, 185**  
   Chaban, **27, 29–31, 45**  
   MMA, **74f., 107, 110**  
 jugs  
   ointment storage, travertine, **139f., 145, 212; 83–4**  
   pottery, marl wheel-made (MMA), **72; p85–7**

**K**  
 Kahun, comparisons from, **181, 185, 187**  
 Kalmanoff, Dr. Herbert, canopic jars belonging to, **111; 2–3, 6, 8**  
 Kamal Pasha, **27, 29, 34**  
 Kamid el-Loz, **158, 336**  
 Kamose, **118, 158**

Karkowsky, Janoš, **57**  
 Karnak  
   6th pylon text of Tuthmosis III, **333–5**  
   7th pylon text of Tuthmosis III, **335**  
   baboons, **14**  
   chapel of Osiris Heqadjet, **14**  
   *Chapelle rouge* of Hatshepsut, **302, 333**  
   Osiride deposits, **14**  
   palace, **336**  
   vessels depicted at, **140, 150**  
 Kashta, **12, 15**  
 Keimer, Ludwig, **111, 289**  
 Keller, Cathleen, **329**  
 Kenamun, tomb of, **150, 171, 184**  
 Kerma, comparisons from, **137f., 137 note 1, 146, 249, 299**  
 Kessler, Dieter, on sacred animal burials and Osiris-Baboon, **14f.**  
 de Keyser, E., on restoring jewelry, **x, 154**  
 Kha, **118, 137–9, 151, 254**  
*khat*-headdress, as purpose of rosettes, **164**  
 Khnemet, **335**  
 Khoiak festival, **14**  
 Kirby, Christopher, **1, 3f., 57, 63**  
 Kitchen, Kenneth, on a graffito, **9**  
*See also* Gaballa and Kitchen  
 Kiya, **336**  
 Kneeland, Yale, **134**  
 Knudsen, Joan, **63, 306**  
 Kom el-Hisn, **181, 183**  
 kraters, pottery, **66**  
   travertine, **111, 139f., 145, 212; 80–2**  
 Kumma, **174**  
 Kurz, Marcel, **2f.**  
   on Wady Gabbanat el-Qurud topography, **1**  
 KV. *See* Valley of the Kings  
 Kyticas, P., **5**

**L**  
 Lacau, Pierre, **27, 38, 46**  
 Lacovara, Peter, **63**  
 Lahun, **117, 124, 146, 153, 159, 183, 298**  
 Lannan Foundation, jar in, **142; 59**  
 Lansing, Ambrose, **28, 35, 111, 168, 287, 289**  
   correspondence regarding Wady Di, **35–7**  
   on forgeries, **37**  
 lapis lazuli, **335f.**  
   amulet inlays, **294**

## Indexes

armlet beads, **137**  
 beads, excavated melon, 75  
     barrel, **200**  
     *Conus*-shell, **197**  
     melon and ball, 48; **153, 162**  
     multifoil, **160**  
     ring, **162**  
 frog, 38, 270  
 girdle, excavated spacers, 29f., 47  
     wallet spacers, **135**  
 scarabs  
     on finger rings, **146–7**  
     as mummy fitting, **214**  
     vase with gold handles, 30  
 lead isotope, 150  
 leather and cloth, 62, 75  
 Legrain, Georges, 36  
 Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden,  
     138, 146, 165, 167f.  
 Leipzig museum, University of, 5  
 leopard (*Panthera pardus*), 159, 161  
 lepidocrosite, 124, 167  
 lids  
     for ointment storage jars, 50, 140  
         gabro, 246f., 256; **171–2**  
         travertine, 145, 210, 246f., 256;  
         **85–6, 170, 173**  
     for precious vessels, travertine and  
         gold, 146f., 149, 217; **98–9**  
     *See also* bottles; jars  
 Ligabue, Giancarlo, rosettes of, 168;  
     **117**  
 limestone, excavated fragment, 74  
     canopic jars, **1–12**  
     funerary figures, 5  
     offering stela, 12, 15  
     *See also* chert  
 lion armlets, 176–8, 235; **138**  
 lions (*Panthera leo*), 159, 177  
 Lisht, 118, 170 note 3, 183, 249, 267,  
     298f., 306  
 Logan, Thomas, 128, 329  
 London, BM (British Museum), 11,  
     163, 167, 171, 176, 185, 247,  
     250, 280  
     3076, 123  
     52832, 5, 21  
     52833–5, 13  
     53892, 5, 21  
     54392, 5  
     54397, 5, 21  
     54398, 5  
     54399, 5  
     55020, 5, 21  
     66827, beads and elements associ-  
         ated with Wady D1, 171,  
         185–7; **162**  
 London, Petrie Museum  
     4266, 306  
     40653, 306

Loret, Victor, 5, 12f.  
 Lortet (Charles Louis) and Gaillard  
     (Claude Antoine)  
     excavations of, 1, 4f., 12; cf. 34, 46  
     granite head of Osiris, 12, 15, 77  
     inscribed funerary figure, 5  
     necropolis worker, basin of, 2, 15  
     “offering stela”: naming Kashta and  
         Amenirdas I, 12, 15, 77  
     pottery finds, 14  
 lotiform vessels, precious, 219  
     glass with gold trim, 149–51; **103**  
     travertine with gold trim, 146f.,  
         149; **97**  
 Lythgoe, Albert, 31, 36–8, 43  
 Lytle, Phyllis, 43

## M

Maaboud, Sheikh Abdel, on rain-  
     storms, 61  
 Maahorneferura, 336  
 Mace, Arthur, 42  
 Mackay, Ernest, 27f.  
     reports on the robbery at Wady  
         D1, 28f., 33–5, 77  
 Maiherpri, comparisons from tomb  
     (KV 36), 65, 67, 118, 124, 130,  
     133, 135, 138f., 140, 166, 248  
 Malqata, 65, 124, 336  
 Manhata, foreign wife, 329f., 332;  
     **5–8, 14, 17**  
 Mansour, Mahmoud, 111, 289  
 Manuwai, foreign wife, 329f.; **1–4,**  
     **13, 16**  
 marble  
     green, cups and jar, **90, 101–2**  
     pink, inlays, **227**  
 Marchand, Sylvie, 14  
 Marta, 332  
 Maruta, foreign wife, 329, 331f.;  
     **9–12, 15, 18**  
 Masaharti, 135  
 Maspero, Gaston, 31  
 materials, miscellaneous, 113–5  
 McGovern, Patrick, 65  
 Medinet Habu  
     as center in late New Kingdom,  
         11, 15  
     divine adoratrices at, 15  
     proximity to Wady Qurud, 15  
     Ramesside palace, 161, 336  
     ritual at, 13f.  
 Medjay-police, 10  
 Megiddo, 159, 335  
 Mehaftho, 9, 340  
 Meir, 161  
 Memphis, 65  
     palace at, 336  
 Menkheperia (official), 10  
 Menna, and the family of, 155, 160,  
     167, 347  
 Mentiu, 182  
 Mentuhotep II, temple of, 11  
 Merenptah, 5, 15  
 Meret, 115, 118f., 163, 170, 172,  
     175, 184  
 Meryetamun  
     daughter of the king, 347  
     queen, 3, 20, 76, 118f., 159f., 165,  
         175, 179, 184  
 Meryetra, 4, 35, 336  
*mesketu* rings, 138  
 Mesopotamia, 274, 299  
 metal, fragments. *See* copper-alloy  
     objects  
 metallurgical cement. *See* metal-  
     working  
 metalworking, techniques for gold  
     and silver  
     early stages of preparation  
         base alloys, composition of, 119,  
         122, 274, 283  
         chisel cutting, **230–2**  
         design, 119, 271  
         hammer work, 122, 128, 274,  
         284, 302  
         orientation point, 128, 285  
         preparation of material, 122,  
         274, 278  
         rolling process, 274  
         scissors, 278  
     fashioning stage  
         air holes, 122, 277; **100, 108, 134,**  
         **226, 235, 289, 294–5, 306–7**  
         binding wire, 274, 277, 288  
         blow pipe, 274  
         borax, 274  
         chased line, by means of chisel,  
         123, 128, 278f.  
         coupons, 122, 265, 277, 288, 300  
         drilling, 277; **236–8, 294–5**  
         engraving, 277, 284; **238, 283,**  
         **289–91, 302, 309–10**  
         flux, 274  
         graver, 123  
         joining/soldering, 122, 155, 158,  
         274–7, 283f., 288  
         means of attaching three-  
         dimensional object, 158  
         overheating, 288  
         scribed line, 128, 279  
         tracer, 123  
     finishing stage  
         artificial etching (frosty surfaces),  
         274, 278, 280, 282, 284, 303  
         distressing, 284  
         filing, 274, 277  
         metallurgical cement, 278, 284;  
         **255**



## Indexes

planishing/burnishing, 122, 284  
as practiced in modern Egypt, 270  
red gold surfaces, 124, 278  
silver-gold sulfide, 124, 131, 158,  
278f.  
*See also* east Mediterranean gold  
work; jewelry, manufacture of  
mimic burials, 6  
miniature open forms, silt-ware  
pottery (MMA), 72; **p75-7**  
Minneapolis Institute of Arts  
beads in, 38, 43, 186; **154**  
jar in, 142; **59**  
Mirgissa, 124, 183, 299  
mirrors, gold sheet and silver, 152,  
222; **106-7**  
Mitannian wife, 336  
MMA (Metropolitan Museum of Art)  
accession numbers, xv  
07.227.130, 306  
08.200.39, 299  
09.180.1182, 267  
10.130.2996, 306  
15.3.412, 299  
15.6.13, .14, 269  
15.119.6, 300  
16.10.272, 137  
16.10.292, 252  
16.10.312, .313, 247  
21.10.55, 170 note 3  
22.1.126, 306  
22.1.1354, 249  
22.3.362-368, 65  
23.3.106, .156, .157, 280  
25.3.311d, e, 299  
26.7.148, 177  
26.7.915, 6  
26.7.1321-1323, 163  
26.7.1324-1329, 247  
26.7.1334-1337, 163  
26.7.1345, 248  
26.7.1364, 159  
26.7.1365, 306  
26.7.1372, 294  
26.7.1374, 122, 172, 299  
26.7.1375, 301  
26.7.1377, **187**  
26.7.1384, 122f., 301, 306  
26.7.1419, 6  
26.7.1451, 5  
27.3.150, 170 note 3  
27.3.320, 181  
30.8.99a-d, 6  
30.8.342, 248  
30.8.414, 181  
35.3.100-102, 138  
36.3.70, 137  
36.3.154, 137  
36.3.155, .156, 138  
41.160.131, 159

44.4.6, 124  
68.136.23, 298  
68.136.24, 306  
Hyksos group, 159-60, 163, 298  
MMA excavations at Lisht. *See* Hepy;  
Lisht; Senebtisy  
MMA excavations at Thebes, 65-7,  
118, 137f., 140, 183, 247, 250,  
252, 254, 299  
*See also* Boki; Neferkhawet;  
Ramose and Hatnufer; Ruyu  
MMA excavations at Wady DI, 2,  
57-110, 112  
architecture, 20, 58-63, 78-90  
appearance on arrival, 58  
burial chamber (Area IV), 60f.,  
75, 80, 83f., 86f.; evidence  
of ceiling having fallen, 60  
chamber opening off Pit  
(Chamber), 62f., 75f.  
descending corridor (Area III),  
60, 75, 79f., 80, 83-5  
pit south of Wady head (Pit),  
61f., 75, 88-90  
platform (Area II), 59f., 74f.,  
79f., 83-5  
wady head (Area I), 58f., 74, 79  
goals, 57  
pottery vessels, 63-74  
conventions, 58  
date, 67f., 76, 337  
fabrics of Nile B2, D, E; marl A2,  
A4, D; Oases; Foreign, 64f.  
function, 66f.  
inscriptions, 65f.  
neutron activation analysis, 65  
New Kingdom register, 68-73,  
91-104  
overview of Tuthmoside period,  
63  
post-New Kingdom register,  
73f., 105  
results of excavations, 76f., 337  
robbers' traces, 59-61, 77  
small finds, 74-6, 106-10  
compared with items found by  
Chaban and Carter, 76  
*See* bone, chert, copper-alloy,  
Egyptian blue, faience, glass,  
gold leaf, granite, lapis lazuli,  
leather, limestone, mud,  
pottery, quartzite, resin,  
serpentinite, textile,  
travertine, wood items  
staff, 57, 63  
MMA involvement with Wady DI  
early acquisition of objects, x, 27f.,  
111-3, 153  
evaluation and restoration, 112,  
153f., and *passim* in Catalogue

later purchases, 112-5, 153  
publication and display, x, 112  
models(?)  
bangles/ingots, faience and  
Egyptian blue, 138f.; **44-7**  
objects, amethystine quartz, 265f.,  
310; **218-22**  
Mohammed, Adel Mahmoud, xi  
Mohassib, Mahmoud, 36, 111, 270  
Mohassib, Mohammed, objects from  
Wady Qurud, 5, 34, 38, 41, 43,  
111, 267, 270, 291  
Mohssen, Mohammed, xi  
Monkey tomb, 5f., 13  
Monkey Valley, 41  
... montu, 66  
Montunakht, 66  
Morgan, J. P., shield-shaped elements  
of, 291; **289**  
Moscow, Pushkin Museum  
3600, 174  
Moursi, Ahmed, inspector for MMA  
excavations, 57  
Moussa, Ahmed, 57  
mud, excavated sealings, 76  
figures, 12-5  
mummy fittings. *See* appliqués;  
bandage amulets; beads (lentoid);  
collars (gold sheet); fasteners;  
heart scarabs and amulet;  
necklets; sandals; stalls; vulture  
breastplates  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA)  
13.3974, 137  
21.973, 267  
Mut, 347

## N

Naga ed-Deir, 267  
Nahman, Maurice, 36f., 111  
Nainudjem, 8f., 339-41  
Nakhtmin, embalming jars of, 67  
names of foreign wives, 329-32  
Naqada, 306  
Nasr, Mohammed, of Imam Shafey,  
forger, 270  
natron, as flux, 274, 277  
in pottery vessels, 65, 67  
Naville, E., 31  
Nebamun, daughter of, 347  
Nebettawy, 347  
Nebhepe, 9-11, 341  
Nebiry, 118  
Nebmaatra, 5  
Nebnufer, 9  
Nebtu, 336  
necklets, wire, 130, 196  
melon and ball, gold and faience,  
305; **22-3**

## Indexes

*seweret*, gold and carnelian, **19–21**  
 Neferhotep, representation in tomb  
     of, 14  
 Neferkhawet, 118, 129, 138, 147, 254  
 Nefertary  
     princess, 336  
     queen, 38, 168  
 Neferubity, 159  
 Neferuptah, 128, 171  
 Neferura, 161, 252  
     tomb and graffito of, 3f., 8–10, 20,  
     333, 340  
 nephrite, inlay(?), **324**  
 New York, MMA. *See* MMA  
 New York art market, rosettes on, **119**  
 Newberry, Percy, on forgeries, 270  
 Nubheteptikhered, 180  
 Nubian comparative sources, 67, 118,  
     140, 250  
 Nuzi, 150

## O

obsidian(?), inlay, **129**  
 ointment, 140  
     *See also* bitumen, resin  
 ointment storage vessels. *See*  
     amphorae; jars; jugs; kraters; lids  
 Old South Arabic names, 329, 340  
 Oren, Eliezer, 63, 269  
 orientation point. *See* metalworking  
 ornament, gold and garnet, 48, 187;  
     **163**  
 ornaments for arms or ankles, gold,  
     glass, carnelian, 125, 178–80,  
     236f., 275, 343; **141–3**  
 Osirian mysteries, 14f.  
 Osiride deposits, including bricks and  
     figures, 12–5  
 Osiris, granite head of, 12, 15, 77  
 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum  
     1890:786, 185  
     1921.1364, 299

## P

Paankha, 10  
 pagan cultic activity in southern  
     Egypt, 14  
 Paury, daughter of, 155, 160, 347  
 Pakhynetjer, 8f.  
 Panagiotopoulos, Diamantis, 335  
 Paris, Musée du Louvre, 150  
     AF 2380, 181  
     E 4887, 181  
     E 14005–6, 184  
     N 1229, 146  
 Parke–Bernet Galleries, jars in, 142f.;  
     **58–9, 63**  
 Pasa, 10

Passalacqua, excavations of, 118, 150,  
     163, 248, 252  
 pectoral. *See* collars  
 Peden, A. J., author, 7–12  
 pendants, 248–50, 266f., 281f., 296,  
     298  
     lotus, gold inlaid with glass, 115  
     Maat, gold, 296, 298, 324; **302**  
     *menat*-shaped, gold, 296, 298, 324,  
     344; **300**  
     Sekhmet, gold, 296, 298, 324; **301**  
     shell, electrum, 249, 259, 343; **181**  
     shell, gold, 249, 259; **180**  
     *shen*-sign, gold and carnelian, 296,  
     298 (with illus), 324; **303**  
     shrine, gold, 268f., 311; **228**  
     spiral, gold and Egyptian blue, 250,  
     259; **186**  
     *Tilapia*-fish, gold and felspar, 266f.,  
     311; **225**  
     tubes, gold or electrum, 249, 259;  
     **182–5**  
     uraeus, electrum, 266f., 311, 343;  
     **223**  
     vultures with ankh sign, electrum,  
     266f., 311; **224**  
 Penparei, 10  
 petroglyphs, 6f.  
 Philadelphia, University Museum, 267  
     10271, 299  
     10752, 301  
     10898b, 299  
 Philip, Hoffman, and objects, 33, 37,  
     111  
     bottle, travertine with gold, 96f.;  
     **96**  
     duck head(?), silver, 187; **164**  
     jars, travertine, 142f.; **58, 63**  
     jug, travertine, 145; **84**  
 Phoibammon monastery, 12  
 Piankh, 10  
 Piye (wife of), 133  
 Place, Lily, gold beads of, 33, 38, 43,  
     111, 185f.; **154–6, 158–9**  
 plaques, Hathor–cow. *See* appliqués  
 plates, pottery (MMA)  
     silt wares, wheel-made, 69; **p16–26**  
 Plimpton, Russell, 43  
 Podzorski, Pat, 63  
 Porada, Edith, 269  
 pottery, model coffins of, 32, 74(?)  
 pottery in Wady DI. *See* MMA  
     excavations  
 precious vessels. *See* bottles; bowls;  
     jars; lotiform vessels  
 princess, x, 333  
 “princess tomb” of Rhind, 4, 36, 118  
 Psusennes, 123, 133, 179, 252  
 Ptah Sokar, 5  
 Ptahmose called Nana, 160

Pumpenmeier, F., on extra-sepulchral  
     figures, 6

## Q

Qadesh, 335  
 Qantir, comparison from, 65  
 Qasr el-Agouz, and worship of  
     Thoth, 13f.  
 Qau, 177, 183f., 252  
 quartzite, orange, 75  
 Quirke, Stephen, 306  
 Qurn-shaped peak, 333; cf. copyright  
     page, 10, *endpiece*  
 Qurna  
     Wady DI objects from, 111, 141  
 Qurna woman, comparisons with  
     Petrie's, 118, 122, 137f., 163,  
     175, 184  
 Qustul, 299  
 QV. *See* Valley of the Queens

## R

Ra, 15  
 Ramesses II-era remains, 5, 160  
     foundation deposit, 15 note 2  
 Ramesses III, 161  
 Ramesses XI, 10–1  
 Ramesseum, 15  
 Ramesside inspection parties, 8  
 Ramose, 118, 175  
 Rashef, 160  
 Raven, Maarten, on rituals for the  
     revival of Osiris, 14f.  
 red gold. *See* metalworking  
 Redford, Donald, on Wady Qurud  
     royal wives, 335  
 Reeves, Nicholas, 117, 301  
 Rekhmira, tomb of, 180, 184  
 Renyseneb, 298  
 resin, excavated bits of, 76  
     core for beads, **195( ?)**  
     inlay, **125, 169, 280, 289**  
     for manufacture of forgeries, 278,  
     284  
     on objects, 115  
     *See also* bitumen, ointment  
 Retenu, 335  
 Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine  
     Arts, gold vessels of, 286; **259, 265**  
 rings. *See* beads; earrings; finger rings;  
     hair rings; scarabs  
 ritual vessels  
     marl wheel-made pottery (MMA),  
     72; **p88–9**  
     silver, *cover*, 127f., 195, 330f.; **13–5**  
 Robinson, Edward R., 38  
 Roehrig, Catharine, 4  
 Romer, John, 2, 4, 59

## Indexes

Rondot, Vincent, 57  
 Rose, Pamela, 63, 65  
 Rosetau, 5, 14, 15 note 2  
 rosette elements for stringing,  
   excavated at Wady D1: gold,  
   carnelian, glass, 29f., 45, 120  
 elements not used in wig covering,  
   167–9, 228f.; **115–28**  
   gold, carnelian, glass, **118, 126–7**  
   gold, carnelian or jasper, **124**  
   gold, carnelian, jasper, glass,  
     **116–7, 120, 123**  
   gold, glass, **115, 119, 121–2**  
   miscellaneous, **125**  
 modern, 41, 111, 287–90  
   round-petalled or inscribed,  
     36 (with illus.), 276, 289f.,  
     320: **283–5** and **287–8**,  
     gold, jasper, glass; **286**, gold,  
     jasper, Egyptian blue  
   Wady Qurud type, 276, 287–9,  
     318f.: **272–7, 282**, gold;  
     **278** and **281**, carnelian,  
     jasper, glass; **279–80**,  
     crumbly inlay  
 shapes, 48, 125  
*See also* wig covering  
 rosette roundels on gazelle diadem,  
   159  
 royal butler in the estate of Horus, 7  
 Ruyu, 118, 129; **18**  
 Ryan, Donald, 67

## S

Sadek, Abd el-Aziz, 2, 57  
 Saleh, Mohamed, xi  
 Salt collection (British Museum), 291  
 Samuel, Tewfik, of Armant, 270  
 sandals  
   gold sheet, 28, 38, 40, 133–5, 201;  
     **32–4**  
   leather, 62, 75  
 Saqqara, comparisons from, 65, 137,  
   177, 183, 250, 294, 299, 301  
 Sassanian domination of Egypt, 12  
 sawdust, 65  
 scarab  
   for finger ring(?), electrum, 250f.,  
     260; **188**  
   *See also* appliqués; finger rings;  
     heart scarabs and amulet  
 Scharff, Alexander, on forged rosettes,  
   287  
 Schiaparelli excavations, 118, 133, 140  
   *See* Ahmose; Deir el-Medineh;  
     Kha; Meret; Turin; Valley of  
     the Queens  
 Schlick-Nolte, Birgitte, 270  
 Schorsch, Deborah, 128, 158; **108**  
 scissors. *See* metalworking  
 Scott, Nora E., work with Wady  
   Qurud material, x, 37, 112, 117,  
   154, 164, 171, 174, 176, 184,  
   247, 250, 253, 264f., 268, 291,  
   293f., 304, 306  
 scribed line. *See* metalworking  
 seal amulet, glazed steatite, 250f., 260;  
   **190**  
 Sebekemsaef, spacers naming queen,  
   118, 177, 180  
 Sedment, 299  
 Seiler, Anne, 63  
   on Egyptian pottery, 65, 67, 69f.  
 SEM (scanning electron microscope),  
   155, 165, 169, 275, 278, 281,  
   296, 342–6  
 Semen (Osiris), 5  
 Semitic (West), names and words,  
   329, 333  
 Semna, 249, 299  
 Senebtisy, 183, 298, 306  
 Senetnay, 124  
 Sennefer, 124  
 Sequenra Tao II, 118  
 serpentine. *See* serpentinite  
 serpentinite, fragments found at  
   Wady D1, 31, 74; 44  
   jar, ointment storage, **166**  
   jar, precious, **88**  
 Sety I, foundation deposit of,  
   15 note 2  
*seweret*. *See* necklets  
 shawabty and related figures, 5f.,  
   13–5, 32, 41  
*shebiu*-collar, 136f.  
 Shed, 159f.  
 Sheikh Abdel-Qurna, 118  
 Sheikh Farag, 267  
*shen*-sign. *See* pendants  
 Sheshonq I, objects of, 133, 135  
 Shimy, Mohammed, 2  
 shroud, purpose of rosettes(?), 37, 41  
 silver, excavated fragment, 31, 44  
   beads, **195**  
   bowl, **100**  
   collar elements, **289–91**  
   duck head, **164**  
   fragments, **165**  
   jar, **105**  
   mirrors, **106–7**  
   ritual vessels, **13–5**  
   Roman, 277  
 silver-gold sulfide. *See* metalworking  
 Sinai, objects from, 137  
 Siptah, 15 note 2  
 Sirri, Hassan, 39  
 sistra, 112, 160f., 336  
 Sitamun  
   daughter of the king, 160f., 167, 347

queen, 180  
 Sithathoryunet, 153, 155, 158, 161,  
   298  
 Sitiah, 77, 336  
 small finds in Wady D1. *See* Carter;  
   Chaban; MMA excavations  
 Smendes I, 8f.  
 Smith, Mark, 160  
 Smith, Stuart, 63  
 Sobhy, G., jar published by, 141; **52**  
 Sokar/Sokar-Osiris, 5, 15, 15 note 2  
 Sotheby & Co., objects in  
   duck head, 187; **164**  
   jug, 145; **84**  
 Sotheby Parke-Bernet Galleries,  
   jar in, **59**  
 Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, 150,  
   181  
 Sotheby's, 15 note 2  
 southwest wadys, 16f.  
   letter designations of Carter, 2  
   geologic formation of, 1f.  
   survey of human activity, 2–15  
*See also* Carter; CEDAE; Coptic;  
   Romer; Thomas; Wady  
   Bariya; Wady el-Gharby;  
   Wady el-Heiba; Wady Sikket  
   el-Agala; Wady Sikket Taqet  
   Zaid  
 spacers, excavated ring bead, gold,  
   30, 45  
   acacia seed, gold, 303, 327, 345;  
     **311–3**  
   barrel bead, gold, 176–8, 235, 251,  
     260; **139, 191**  
   melon and ball bead, gold, 184f.,  
     240, 305; **153**  
   ring beads  
     gold, 251, 260; **192–4**  
     gold, strung with carnelian  
       and lapis, 252f., 261; **198**  
   *See also* armlets; girdles  
 Spar, Ira, 329  
 Spencer-Churchill, Captain Edward  
   George, elements and beads of,  
     111, 186f., 233; **162**  
 Stadelmann, Rainer, 57, 61  
 stag, 160  
 stalls, finger and toe, gold, 38, 111,  
   135f., 200; **35–7**  
 stand, silt wheel-made pottery  
   (MMA), 72; **p74**  
 Starke, Claudia, 57, 59  
 steatite  
   beads, **203**  
   finger rings, **148–50**  
   seal amulet, **190**  
 steel tool, 281, 306  
 St. Louis Art Museum, gold vessels in,  
   **258, 264**

## Indexes

Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet,  
     jar of, **58**  
 stone  
     black, **129(?)**  
     green, **196**  
     *See also* alabaster; amethyst; amethystine quartz; anhydrite; carnelian; chert; diorite; felspar; gabbro; garnet; gneiss; goethite; graywacke; greenstone; jasper, lapis lazuli; limestone; marble; obsidian; quartzite; serpentinite; steatite; travertine; turquoise  
 Stone, Richard, technical expertise, 122, 128, 158, 165, 169, 266, 270, 274, 277, 279–82, 284, 299, 306; **258–9, 264–5**  
 Suleiman, Gilani, 38  
 sulfide, silver-gold. *See* metalworking  
 Supreme Council for Antiquities, 28, 57  
     *See also* Egyptian Antiquities Service  
 Survey of Egypt map, 2  
 suspension loops. *See* jewelry, manufacture of

## T

tableware, vessels erroneously characterized as, 146f.  
 Takouti, 135  
 Tanis, comparisons from, 117, 119, 123, 133, 135, 158, 162, 180, 300  
 Tano, Nicholas, 38, 111  
 Taweret, on pendant, **228**  
     collar elements, 169–71, 173f.; **134**  
     modern amulets, 115; **306**  
 Tawosret, 133, 150, 158, 282, 299  
 Taya, Abdel-Hamid Osman, 57  
 Taylor, John, 5  
 teal bones, 12  
 technique and material as indicators of provenance and date, 119–24, 271–8  
 Teissier, Beatrice, 269  
 Tell ed-Dabaa, comparisons from, 158, 177, 183  
 textile, 62, 75  
 Theban tombs, representations in, 133, 140, 150, 167, 187  
     TT 15, 160  
     TT 20, 174  
     TT 73, 174  
     TT 85, 66  
     TT 99, 174. *See also* Rekhmira  
 Thebes  
     maps of, 16f.  
     *See also* Ahhotep group; Bruyère's East Cemetery; Carnarvon-Carter excavations; Dra Abu el-Naga; MMA excavations; Passalacqua; Qurna woman; Schiaparelli; Valley of the Kings tombs  
 Theinhardt font, 274, 284  
 thermal neutron activation, 65, 128, 151f.  
 Thomas, Elizabeth, exploration in southwest wadys, 1–4, 8  
 Thoth, nearby worship of, 13f.  
 Tiye, 147  
 Tjanuni, 67  
 Tod, comparison from, 184  
 Todros, Boulous, 270  
 Todros, Mohareb, objects from Wady Qurud, 43, 111, 270, 287; **118**  
 toilet equipment. *See* mirrors  
 Tokyo National Museum, 165  
 tomb of foreign wives (Wady D1)  
     construction date, 333  
     discovery, 27–9, 33f., 39, 42  
     *See also* Carter; Chaban; MMA excavations  
 tombs, Ramesside inspection of, 8–9  
 Tooley, Angela, on Osiride deposits, 14  
 travertine, excavated vessel  
     fragment, 75  
     ointment storage jars, 112; **48–73, 79–87, 167–8, 170**  
     precious vessels and lids, **95–9, 174–5**  
     *See also* alabaster  
 Tuna el-Gebel, animal mummies at, 14  
 Turin, Museo Egizio  
     19001, 126  
     19003–6, 126  
     19142, 126  
 turquoise, beads, **160, 203**  
 Tushrata, gifts to pharaoh, 335  
 Tutankhamun  
     comparisons from tomb (KV 62), 14, 115, 117, 119, 123, 131, 133, 138–40, 146, 158f., 163, 171, 185, 251, 278, 304  
     embalming cache, 67  
     TAA numbers of Carter  
         21y, 137  
         44bb–dd, 137  
         46y, 146  
         54k, 123  
         54rr, 146  
         255, 137  
         256a, 137, 158  
         256c, 131  
         256e, 131, 279  
         256i, 123, 131  
         256j, 123

256n, 180  
 256q, 129  
 256aa, 131  
 256gg, 121, 122  
 256ll, 133, 135  
 256mm, 130, 179  
 256oo, 176  
 256pp, 179  
 256qq, 180, 265  
 256ssbis, 176  
 256ww, 179  
 256mmm, 123, 131  
 256nnn, 123  
 256rrr, 121, 122  
 256mmmm, 184  
 256oooo, 158f.  
 267j and l, 123  
 269i–j, 123  
 269o, 184  
 367o, 146  
 370v, 146  
 585u, 146  
 620 (29–30), 146  
 620 (71), 248

Tuthmosis I, seal amulet naming, 177  
     *See also* Valley of the Kings

Tuthmosis III  
     amulet naming, 177  
     Annals of, 333, 335f.  
     family, 336  
     name on objects associated with Wady D1, 139; **49, 51–3, 55–6, 58–64, 87–9, 92–9, 106, 129–30, 141–9, 245–71, 310**  
     tomb (KV 34) and comparisons from, 3, 10, 41, 67, 77, 118, 130, 140, 146, 179, 333  
 Tuthmosis IV, comparisons from tomb (KV 43), 118, 128, 138  
     daughter with modius, 161, 347  
 Tuya, comparisons from tomb (KV 46), 118, 124, 133, 139, 147, 264, 279  
 Tyti, 348

## U

Ugarit, and gazelles, 160  
     vessel from, 160, 348  
 Ulu Burun, scarab from, 181  
 unidentified Catalogue objects. *See* duck head, fitting, fragments, inlays(?), models(?), ornament  
 Ur, royal jewelry at, 160, 299

## V

*Vallée des trois puits*, 66f.  
 Valley of the Apes. *See* Biban el-Qurud

## Indexes

### Valley of the Kings tombs (KV)

- KV 21, 67
- KV 27, 67
- KV 38, 77, 118
- KV 42, 67, 124
- KV 45, 67
- KV 55, 118, 123f., 130, 268, 282, 291
- See also* Amenhotep II; Hatshepsut; Maiherpri; Tawosret; Tuthmosis III; Tuthmosis IV; Tutankhamun; Tuya; Yuya
- Valley of the Queens (QV),
  - embalming jars from, 67
  - tombs, 118, 124; *see also* Schiaparelli
- vessel shapes, for stone, metal, vitreous, wood, 140
- vessels. *See under* individual vessel types (e.g., amphorae, beakers, bowls, cups, jars, jugs, kraters, lids, lotiform, ointment storage, plates, ritual vessels, stand)
- viscera, 6, 32
  - packages in canopic jars, 126
- vitreous material,
  - in elements, **293**
  - jar, **93**
- votive deposits, 4–6, 12–5
- culture breastplates, sheet gold, 130–2, 198, 278f., 313, 342f.; **25, 28, 231**

## W

- Wady A (Wady Sikket Taqet Zaid), 22
  - graffiti and petroglyphs, 7f., 339
  - tombs, 3f.
  - See also* Hatshepsut
- Wady B, Coptic inscriptions, 11f., 339
- Wady Bariya, 2
- Wady C, 23f.
  - graffiti and petroglyphs, 7–9, 340f.
  - tombs, 4, 20

### Wady D (Wady Gabbanat el-Qurud;

- Wady Qurud), 1, 16–8, 24f.
- art market votive objects, 2, 4–6, 13
- graffiti and petroglyphs, 7, 9f.
- illicit digging, 2, 5f., 32, 39, 41f.
- Late to Roman period remains, 2, 11–5
- tombs, 4
- views of, *frontispiece, endpiece*
- water and Netherworld entrance, 15
- See also* baboons; Coptic; graffiti; Lortet and Gaillard; southwest wadys
- Wady D1 (tomb), 78
  - extent of this study, x, 28, 113–9
  - lost objects, 111f.
  - See also* Carter; Chaban; MMA excavations at Wady D1; tomb
- Wady el-Garby (Wady F), 1f., 8, 10
- Wady el-Heiba, 2
- Wady Gabbanat el-Qurud (Wady Qurud). *See* Wady D
- Wady Sikket el-Agala, 2
- Wady Sikket Taqet Zaid (Wady A), 2f.
  - graffiti in, 7f.
- Wallace, Lila Acheson, 112
- wax, figures and faces of, 6, 12–4
- wḏ3t*-eye
  - bead, gold, 113, 116, 250f., 260; **189**
  - pendants, gold, 281f., 314, 344; **239–44**
- Weeks, Susan, 270
- Wheeler, George, **16–7, 90, 92, 101–2, 169, 171–2, 323**
- wig covering: gold, carnelian, jasper, glass, 125, 164–7, 226f.; **114**
  - See also* rosettes
- Wilfong, T., 14
- Wilkinson, Irma Bezold, 117

### Wilkinson, John Gardner, exploration

- of Wady Qurud, 2, 13
- Williams, Bruce, 117, 155, 170, 248, 283
- Williams, Caroline Ransom, 117f., 130, 278, 280
- wine service vessels, 139f., 147, 150f.
- Winlock, Herbert, 32
  - early history with Wady D1, 32f., 38, 42f., 55, 61
  - on forgeries, 117, 289, 295
  - interpretation of objects, 116f., 126–308, *passim*
  - publication of graffiti and objects, x, 9, 112
  - reconstruction of jewelry, 153f.
    - girdles, 306
    - inlaid composite collars, 169f.
    - wig covering, 164
    - on gold workmanship, 116f.
- wire fitting, gold, 254, 263; **213**
- de Wit, Huib, 57, 60f.
- wood
  - figures from art market, 5f., 32
  - fragments excavated at tomb, 31, 75
- Wypyski, Mark, analyses, 113, 155, 278, 292, 306, 342–6; **254–5, 267**

## X

XRF (X-ray fluorescence), 169

## Y

- Yarmouk Valley, 336
- Yuya, comparisons from tomb (KV 46), 118, 124, 126, 135, 139, 147

## Z

Zadok, Ran, 329

## INDEX 2, EGYPTIAN WORDS

*ḥntyw* (a gum resin), 143; **63**

*ḥpwt* (location in a temple), 302; **309**

*ḥnw* (tribute/gift), 335

*ḥnst* (a plant), 65f.

*wpwt* (mission), 9

*wr* (great one), 335

*wt* (coffin), 8

*b3k[t]* (revenues), 335

*b3k*-oil, 65

*bīt* (honey), 66 note 3

*pr* (house, of Horus), 7

*pt*-sign, 284

## Indexes

*m3<sup>c</sup>t-k3-r<sup>c</sup>* (prenomen of Hatshepsut),  
182, 302; **146, 309**  
*mw<sup>t</sup> nsw<sup>t</sup> wr<sup>t</sup>* (great royal mother), 348  
*mnht*/Manhata, 329f., 332  
*mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>* (prenomen of Tuthmosis  
III), 141–3, 146–9, 151f., 165,  
172f., 179, 181–7, 302f.; **49,**  
**51–3, 55–6, 58–64, 87–9, 92–9,**  
**103, 106, 129–30, 141–9,**  
**245–50, 251–71, 310**  
*mrt* (indentured servants), 335  
*ms*-sign, 9, 291; **289–91**  
  
*nbt t3wy* (lady of the two lands),  
348  
*nfr hpr* (epithet of Tuthmosis III),  
333  
See also *dhwti-ms nfr-hpr*

*nfrt* (maidens), 161  
*ntry* (divine), 141; **53**  
  
*hnw*-measure, 141–3, 282f.; **51–3,**  
**58, 61–4; 250**  
*h3t-špswt* (nomen of Hatshepsut),  
141f., 182; **54, 57, 146**  
*hmt nsw<sup>t</sup> / wr<sup>t</sup>* (wife of the king/great  
royal wife), 155, 329, 333, 336,  
347f.  
*hmuw/hmwt* (male and female servants),  
336  
*htr* (yearly tax), 335  
*hkrt nsw<sup>t</sup>* (ornament of the king),  
155, 160f., 347  
  
*sip* (inspect), 9  
*s3 n irm* (son of Irem), 335

*s3t nsw<sup>t</sup>* (daughter of the king),  
160, 335, 347f.  
*sdm-/sdmw-<sup>c</sup>š / m st m3<sup>c</sup>t* (servant/in  
the place of truth), 15, 336  
*sdm.n.f*-form, 126  
*šty.t* (double plumes), 161  
*špst* (noblewoman), 336  
*šmsw* (retainers), 336  
*šn<sup>c</sup>* (storehouse), 335  
*šty.t* (chamber), 5  
  
*gmy* (find?), 8  
  
*dhwti-ms nfr-hpr* (nomen of  
Tuth-mosis III), 141–3,  
148, 179f., 283, 303; **49,**  
**51–3, 55–6, 58–60, 62–4,**  
**93, 141–3, 245–9, 310**

